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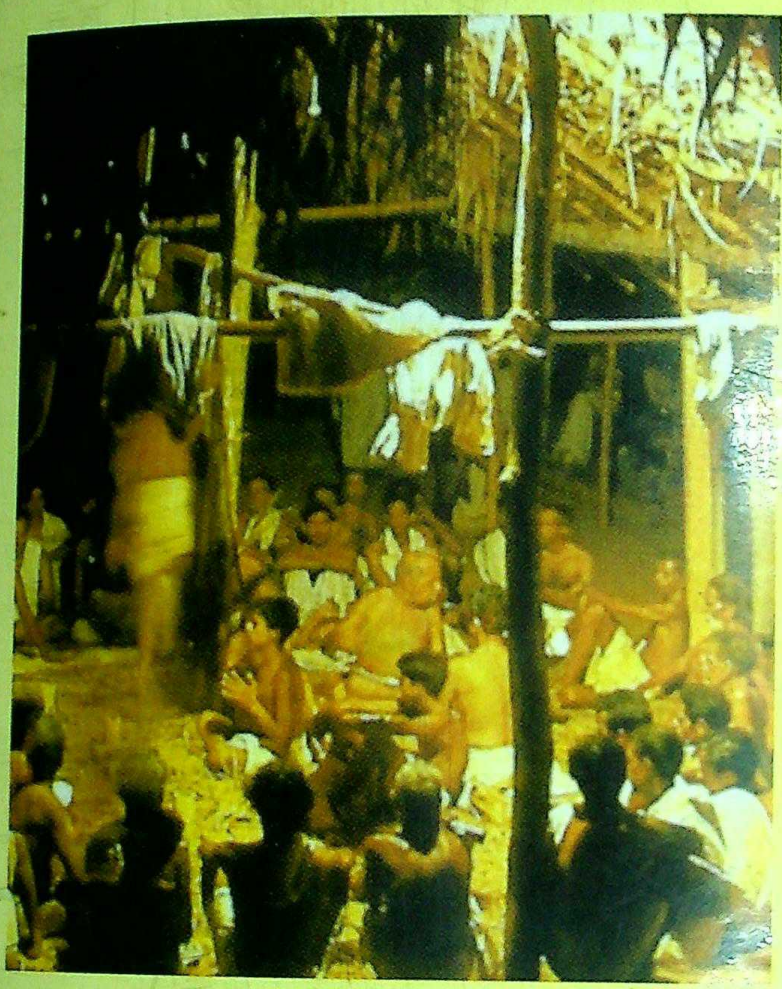

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The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar

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Mahāvedi (Gr

Sadas
(Hall of Recitation)

Audumbar

Patnīśālā
(Wife's Hall)

Prācīnavaṃśa (Old Hall)

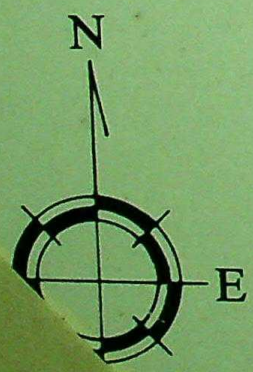
Utkara Rubbish Heap

Gārhapatya (Domestic Altar)

Vedi

(Old) Āhavanīya
(Offering Altar)=
(New) Gārhapatya
(Domestic Altar)

Dakṣiṇāgni
(Southern Altar)



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कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर कोई निशान आदि
न लगायें।

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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
121355
वर्ग संख्या..... .. आगत संख्या.....

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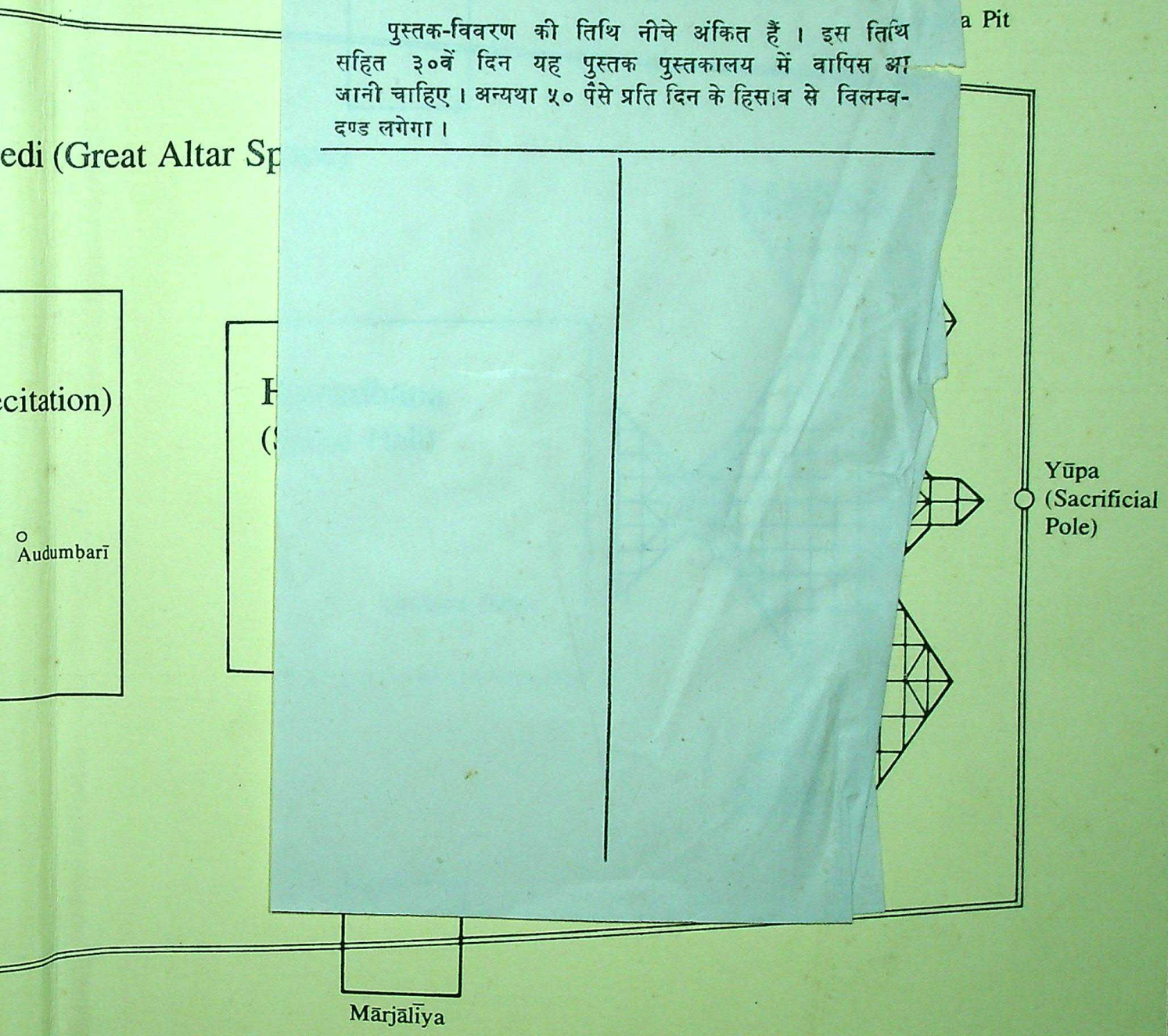

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The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar

edited by
FRITS STAAL

with the assistance of
PAMELA MACFARLAND

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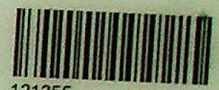

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VOLUME II

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PREFACE

THE 1975 PERFORMANCE of the Atirātra-Agnicayana called attention to a ritual created in India almost three thousand years ago. The first volume of *Agni* sought to document and help preserve this ancient tradition. The ceremonies were described and depicted in explicit detail because of their intrinsic cultural value, because they provide the source material for many developments in Indian religion, and also because they can be used to confirm, revise, or reject general theories of ritual and religion.

This second volume of *Agni* probes more deeply into the authenticity of the Nambudiri Vedic tradition and seeks at the same time to explain how such a survival could occur. It shows that much is in fact known about the background, context, and history of the tradition, though some of this information is circumstantial and much of it is difficult of access. As a result of these investigations, the history of the religions of India now appears in a new light: though Vedic beliefs and doctrines have disappeared or been transformed, Vedic practice has in fact continued. This is significant especially in India, where practice—karman—has always been more important than theory. The truth has escaped Indologists who confine themselves to texts and doctrines, and anthropologists who merely scratch the surface. It has been further obscured by the popularization of artificial distinctions like that between so-called Great and Little Traditions.

The second volume begins with Part III, "Perspectives," a series of contributions by scholars who elucidate the ritual, its background, and its many dimensions. Part IV, "Texts and Translations," provides sections from ritual manuals of the three Vedic schools represented in the 1975 performance. Part V is concerned with the audiovisual documentation of the Agni ceremony.

Part III opens with historical studies by Thapar, Parpola, Heesterman, and Seidenberg. The perspectives adopted in these speculations are diverse; together they remind us of important gaps in our knowledge of early Indian history, and they show us that our widely held assumptions about an Aryan invasion are not only simplistic but also questionable. Staal then analyzes the syntax of the ritual. There follow philological articles primarily concerned with Sanskrit texts: Tsuji examines a Yajurvedic tradition that differs from that followed in 1975; Sreekrishna Sarma studies the Ṛgvedic sources underlying the 1975 performance; and Ikari explores a historical link between the Agnicayana and the Pravargya ceremony. Balasubrahmanya Sastri illustrates how the Agnicayana has been treated in a later philosophic development.

Although the continued existence of gṛhya rites among the twice-born castes is well known, the survey by Kashikar and Parpola shows how Vedic śrauta traditions, too, are alive in many regions of the Indian subcontinent. The subsequent eight papers focus on the Nambudiri tradition and elucidate

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features of Nambudiri Vedic culture. The picture that emerges modifies the common view that Vedic civilization disappeared and was in due course replaced by Hinduism. What we witness is in fact the continued existence of Vedic traditions, though often in remote areas. At the same time, many Indian traditions entered a new phase, which it is customary to call Tantric. This development can be traced in Kerala and among the Nambudiris, but its chief impact has been elsewhere. It is not within the scope of this book to treat the Tantric fire rites that have proliferated all over India during the last two thousand years. However, contributions by Hooykaas, Skorupski, and Strickmann show the extent to which such ceremonies spread over large parts of Asia. After depicting a culmination of these Tantric rites in the fiery meditations of Japan, Part III ends with an account of mundane events and practical affairs that pervaded and accompanied the Agnicayana project.

The texts and translations of Part IV appropriately begin with sections from the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra, which is the most detailed and precise of the sūtras, and probably the earliest. The material presented by Ikari and Arnold is the counterpart of the description in Part II, and makes possible a step-for-step comparison of the ritual as it was before 600 B.C. with the 1975 performance. The contributions that follow supplement the Yajurvedic data with the Atirātra recitations from the Ṛgveda and the Agnicayana chants from the Sāmaveda.

The contents of the two volumes reflects a variety of disciplines. The emphasis in Part II may be characterized as anthropological or ethnographical; it represents Vedic fieldwork. Such fieldwork can be undertaken only by Sanskritists, but all too few have availed themselves of the opportunity. By contrast, the information provided in Parts III and IV is largely historical and philological. Though these contrasting approaches may seem incompatible, they are coherent from the Nambudiri, or indeed from the Indian, point of view. It is not surprising, therefore, that the descriptions offered in Parts II and IV are often extremely similar in spite of their different orientation. Both descriptions differ in points of detail, but they exhibit the same structure and spirit. If the Nambudiris conceive of the ritual in the manner of the authors of the ancient manuals, it is not because they imitate the manuals; it is because they embody the same tradition.

Part V of the second volume gives brief surveys of the twenty hours of film footage and the eighty hours of recordings with which we returned from India. The forty-five-minute film *Altar of Fire*, edited from these materials, presents primarily the Nambudiri point of view: it consists of a succession of episodes suggested by Cherumukku Vaidikan. The contents of the cassette tapes that accompany this book are described in the third section of Part V.

Collecting contributions from an international group of scholars has been challenging, time-consuming, and rewarding. Though the original style

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of the contributions has been largely retained, a certain amount of standardization has been done, and overlaps have been minimized. Since English is not the native tongue of most of the authors, nor of the editor, considerations of style have required much attention. In all these tasks I have been fortunate in having the assistance of my judicious coeditor, Pamela MacFarland. As in the case of the first volume, most of the papers have been typed by Ruth Suzuki with her customary, yet miraculous, speed. The burden of completing a variety of smaller tasks was much eased by support from the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies and the Committee on Research of the University of California at Berkeley.

The plates for this volume come from a greater variety of sources than was the case in the first volume. Acknowledgments are due to the Department of History and Archaeology, Karnatak University (for Plate 1); Professor G. R. Sharma (Plates 2–4); the Archaeological Survey of India (Plates 5–6); E. J. H. Mackay, *Chanhu-Daro Excavations 1935–36* (Plate 7A); E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro* (Plate 7B); The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Plate 8); Krishnan Nair Studies, Shoṛanur (Plates 12–13); Shōren-in, Kyoto (Plate 14); Kuo Li-ying (Plates 15–17); and Adelaide de Menil (Plates 9–11, 18–23). The illustrations in the text and the numerous maps have again been drawn by Adrienne Morgan with meticulous care. Dr. W. M. Callewaert of the Department of Oriental Studies, Leuven, Belgium, has assisted with the map of Andhra Pradesh. Figures 28–31 are reproduced from *The Creation of Maṇḍalas: Rong tha blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho,* Volume 3.

The materials presented in this second volume range far in time and space. Though all are reverberations of Agni and add dimensions to the Nambudiri Agni, do they place the Nambudiri tradition itself in a new perspective, and do they teach us anything else that is new?

It would be tempting to claim that this extremely ancient tradition admirably fills the gap between the great literary traditions of mankind and many surviving traditions in preliterate societies that are now beginning to be studied. Attractive as this speculation is, I shall descend to a less lofty level of conjecture that is still replete with general questions. For example, how different is the Vedic religion of the Nambudiris from the original Vedic religion? How do Vedic and Hindu elements blend, mingle, or coexist in the Nambudiri tradition? And what light does this throw on the concepts of tradition and religion?

When answering the first question, one might begin with the stark contrast that becomes immediately apparent from a comparison of the section on Vedic nomads with that on the Nambudiri tradition in the first volume. While the Vedic nomads were aliens migrating into a new country where they came in contact with the remnants of an unfamiliar civilization, the Nambudiris are settled villagers and established country gentlemen occupying the highest ranks in their caste society. The Vedic

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religion, however, has remained the same in at least one respect. Agni is the same fire reinforced by mantras and oblations whose name continues to be familiar from chants and recitations. Agni is not a deity like Śiva, Viṣṇu, or Bhagavatī, whose images are installed in temples. The Vedic religion of Agni and Soma is as nonanthropomorphic in the Nambudiri tradition as it was during the Vedic period. One reason for Agni's continuing identity is this nonanthropomorphism, which makes it possible for him or it to be carried in an earthen pot. It is in the nature of things that men and anthropomorphic deities are more readily susceptible to change than such nonanthropomorphic substances as Agni.

How then are Vedic and Hindu elements related in the Nambudiri tradition? What students of religion in the West yearn for, of course, is Integration. When we ask the performers "'Are you Vedic Indians or Hindus?" the answer is "We are Vaidika Nambudiris." From this we might conclude that things that seem to be incompatible to us are harmoniously One in the mysterious orient. But let us not get entangled too soon in our own confusions. To understand the Nambudiri answer adequately we have to move to a more sophisticated level of conceptual analysis. To begin with, we have to question those rubrics of religion we have come to use with such facile abandon. The labeling of elements as "Vedic" or "Hindu" may reflect a historical perspective, but it throws scant light on the synchronic relations between these elements, and has nothing to do with religion. The same holds for the Harappan and Indo-European features of the Agnicayana itself, where such labeling is even more obviously historical. All such labels are imposed by scholars, laymen, and other outsiders. Their value lies in historical and comparative analysis; but we use them at our peril when we forget that they are inherently artificial.

The concept of religion is a Western concept, and though its origin is Roman, it has been colored by its age-long associations with the monotheisms of the West. Western religion is pervaded by the notion of exclusive truth, and it claims a monopoly on truth. It is professed by "People of the Book," in the apt phrase the Koran uses to refer to Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Scholars and laymen persist in searching for such religions in Asia. In order to identify them, they seize upon labels from indigenous categories, rent from their original contexts. Thus there arises a host of religions: Vedic, Brahmanical, Hindu, Buddhist, Bonpo, Tantric, Taoist, Confucian, Shinto, etc. In India, and in Asia generally, such groupings are not only uninteresting but uninformative and tinged with the unreal. What counts instead are ancestors and teachers—hence lineages, traditions, affiliations, cults, eligibility, initiation, and injunction—concepts with ritual rather than truth-functional overtones. These notions do not pertain to questions of truth, but to practical questions: What should the followers of a tradition *do*? This is precisely what makes such notions pertain to the domain of karman. Hence orthopraxy, not orthodoxy, is the operative concept in India. The Veda, for

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example, is not a sacred book: its power lies in mantra, and mantra is vidhi, that is, an injunction to karman: "Speaking, it is of karman that they speak; and praising, it is karman that they praise" (Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad 3.2.13).

The structures of these Asian traditions are related and unrelated to Western patterns of religion, culture, thought, and society in a myriad ways. The term religion, however, has been applied in a clear and helpful manner only to Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. It is of limited applicability to Buddhism and to the bhakti cults of Śaivism and Viṣṇuism. Elsewhere it leads to a meaningless proliferation of problems. In the only intelligible sense of the term, there are no indigenous religions in India.

San Francisco FRITS STAAL

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EXHIBIT

Two Methods for Folding Banana Leaf — Inside Back Cover

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
AB	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
AG	(Jaiminīya) Araṇyageyagāna
ĀpGS	Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra
ĀpŚS	Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
ĀpŚulvaS	Āpastamba Śulva Sūtra
ĀGS	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
ĀŚS	Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra
AV	Atharvaveda Saṃhitā
BĀU	Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad
BGS	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
BhārŚS	Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra
BŚS	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
BŚulvaS	Baudhāyana Śulva Sūtra
CU	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
GG	(Jaiminīya) Grāmageyagāna
GobhGS	Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra
HirGS	Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra
HirŚS	Hiraṇyakeśi Śrauta Sūtra
JA	Jaiminīya Ārcika
JB	Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa
JŚS	Jaiminīya Śrauta Sūtra
KapS	Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā
KŚS	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
KŚulvaS	Kātyāyana Śulva Sūtra
KB	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa
KhādGS	Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra
KS	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā
KU	Kena Upaniṣad
LŚS	Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
MānŚS	Mānava Śrauta Sūtra
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
MU	Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad
PārGS	Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra
PB	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
RV	Ṛgveda Saṃhitā

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SV	Sāmaveda Saṃhitā
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
ŚGS	Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
ŚŚS	Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
TA	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
TB	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
TU	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
VaikhŚS	Vaikhānasa Śrauta Sūtra
VaitŚS	Vaitāna Śrauta Sūtra
VārŚS	Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra
VS (K/M)	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (Kāṇva/Mādhyandina)
VŚS	Vādhūla Śrauta Sūtra

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PART III

PERSPECTIVES

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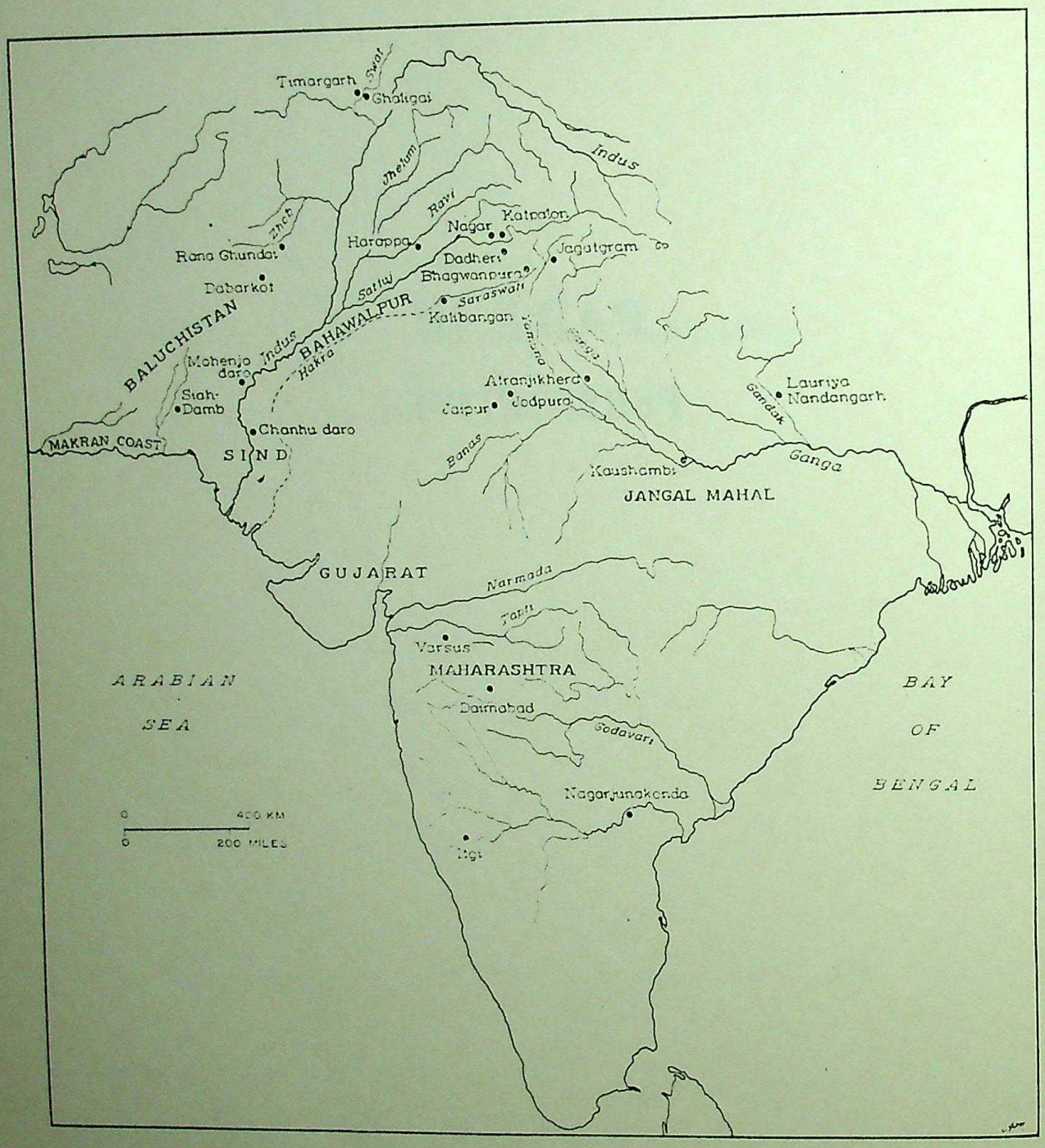

Map A—Harappan and Vedic Sites and Excavations

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THE ARCHEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND TO THE AGNICAYANA RITUAL

Romila Thapar

FOR MANY DECADES NOW scholars have been waiting expectantly for archeology to reveal a culture that can be definitively labeled as "Aryan," but the Aryans remain elusive. It is likely that they will continue to remain so until a new definition of the term Aryan can be suggested. Such a clarification would not be entirely out of the question, considering that we are still working with a definition that derives essentially from information and concepts prevalent during the nineteenth century. Now that there is a relatively full picture of the succession of archeological cultures in northern India for the period with which the emergence of Aryan culture is associated, the continuing absence of a clearly identifiable Aryan culture may suggest that Aryanism is not an isolated, uniform culture but a system that draws on a multiplicity of cultures that remain crucial to the manifold forms it takes in time and space. In such a system, facets of what have been called Aryan culture may find correlates in archeological artifacts and assemblages, and these correlates may help us to redefine Aryan culture. The purpose of this essay is to consider whether the description of the Agnicayana and its present-day survivals are reflected in the archeological remains of the protohistoric period.

Any attempt to correlate the Agnicayana as an Aryan ritual with archeological data would require an initial assessment of the possibility of identifying the "Aryans" in the various archeological cultures known to the northern part of the Indian subcontinent during the first three millennia B.C. The earliest evidence of the Aryan-speaking peoples is available in the Ṛgveda. The geographical area was that of the "Sapta Sindhu," generally taken to be a reference to the Indus, its five tributaries, and the Sarasvati River, which would comprise the Indus and the Sarasvati valleys (extending to the Indo-Gangetic divide) and include the northwestern borderlands. The archeological cultures of this region and its fringes and the evidence of material remains from these cultures will have to be compared with descriptions from the Ṛgveda and from other later Vedic literature generally dated to the first millennium B.C. In the absence of an identification of Vedic culture with any specific archeological culture, the next step would be to try and correlate aspects of the Agnicayana with archeological data and see whether such correlations can be made. This essay is an attempt to examine these two questions.

A point that needs to be emphasized is that in speaking of the "Ary-

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ans," the historical reference is to the establishment of a language, Indo-Aryan, over areas of the Indian subcontinent that were earlier linked with non-Aryan languages. Who the Aryans were racially is not under discussion —nor is the question of whether they were a distinct racial entity, which seems unlikely and uncertain. The only certainty is the occurrence of the language. The mechanism by which the language was introduced and gained currency is also unclear. It was earlier believed that the Aryan speakers invaded northern India, but the evidence for this is now doubted. Migration would seem a more feasible postulate, though here too a question remains as to why there was a migration, or what form it took.

A further complication is that the presence of speakers of languages derived from Indo-European is not limited to the Indian subcontinent but is intimately concerned with activities in western Asia. The area from the Tigris-Euphrates to the Indus valleys forms the geographical context of the folk movements, linguistic intrusions, and cultural changes that were the mise-en-scène of the Aryan question in India (although in this essay the discussion will be limited to the Indian context). Admixtures and borrowings from local cultures are evident in all the areas where the Indo-European-speaking peoples settled, and it is possible that some aspects of the later cultures derive from a community of ideas going back to the pre-Indo-European period in the third millennium B.C. when western Asia constituted an area of cultural interaction.

The chronological frame goes back to West Asian connections. The earliest recorded appearance of the Indo-European speakers associated with the horse and the chariot dates to the second millennium B.C. in the Boghaz Keui records from Anatolia, the Tell-el Amarna tablets from Egypt, and to the arrival of the Kassites in Mesopotamia.[1] The linguistic proximity of Indo-Aryan to Avestan and Old Persian would suggest a close relationship between Iran and northern India.[2] The linguistic bifurcation between India and Iran and the growing dissimilarities between Zoroastrianism and the Vedic religion might date to the late second or early first millennium B.C. Subsequent to the dispersal of the Indo-European speakers (assuming large-scale migrations into the Near East, Iran, and northern India), the archeological evidence should provide clues to substantial similarities between the cultures of western Asia, Iran, and northern India. Such similarities, for the moment at least, are not to be found. Beyond occasional similarities in the typology of pottery or of metal artifacts, there is little evidence to support close communication between Iran and India such as would provide an archeological counterpart to the linguistic data. Another area associated

[1] V. G. Childe, *The Aryans* (London, 1926).

[2] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Indo-Européens et Indo-Iraniens* . . . (Paris, 1936); A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upaniṣads*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 31–32 (Cambridge, Mass., 1925); G. Cardona, ed., *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1970).

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with the Indo-European speakers is central Asia. Links between central Asia and northern India, which go back to the third millennium B.C., also tend to be sporadic and limited to an occasional item.[3]

A more substantial connection, although isolated, has been recently found in the excavation of a Chalcolithic cemetery and settlement at Sibri Domb at the foot of the Bolan pass. The site indicates a settlement of people from Central Asia, probably dating to the third millennium B.C., and suggests links with late Namazga V and early Namazga VI.[4] The period is of course prior to that of the Ṛgveda, and there is no indication of a sustained migration. Links with Central Asia are now known to go back to the Harappan period from other evidence as well—namely, the Harappan settlements in the Shortugai plain in Badakshan, where it is thought that Harappan traders may have been anxious to obtain the local lapis lazuli.[5]

If Aryan culture is viewed as a well-defined system uniformly spread over the Sapta Sindhu region, then only the Harappan culture provides a geographical equation.[6] Pre-Harappan cultures of the fourth and early third millennia B.C. differ, in that the Baluchistan peasant communities are distinct from the pre-Harappan settlements on the plains of the Indus system, such as the Kot-Dijian or those sometimes referred to as the Sothi culture, although there may well have been contact between them.[7]

The former evolved from a series of Neolithic settlements of the fourth millennium B.C. along the Baluchistan borderlands. Many were abandoned during the Harappan period when the focus of settlement shifted to the Indus plains and the Sarasvati valley, although some sites in the Zhob valley were reoccupied in the post-Harappan period. Uniformity is recognizable only with the emergence of the Mature phase of the Harappan culture, which would broadly date to the second half of the third millennium B.C. The declining phase of the Late Harappan extends into the early second millennium B.C. and in some areas, such as the Punjab and Gujarat, continues to the middle of the second millennium.

Attempts to identify the Harappan culture with Vedic Aryan cultures

[3] V. M. Masson and V. I. Sarianidi, *Central Asia: Turkmenia Before the Achaemenids* (London, 1972), pp. 113ff.

[4] J. F. Jarridge and M. Lechevalier, "Excavations at Mehrgarh, Baluchistan: Their Significance in the Prehistorical Context of the Indo-Pakistan Borderlands," in M. Taddei, ed., *South Asian Archaeology: 1977* (Naples, 1979), pp. 463–535.

[5] H. P. Frankfurt and M. H. Pottier, "Sondage preliminaires sur l'etablisement protohistoriques Harapéen et post-Harapéen de Shortugai (Afghanistan du N-E)," *Arts Asiatiques*, 34 (1978), pp. 29–79.

[6] A survey of the problem of identifying archeological cultures with the Aryans can be found in "The Study of Society in Ancient India," in Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations* (New Delhi, 1978); and B. K. Thapar, "The Archaeological Remains of the Aryans in North-western India," unpublished paper read at the Doshambe Conference, 1977.

[7] W. Fairservis, *The Roots of Ancient India*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, Ill., 1975).

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raises major problems. The chronology of the Harappan culture precedes by some centuries the presence of Indo-European speakers in west Asia and is therefore much earlier in time. In the absence of a conclusive decipherment of the Harappan script, it could be argued that the Harappans were Aryan speakers and spread westwards, but the work done so far on the script suggests the probability of a non-Aryan language.[8] Equally significant is the divergence in the kind of society depicted in the two types of evidence. The Harappan was essentially an urban culture with a commercial orientation, whereas the Ṛgvedic Aryans were primarily pastoralists and generally unfamiliar with urban living. The characteristics associated with the latter, such as the domestication of the horse, the use of the spoked wheel and the chariot, and possibly the use of iron (*kṛṣṇa āyas*) are absent in the Harappan sites. There are a very few sites with occasional remains of what are believed to be bones of horses.[9] Horses are also conspicuously absent in the symbolism and designs on Harappan seals and pottery, where other animals abound. If the Aryans are to be sought in archeology, then, the search must be conducted in the post-Harappan cultures.

It is sometimes said that perhaps the Ṛgvedic culture may be identified with the pre-Harappan, which would make it indigenous to India and date it to the fourth millennium B.C.[10] This would imply that the Harappans, whose culture as we have seen was dissimilar to the Ṛgvedic, came in from elsewhere as an advanced and intrusive culture, and dominated the main Indus valley until such time as the cities declined. The Ṛgvedic people would then have formed a substratum culture, and the later Vedic literature would reflect an amalgam of the previous cultures. This raises a number of problems that cannot be solved with the existing evidence, such as the conflicting chronology of the Ṛgveda and the pre-Harappan settlements, the links with Iran, and the correlation of Indian evidence with the data from West Asia that attests to the presence of Indo-European speakers. The pre-Harappan settlements of the Sapta Sindhu region are again not part of a uniform culture.

The decline of the major cities did not bring the Harappan culture to a close, since Late Harappan sites flourished in some areas on the peripheries of the Harappan heartland.[11] In the Indo-Gangetic divide and the upper Ganga-Yamuna Doab, Late Harappan sites were contemporary with other cultures such as the Ochre Color Pottery culture dating to the early second

[8] A. R. K. Zide and K. V. Zvelebil, eds., *The Soviet Decipherment of the Indus Valley Script* (The Hague, 1976).
[9] J. P. Joshi, "Excavation at Surkotada," in D. P. Agrawal and A. Ghosh, eds., *Radio-Carbon and Indian Archaeology* (Bombay, 1973), pp. 173ff.
[10] A. D. Pusalkar, "Pre-Harappan, Harappan and post-Harappan Culture and the Aryan Problem," *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 7.4 (1967–68), pp. 233ff.
[11] B. K. Thapar, "The End of the Indus Civilisation and its Aftermath," in Udai Vir Singh, ed., *Archaeological Congress and Seminar: 1972* (Kurukshetra, 1976), pp. 1–4.

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millennium B.C. Recently sites from this area have provided evidence of what has been described as an overlap phase between the Late Harappan and the major archeological culture of this area, the Painted Grey Ware culture.[12] In Gujarat, Harappan survivals continued throughout the second millennium and possibly later.[13] Some degree of continuity is also indicated by the contemporaneity of the Black-and-red Ware culture with the Mature Harappan sites in Gujarat and its apparent spread to Rajasthan and central India in the second millennium B.C. Harappan sites have recently been found in Maharashtra, at Daimabad in the Ahmednagar District, and at Varsus in the Dhule District. The overlap of C–14 dates from the former suggests that it was contemporary with the central Indian and northern Deccan Chalcolithic. A few Harappan survivals may also be identified in the Megalithic culture of the peninsula, as for example, in the graffiti on some of the pottery.[14]

It is evident that the hiatus that was believed to exist between the end of the Harappan cities and the cultures that followed is now being gradually eliminated, and that the probability of survivals from the Harappan tradition into later centuries is being strengthened. These survivals and the contemporaneity of Late Harappan with other cultures lend some support to the theory that linguistically there might have been a period of bilingualism[15] between the earlier non-Aryan and later Aryan speakers, and that the widespread adoption of Indo-Aryan was a gradual process extending over many centuries.

The theory of an Aryan invasion finds little support in archeology.[16] The famous "massacre" at Mohenjo Daro has been questioned, as has also the notion that Indra and his hosts destroyed the cities.[17] The decline of the cities is now more frequently attributed to ecological changes and the termination of trade relations with western Asia. The references quoted from

[12] J. P. Joshi, "Interlocking of Late Harappan Culture and Painted Grey Ware Culture in the Light of Recent Excavations," *Man and Environment*, 2 (1978), pp. 100–103.
[13] G. L. Possehl, *Variation and Change in the Indus Civilisation: A Study of Prehistoric Gujarat with Special Reference to the Post-Urban Harappan*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974; S. R. Rao et al., "Excavations at Rangpur and Other Explorations in Gujarat," *Ancient India*, 18–19 (1962).
[14] B. B. Lal, "From the Megalithic to the Harappa: Tracing Back the Graffiti on the Pottery," *Ancient India*, 16 (1960), pp. 4ff.
[15] B. M. Emeneau, *Collected Papers* (Annamalainagar, 1967).
[16] For arguments in support of the theory, see B. Allchin and R. Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilisation* (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1968), pp. 126ff. Other alternatives for the decline of cities have been suggested by R. L. Raikes, "The End of the Ancient Cities of the Indus," *American Anthropology*, 66.2 (1964) pp. 284–299. See also R. L. Raikes and G. F. Dales, "The Mohenjo-Daro Floods Reconsidered," *Journal of the Palaeontological Society of India*, 20 (1977), pp. 251–260.
[17] G. F. Dales, "The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjo-Daro," *Expedition*, 6.3 (1964), pp. 36–43.

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the Ṛgveda in support of the invasion theory refer more often to settlements that had long been deserted and were already in ruins.[18] One may well look in vain for evidence of Aryan war chariots devastating the land, for so far it has failed to materialize.

It has been argued that there is some evidence at sites such as Rana Ghundai III and Sohr Damb for attacks from the Baluchistan borderlands on existing settlements in the mid-second millennium B.C. New artifacts appear in this area suggestive of forms known to West Asia.[19] The shaft-hole axe, for example, extends from Baluchistan to the Jhukar culture sites in lower Sind. Other artifacts include circular stamp seals of copper, a flat copper celt with lateral lugs, spiral-headed pins, and a cast-bronze macehead. Most of these are single items not located in a context of related artifacts or along specific routes, and they are therefore not of much value as evidence of invasions.

Quite distinct from this is the Cemetery H culture at Harappa,[20] which is alien to the earlier Harappan culture and yet in a limited way suggests some echoes of Harappan typology, the affiinities extending both to the Bahawalpur region and to the Indo-Gangetic divide. The integration is suggested through the pottery, which combines some West Asian with some Harappan elements but is at the same time a distinctive pottery despite its restricted distribution.

Further north, in the Swat valley area, a large number of graves were excavated at Ghaligai, Timargarha, and other sites.[21] The earliest graves date to the mid-second millennium B.C. and are differentiated from those of Period II by the presence of copper objects and various burial forms. Period III, dated to the early first millennium B.C., provides evidence of iron and the domestication of the horse, which has led to the view of its being a possible Aryan stratum. The ceramic industry consists of a red ware and a more extensive grey ware. The identification of the Gandhara Grave culture (as it is called) with the Aryan speakers would limit the area of their distribution to the Swat valley and its environs, which from the evidence of the Ṛgveda forms only a small part of the vast Sapta Sindhu region known to its authors. The grey ware of this culture is also limited to this area and as yet has not

[18] T. Burrow, "On *arma* and *armaka*," *Journal of Indian History*, 41.1 (1963), pp. 159ff.

[19] B. Allchin and R. Allchin, pp. 144ff.; B. K. Thapar, "The Aryans: A Reappraisal of the Problem," in Lokesh Chandra, ed., *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture* (Madras, 1970).

[20] H. D. Sankalia, *Prehistory and Protohistory of India and Pakistan* (Poona, 1974), pp. 392ff.

[21] M. Antonini, "Preliminary Notes on the Excavation of the Necropolis Found in West Pakistan," *East and West*, 14.1–2 (1964), pp. 13–27; G. Stacul, "Excavation Near Ghaligai (1968) and Chronological Sequence of Protohistorical Cultures in the Swat Valley," *East and West*, 19 (1969), pp. 44–92; A. H. Dani, "Timargarha and the Gandhara Grave Culture," *Ancient Pakistan*, 3 (1967), pp. 1ff.

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been found to be connected with other grey wares in the Indian subcontinent. The Swat valley sites do show some connection with the Gurgan valley sites in northeastern Iran at Tepe Hissar, Turang Tepe, and Shah Tepe, and with other sites in Iran.[22] Hissar III provides evidence of the domestication of the horse and the use of the spoked wheel, and it yields a burnished grey ware; this in turn suggests links with the Zagros region, as for example at Hasanlu V. Red ware from Hasanlu V has striking parallels with that from the Swat valley. It is not beyond possibility that the Swat valley was at the eastern end of a large movement of peoples associated with the Indo-European speakers.

Another possible point of entry for migrants from West Asia could have been western India along a route following the coastal areas of Makran into the Indus delta and Gujarat. The Banas culture[23] of the second millennium B.C. in Rajasthan is characterized by copper technology and the use of a white-painted Black-and-red pottery, which as we have seen occurs earlier in Gujarat contemporary with the Mature Harappan phase. From Rajasthan this culture appears to have spread to the fringes of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab. The Banas culture occupies an area without Harappan connections, lies outside the Sapta Sindhu region, and shows hardly any trace of connections with West Asia.

The Black-and-red Ware culture[24] is in some ways the most significant of the post-Harappan cultures, although its genesis remains unknown. It fanned out into many directions from its nuclear zone in western India. Its characteristic pottery was produced as a result of inverted firing at progressively lower temperatures, resulting in the double color of black and red. By the first millennium B.C. it is also linked with the diffusion of iron into central India as well as with certain categories of megalithic burials, such as cairn burials, cairn circles, and cist burials, that are particularly associated with the peninsula. Whether the more complex Megalithic monuments of the peninsula with their Black-and-red pottery, iron artifacts, and widespread use of the horse are also to be traced to the more northerly Black-and-red Ware cultures remains uncertain. It has been suggested that in terms of correlating this culture with the evidence from literary sources, its distribution carries echoes of the migration of the Yadava lineage, a lineage that is claimed by both Aryan and Dravidian speakers in later periods.[25]

[22] R. H. Dyson, "Archaeological Evidence of the Second Millennium B. C. on the Persian Plateau," *Cambridge Ancient History*, II. 1, pp. 686–716; C. Young, "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros," *Iran*, 5 (1967), pp. 11–34.
[23] H. D. Sankalia et al., *Excavations at Ahar (Tambavati)* (Poona, 1969).
[24] N. R. Bannerjee, *Iron Age in India* (Delhi, 1965); B.K. Gururaja Rao, *The Megalithic Culture in South India* (Mysore, 1972); A. Sundara, *The Early Chamber Tombs of South India* (Delhi, 1975).
[25] R. Thapar, "Puranic Lineages and Archaeological Cultures," in R. Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History*, pp. 240ff.

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The Chalcolithic cultures of central India and the northern Deccan of the second millennium B.C. are too far removed from the geographical horizon of the Ṛgveda, but one of the excavators of these sites maintains that the ceramic industry shows some links with forms from West Asia,[26] indicative perhaps of a folk movement from West Asia that brought people to western India and Rajasthan, whence artifactual traits may have traveled to central India and the northern Deccan.

The nucleus of the Sapta Sindhu region in the Ṛgveda, where are located the more important tribes such as the Purus and the Bharatas, was the Sarasvati valley and the Indo-Gangetic divide, an area that was later to form the territory of the famous Kurus, in fact the heartland of Vedic culture. It registers an extremely complex topography because of the major changes in river courses and the drying up of the Sarasvati.[27] The resulting ecological change does little to clarify the archeological picture, which is further complicated by the many cultures that appear to have coexisted and overlapped in this area.

Late Harappan sites extend from the water shed into the upper Ganga-Yamuna Doab, where the Ochre Color Pottery culture,[28] also of the second millennium B.C., has been variously identified with Harappan refugees migrating eastwards or with incoming Aryans, neither of which identifications has been widely accepted. This culture is sometimes associated with the caches of copper implements found in the Doab,[29] but the association is tentative.

The most impressive and dominant culture of the region is the Painted Grey Ware variously dated to the late second millennium or the early first millennium B.C. and continuing at least to the middle of the first millennium.[30] An identification with the Aryans was first suggested on the basis of its occurrence at the lowest levels of sites mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Its distribution in the Sarasvati valley including the Bahawalpur area, the Indo-Gangetic divide, and the upper Doab would seem to coincide with the heartland of Vedic culture. Possibly there was an earlier phase when it was restricted to the Sarasvati valley and sites in the watershed that is reflected in the suggested overlap with the Late Harappan at some places,[31] such as

[26] H. D. Sankalia, "New Light on the Indo-Iranian or Western Asiatic Relations Between 1700 B.C.–1200 B.C." *Artibus Asiae*, 26 (1963), pp. 315ff.
[27] H. Wilhemy, *Zeitschrift für Geomorphologie*, Sup. Band 8 (1969), pp. 76–91, argues for the change in the Sarasvati-Hakra and the diversion of water to the Yamuna during this period, the total ecological change having perhaps been due to tectonic disturbances.
[28] B. Allchin and R. Allchin, p. 200.
[29] B. B. Lal, "The Copper Hoard Culture of the Ganga Valley," *Antiquity*, 46 (1972), pp. 282–287; S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1950), pp. 237ff.
[30] B. B. Lal, "Excavations at Hastinapura," *Ancient India*, 10–11 (1954–55); V. Tripathi, *The Painted Grey Ware* (Delhi, 1977).
[31] J. P. Joshi, "Interlocking of Late Harappan Culture and Painted Grey Ware Cul-

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Bhagwanpura, Dadheri, Katpalon, and Nagar. Its extension into the Ganges valley may date from the early first millennium B.C. This would also be the period when it could have been in contact with the Black-and-Red Ware in the vicinity of the western Ganges valley, as is evident from some sites that have Black-and-red Ware levels preceding the Painted Grey Ware or overlapping with it, as for example Jodhpura, Noh, and Atranjikhera. The material culture of the Painted Grey Ware in fact shows some affinities with textual descriptions from the Later Vedic literature. It was a society of pastoral cum agricultural people who were dependent on cattle for both dairy products and meat, who grew wheat and rice,[32] who were familiar with the domestication of the horse and who in their later phase left evidence of the use of iron weaponry; the absence of burials at their sites suggests that cremation was their common practice. There is, however, still a problem in the identification of the Painted Grey Ware with the Aryans. There are no links between these settlements and those along the Indo-Iranian borderlands, or with cultures in West Asia. The gray ware of the Swat valley was unconnected with this pottery. The evolution of the Painted Grey Ware culture, and of its pottery that is distinctively different from all that went before, remains unexplained.

Thus efforts to identify the Aryans with a variety of archeological cultures remain inconclusive. There is no uniform distribution of a single culture that coincides with the entire area associated with the early Aryan speakers of the Ṛgveda. There are instead a number of overlapping but differentiated cultures in this region. Those that come closest in characteristics and form to what is described in the texts appear to have little connection with western Asia, which would tend to contradict the linguistic evidence. The areas where there are seeming affinities in pottery and artifacts are beyond the geographical horizon of the early texts.

The attempt to identify the Aryans with archeological remains is perhaps a pointless exercise. Evidently the Aryans were not a distinct racial group with a recognizable assemblage of material culture carefully carried across mountain and desert in the process of migration. It would seem that the most tangible characteristic of their presence was their language. What was therefore being diffused was the language. This would not necessarily have required a chain of artifacts belonging to a uniform culture. Nor would language diffusion necessarily be registered in a uniform material culture. This is apparent from the spread of the Indo-Europeans in West Asia, a development that is recognized not by an identical ceramic or artifactual industry but by the introduction of Indo-European languages.

ture in the Light of Recent Excavations," *Man and Environment* (New Delhi, 1978), II, pp. 100–103.

[32] K. A. Chaudhuri et al., *Ancient Agriculture and Forestry in Northern India* (Bombay, 1977), p. 58.

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The pertinent question therefore is that of the mechanism of language diffusion. Conquest and the subsequent imposition of the language of the conquerors would be the simplest method and would bear archeological traces. But the evidence for conquest is limited, and if it exists, is largely confined to the Indo-Iranian borderlands. In the plains migration would perhaps be a more feasible proposition.

At a hypothetical level a possible reconstruction could be suggested. The earliest Aryan speakers, as pastoralists, could have moved across the Indo-Iranian borders, settling temporarily in the interstices of cities. If the movement across the borders was regular, they might have provided transportation for small items of trade, as is often the case with pastoral groups involved in either transhumance or seasonal migrations.[33] Possibly small settlements may have remained on the Indian side and maintained relations with the existing population in the second millennium B.C.[34] That the main period of settlement came after the decline of the Harappan cities would seem likely from the absence of descriptions of cities in the Ṛgveda. The occasional references to the destruction of the "puras" could as well refer to the fortified settlements of the borderlands. The decline of the Harappan urban centers would have reduced the incentive to pastoral groups as carriers of trading items. This may have encouraged a more permanent type of settlement with seasonal camps turning to agriculture, and the settlements may well have extended to the "two grassy banks of the Sarasvati," as one of the hymns of the Ṛgveda states.[35] Since Iran was coming under the influence of the Assyrian political system, bifurcation of the Iranian and Indian groups would be natural. Assyrian sources refer to Indo-European speakers in the Zagros area by the early first millennium B.C.[36] Were the Asuras, who were once friendly and then became the enemies, the worshippers of either Asura or of Ahura? Such settlements would initially make little impact on the existing culture apart from marginal changes with the introduction of new items brought from elsewhere. Their archeological identification would be equally difficult. (If the West Asian evidence is a fair parallel, then we can posit that nomadic pastoral groups tend to appropriate the material culture of the more settled agrarian communities. Evidence for the appearance of nomads in West Asia generally takes the form of the introduction of new names, the use of a different language, and the intrusion of new deities.[37]

[33] A clear case of transhumance being tied into trade is that of the sheep and yak herders along the Himalayan borders who became the backbone of what has been called a "vertical economy"—in this case, between Tibet and India.
[34] M. Rowton, "Enclosed Nomadism," *JESHO*, 17 (1974), pp. 1–30.
[35] RV 7.96.2; 7.8.4; 7.18.3.
[36] Rene Labat, "Elam and Western Persia, c. 1200–1000 B.C.," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, II. 2, p. 506.
[37] A. Goetze, "The Struggle for the Domination of Syria (1400–1300 B.C.)," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, II. 2, pp. 1–8, 109–110.

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Their survival would hinge on their maintenance of their own language and oral tradition. Linguistic purity can be maintained in an oral tradition up to a point, but the influence of the bilingualism necessary to a migratory pattern would also come to be reflected in certain linguistic changes. In the juxtaposition of Aryan speakers with descendents of earlier cultures, there could be either the conquest of the existing population, for which the archeological evidence is limited, or else the assertion of power by the Aryans over the settled population, through a mutual acculturation resulting in new cultural forms and the acceptance of the Aryan language. It is legitimate to ask how the language came to be accepted if there is such negligible evidence for invasion. One possibility may have been the gradual introduction of iron technology,[38] together with such innovations as the use of the horse, the spoked wheel, and the chariot, which may have acted as technological levers to give an edge to the culture of the Aryan speakers. The spread of the language would in any case have been a gradual process. This admixture of cultures and languages is perhaps what is reflected in the later Vedic texts and their possible archeological correlation with the Painted Grey Ware.

The Ṛgveda would then represent the erstwhile migratory pastoralists now settled, still largely tribal, holding cattle as their main wealth, practicing religious rites with a component of shamanism, alienated from some indigenous groups but affiliated with others, and possibly appropriating into their tradition some of the past of the land they had come to. The first millennium B.C. saw a movement southwards and eastwards attributable to ecological changes in the watershed to interaction with existing cultures, and possibly to demographic and economic pressure that favored settling in new lands. The most fruitful interactions appear to have been at the meeting point of the Painted Grey Ware and the Black-and-red Ware cultures.

The form that Vedic culture took in the first millennium B.C., the period of the descriptions of rituals such as the Agnicayana, would seem to be an amalgam of existing cultures. Possibly the comprehension of ritual and symbol was blurred as much by the distance in generations from the earliest practice of these rituals as by the incorporation of originally alien systems. The ritual of the Agnicayana would then have to be seen as symbolizing this amalgam of cultures, going back to the shamanism of Indo-European days,

[38] Iron occurs at sites in central India and the Ganga-Yamuna Doab by the end of the second millennium B.C. At sites in the Gandhara Grave Culture and in Megalithic sites in Karnataka it occurs at the start of the first millennium B.C. By the eighth century B.C. it seems to have entered the production system. If it was one of the technological levers in the acceptance of Indo-Aryan, then it might have been introduced in the north by or through speakers of Indo-Aryan. Its use in the peninsula would then have had an independent entry, since most scholars tend to identify the Megalithic builders with Dravidian speakers (B.K. Gururaja Rao, pp. 330ff.). For a discussion on iron, see D. Chakraborty, "The Beginning of Iron in India," *Antiquity*, 50 (1976), pp. 114–124.

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the sacrifical cult of Ṛgvedic practice, forms of possible Harappan survivals, and the accretion of more recent practices, perhaps taken from the Black-and-red Ware cultures. That there is an elaboration of some significance between the rituals as described in the Ṛgveda and the same rituals as described later in the other Vedic texts is apparent if a comparison is made of references to the Aśvamedha, for example. The Ṛgveda[39] describes a relatively simple ritual in which the horse is sacrificed for the acquisition of wealth, prosperity, and magical power. In the later texts it becomes an elaborate ritual incorporating the fire altar and consisting of many levels of activities spread over many months.[40] The ceremonies come to include fertility rites and the notion of a potlatch. The latter is as much a declaration of political ascendency and social status as the sending forth of the horse, and this becomes even more evident in the descriptions of the Aśvamedha in the Mahābhārata[41] and the Rāmāyaṇa.[42] The yajña (sacrificial ritual) would represent the coming together of many rituals of diverse origins.

The search for the remnants of the Agnicayana ritual in archeological data is made more difficult by the fact that the structures associated with the ritual, sheds with thatched roofs supported by wooden posts, are made of perishable materials. The only exception is the altar, which was built of bricks. Was this done because the initial ritual was connected with migratory groups? Or because it did not require permanent sacred centers? Or was it done deliberately so that the area demarcated as sacred space could be desanctified at the termination of the ritual to leave only the altar? Equally striking is the fact that the objects used are primarily of clay and wood, so there is an absence of utility metals such as copper or iron. Yet copper, at least—and to a lesser extent iron—was familiar to first millennium people. The offerings of ghee, curd, milk, grain, Soma, and domesticated animals would have been available to pastoralists and agriculturalists.

That the building and worship of fire altars may have gone back to the Harappan period remains a hypothetical suggestion. Brick altars have not been found in association with Harappan sites, nor are they represented symbolically on the Harappan seals. It has been suggested, however, that fire altars may have been known to the Harappans, or more correctly to those living in the town of Kalibangan in northern Rajasthan.[43] A number of rectangular or tub-shaped earthenware structures were found inside the houses in the residential area as well as on a platform of the citadel area. In the latter case they were placed five in a row near a well, but a cut had been made through them at some later period by the construction of a brick-lined

[39] RV 1.162, 1.163
[40] KŚS 20.1; ĀŚS 10.6.1ff.
[41] M 14.90
[42] R 1.12, 1.13
[43] B. K. Thapar, "Kalibangan: A Harappan Metropolis Beyond the Indus Valley," *Expedition* (Winter 1975), pp. 19–32. cf. *Agni*, Volume I, page 154.

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drain. The structures were approximately three to four feet in length and about half that in width. In the center of each was an upright stone cylinder with a series of terracotta cakes arranged around it. Traces of ash were visible on the inner side of the structure. These structures are clearly very different in concept and form from the Vedic "citi," even if it is assumed that they were fire altars. The resemblance would at best be symbolic, and even then rather farfetched. It is also curious that these structures should be found only at a single Harappan site. At most it can be argued that some rudimentary ritual connected with fire altars was known at this early period, and that this may have survived in altered garb when incorporated into the highly complex ritual connected with the Agnicayana.

Many decades ago a seminal idea was mooted by Caland in a comment on an excavation by Bloch of a mound at Lauriya Nandangarh,[44] a site better known for an Aśokan pillar located in the vicinity. The site contained three rows of five mounds between twenty and fifty feet high. They were cone-shaped but may originally have been hemispherical. The mound was built up of layers of yellow clay interspersed with layers consisting of straw, leaves, and burnt bricks made from the same clay. Since this was not local clay, it was specially brought, probably from the Gandak river, which is now at a distance of about ten miles from the site. The first mound revealed human bones, animal bones, burnt wood, and a gold plaque of a female figure. A large opening farther down and in the center appears to have held a wooden pillar; the stump of the pillar on excavation was found to be of sal wood and to have a girth of four feet four inches. The second mound contained animal bones. The third contained human bones, the jaw of a teen-aged child, and another golden plaque of a female figure.

Bloch thought these mounds to be the śmaśānas or burial places referred to in the Vedic texts, possibly royal burials, but Caland argued that śmaśānas are generally not round.[45] More pertinently, Caland questioned the placing of animal bones and the plaques of females in the human funeral mound. He suggested that these might instead have been Agnicayana altars, arguing that according to the texts they could have been of various shapes—hawk-shaped, square, round, and so on. They were to be built in five layers interspersed with sand. In the lowest layer was placed the golden form of a man symbolising Puruṣa or Prajāpati, who is sometimes depicted with milk-giving breasts.[46] (In the case of the Nandangarh plaques however, the female

[44] Th. Bloch, "Excavation at Lauriya," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India:* 1905 (1906), p. 11–15; W. Caland, *De Archaeologische vondsten in de heuvels van Lauriya* (Amsterdam, 1912). I am grateful to Professor Staal for drawing my attention to this discussion, and for translating Caland's paper for me.

[45] A point that incidentally seems to be contradicted in the ŚB 13.8.1.5, which refers to the devas making their burial places four-cornered, whereas the Asuras, Prācyas, and others make them round.

[46] ŚB 2.5.1.3; *Sacred Books of the East*, XII, p. 385.

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genitalia are unmistakable.) In this layer were also to be placed the head of a man, a ram, a goat, a bull, and a horse; they could either be natural or made of clay. He was puzzled, however, by the wooden post in the center of the mound.

Kane has drawn attention to the statement that those who had performed the Agnicayana were permitted a structure of bricks or clods at burial, suggesting an association of ideas if not a clear link between the śmaśāna and the Agnicayana.[47] This in turn suggests a link between the terms *citi* and *caitya*.[48] Caitya, a form of *cetiya*, is ultimately derived from citi, the etymology of which refers to the act of "heaping up." A citi is a structure that results from a piling up of material in a particular form. Where the piling up was of bricks, the form would be more precise, and where it was of earth or clods of earth, the tumulus and the cairn would be "natural" in form. The cetiya would then be either a sacred enclosure marking a sacred spot or, when it contained the relics of those who had died, a sepulchral monument. Buddhist literature refers to it in both these senses.[49] Mus has suggested that the Vedic altar was the starting point of what developed into the Buddhist cetiya and stūpa.[50] Presumably the yūpa associated with the altar may have become the central pivot in the raising of a tumulus. A distinction is made between the śmaśāna, which is essentially a funerary marker, and the caitya, which is a sacred enclosure. In the latter capacity the site could presumably be of a sacrifice or ritual, or even of an object of worship that had been cordoned off, such as the aśvattha tree. The earliest reference to a caitya appears to be in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra.[51] The epics also indicate familiarity with the worship of caityas in various forms.[52] In the Rāmāyaṇa caityas are mentioned more frequently in connection with the rākṣasas. Hanumān takes great pride in destroying the tall caitya-prāsāda in Laṅka and uprooting its massive pillar.[53] That this was not regarded as an act of desecration would suggest that caityas were perhaps linked with heterodoxy by this time.

Because of the etymological link between the words, it is assumed that the cetiya is a later form of the citi. It is possible, however, that the two, the Vedic altar and the tumulus, were parallel forms indicating places re-

[47] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, pp. 246ff., n. 559; ŚB 13.8.1–4; KŚS 28.4.4. A. Parpola, *South Indian Megaliths* (Madras, 1973), pp. 30ff. Professor Staal informs me that there is a rather vague tradition among the Nambudiris that in the past some had the practice of the yajamāna or his wife (whoever died first) being cremated on his Agnicayana altar.

[48] V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, "Origins and Early History of the Caityas," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 14(1938), pp. 440–451.

[49] *Majjhima Nikāya* I.20; *Jātaka* I.237; VI. 173; *Dhammapada* 188.

[50] *Barabudur* (Paris, 1935).

[51] 1.12.1–4

[52] M 1.102.12, 6.3.37. R 5.10.5.

[53] R 5.41.

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quiring veneration, and that the difference in form related to differences in the cults and rituals followed by different social groups. The stūpa becomes a more elaborate form of the tumulus with a variety of symbolic embellishments. It is curious that in the listing of forms that the citi can take, mention is made of the rathacakra and the samūhya or dhānyarāśi,[54] which occur in stūpa construction respectively as the spoked-wheel foundation and the paddy-heap shape.

Such burial mounds are generally dated to the first millennium B.C. on the basis of archeological evidence and references in both Vedic and Buddhist literature. The worship of caityas and stūpas is regarded as customary even before the rise of Buddhism. Although stūpa architecture was made more elaborate in the Mauryan period[55] and later, the structure existed earlier, as shown for example in the record of Aśoka Maurya visiting and enlarging the Konakamana stūpa.[56]

It is significant that there is no mention of the citi as an altar of bricks in the Ṛgveda.[57] The development of the idea therefore may date to the period of the later texts, which represent the assimilation of Aryan and non-Aryan practices. In this connection a recent suggestion deserves some consideration.[58] It has been pointed out that the burial practices of the Asuras, Prācyas (easterners), and others described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa bear a close resemblance to the Megalithic remains from the Jungal Mahal area, that is, to the Vindhyan outliers in the districts of Banda, Mirzapur, and Varanasi. The monuments are basically cairn circles and cist circles constructed of stone, and the dominant feature is the piling up of stones into a cairn. There is, however, no use of bricks anywhere, presumably because stone was easily available. The cairns enclose a pit that in most cases contains some human bones indicating postcremation burial and some animal bones associated with ritual killing, and there is one in which the bones of a tortoise and a rodent were found. The pottery is of various kinds ranging from an ill-fired red ware to the technically more sophisticated Black-and-red Ware. These monuments date to the first half of the first millennium B.C. Megalithic monuments serve the function in some cases of memorial monuments,[59] and in others of funerary monuments, a combination that appears to be reflected in the caityas of a later period. From both points of view these Megalithic monuments would be regarded as sacred enclosures.

[54] TS 5.4.11; KŚS 16.5.9. Also BŚS 17.29, below, pages 668–671.
[55] B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India* (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1959), p. 254.
[56] J. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d'Aśoka* (Paris, 1950), p. 158.
[57] The references appear to be to the piling up of wood, RV 1.112.17, 1.158.4.
[58] P. C. Pant, "Megaliths of Jangal Mahal and Vedic Tradition," paper read at Post-Conference Session at Deccan College, Poona, Dec. 1978. See also *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (1963–64), pp. 40–41.
[59] As for example among the Khasi tribes of Meghalaya and other parts of north-eastern India, where this tradition has continued up to recent times.

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There may possibly have been some connections with these monuments in the fashioning of the forms and the symbolism of the Agnicayana.

By the first millennium B.C. there appears to have been a bifurcation in the rituals relating to death. The Harappans and most of the post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures buried the dead with a predominance of urn burials or graves of various kinds. The Painted Grey Ware culture registers a noticeable absence of burials, suggesting that possibly cremation was the more regular form and was also legitimized in the Vedic texts. Given the social stratification that had emerged by this time, graves would almost certainly have been linked to persons or families of high status. However, the bifurcation is cultural and ethnic rather than social, since the Asuras and others are generally said to have had graves and burial mounds. The burial of the golden man, identified at some points with Prajāpati, who then passes to the invisible world of immortality to become the symbol of the immortal self and of the attainment of immortality by the yajamāna, indicates that burial rites may be woven into the Agnicayana. The fact of the altar being a fire altar obliquely introduces the notion of cremation. The extent to which the Agnicayana uses both burial and fire as symbols was perhaps a concession on the part of those who cremated the dead to the alien but older ritual of burial.

The Agnicayana altar, as it is most frequently described, was a large construction of brick requiring a substantial output in time and energy and a fair knowledge of geometry, since the bricks are of various shapes and sizes.[60] The unit is a square, one-fifth of the length of the sacrificer, and hence called the pañcami brick. Another tradition states that it should be one-fourth of the length of the yajamāna. Other shapes are variations on this, the basic measurement being subunits of one-half, one-fourth, and one-eighth. A large-sized brick, the adhyardha, is rectangular in shape with the longer side measuring one and one-half times that of the pañcama and the short side equal to that of the pañcama, which in turn is subdivided to accommodate the long and the short quarter. The sapāda brick is again rectangular, with the long side being one and one-quarter the length of the pañcama. Subdivision of the squares and the rectangles results in triangular bricks of various shapes, which are particularly handy in shaping the pointed contours of a hawk altar. The thickness of the brick is described as being one-fifth of the distance between the yajamāna's knees and the ground. This measurement is ambiguous, since the ratio of this distance to the full length of the yajamāna is not given.

Hyla Converse has drawn attention to the fact that brickmaking was a Harappan activity, and the details given for the making, shaping, and firing of these bricks may have derived from Harappan survivals.[61] The ratios of

[60] The details regarding the bricks have been discussed in Volume I.

[61] H. S. Converse, "The Agnicayana Rite: Indigenous Origin?" *History of Religion*, 14.2 (1974), pp. 81–95.

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sizes of bricks from pre-Harappan and Harappan levels tends to be 1 : 2 : 3 and 1 : 2 : 4 in terms of thickness, breadth, and length. The size of the brick for the fire altar, i.e., 1 : 1 or 1 : 1.5, is also known from protohistoric sites, but it is not common. Since the ratio of the thickness of the brick to its breadth and length is of uncertain measurement, if the first ratio is deleted, then the size of the pre-Harappan brick would conform to 1 : 1.5, the size of the adhyardha. The sheer number of the bricks is also of some consideration. Most texts agree that the number should be 1000, with 200 bricks going into each of the five layers; but some texts mention the figure of 10,800.[62] The size of the brick as defined by one-fifth of the length of the yajamāna would under any circumstances be large. Such an effort would require the labor of a settled population over some months and is unlikely to have been easily carried out by groups of nomadic pastoralists. This might in part explain why fire altars of packed earth are permitted in some texts, although the Yajurveda requires it to be built of brick.[63]

Among the other objects that suggest some echo of Harappan affiliation are the discoid wheels of the carts. These consisted of the śakaṭa, the large cart for transporting the Soma, and the ratham, the small cart used for oblations. (The ratham used at Panjal had a small copper pipe fitted to it, but this could be a recent innovation.) The Harappans, it is thought, were unfamiliar with the spoked wheel, which is first mentioned in the Ṛgveda.[64] Toy carts in terracotta from Harappan sites invariably have disc wheels. The recent cache of bronzes from Daimabad has one model of what appears to be an intermediate form between a cart and a chariot, and its wheels are also discoid.

PLATES 3, 91 (Volume I)

Among the most obvious of the material objects that can be compared with archeological remains is the pottery used in the ritual. A distinction can be made between the pots as described in the literature and those actually used at Panjal. The pottery vessels required in the Agnicayana ceremony are the ukhā, in which the fire is deposited and maintained for many months;[65] the mahāvīra, which is used in the Pravargya rite associated with the Soma sacrifice; and a few other pots used in the ritual.[66]

The making of these pots is described in detail in the texts. The clay has to be mixed with a large number of other things—varieties of earth, pieces of animal hair, plants, fragments of potsherds from deserted places (armayāni kapālām), and powdered pebbles. In the case of the ukhā, the water

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[64] S. Piggott, p. 273ff.
[65] ŚB 6.5.4; BŚS 10.1–8.
[66] ŚB 14.1.2; C. G. Kashikar, "Pottery in Vedic Literature," *Indian Journal of the History of Science*, 4. 1–2 (1969), pp. 15–26; W. Rau, "Vedic Texts on the Manufacture of Pottery," *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda), 23.3 (1974), pp. 137–142; Y. Ikari, below, pages 168–177.

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used for moistening the clay has to be boiled with the resin of the palāsa tree, and the ingredients mixed into the clay include iron rust. The technique suggested is that of coiling and dabbing to produce the actual shape of the pots. In one text this is to be done by a skilled potter, but in most other texts it is done by the yajamāna or his wife, or by members of the three dvija castes. The potter's wheel is in any case prohibited. The same clay mixture was to be used for making certain other pots, such as those used for milking, the vessel for ghee, and the disclike potsherds for keeping certain offerings. The pots were first to be sun-dried, then "plastered over" (perhaps the application of a slip). The mahāvīra has to be smoothed by using gavedhuka grass. The pots are then well fumigated (*dhūpayati*) in horse dung before being fired (*pacati*) in a pit or open-hearth kiln, where they are to be placed in an inverted position.[67] In the description given for the firing of the ukhā, a four-cornered pit is dug in which fuel is laid. On it are placed some of the bricks and the ukhā, the latter in an inverted position. Above this comes another layer of fuel. The fuel is then kindled for the firing, which lasts the length of the day, and the fuel is replenished when required. If any of the pots crack in the process, they should be repaired, and if they break, then new ones are to be made to replace them. Preparations for the making of some of the bricks were to take place at the same time as the making of the pots.

The mahāvīra should be one span high with a broad base and narrowed in the middle.[68] Another text describes it as being the shape of a wooden cup with either three or five elevations.[69] The top of the cup seems to have had a spout that would facilitate pouring. The ukhā should be one span high and a little more than a span in width, with a girdle around it and vertical strips.[70] The girdle is decorated with two to eight udders (breasts) with nipples. This would suggest an open-rimmed, oval pot. The pots used for milking are described as having the shape of the lip of the elephant, with a beak-like form for pouring that is like a ladle without a handle.[71]

The potter and the potter's wheel are known both from the literary and the archeological sources of this period. The insistence that the pots be hand-made may have been an attempt to distinguish ritual pottery from that for daily use; this was doubtless to remove ritual pottery from the pollution of the potter and the potter's wheel, assuming of course that the potter's status was already low, and perhaps also to invest ritual pottery with an ancient tradition by debarring the use of the wheel. The injunction against the use of the potter's wheel is stated in one text with reference to the making of the milking pots.[72] The fact that such specific directions are given for the making

[67] ŚB 6.5.4.4, 14.1.2.21; KŚS 16.4.11.
[68] ŚB 14.1.2.17; BŚS 9.4.
[69] BŚS 11.1–4.
[70] BŚS 10.1–8.
[71] BŚS 11.1–4; Kashikar, p. 20.
[72] MS 1.8.3.

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of these pots may suggest that there might also have been a functional reason for using this technique.

The admixture of material to the clay would have produced a coarse-grained pottery more akin to early Neolithic handmade pottery than the finely levigated ceramics of the Chalcolithic period. The purpose of the mixture is explained in ritualistic terms, and various deities are invoked, which suggests shamanistic survivals. Technically, the use of what modern potters call "grog" as a filler, which produces a clay mixed with crushed potsherds and small particles of pebbles, results in a mixture that is difficult to throw on a wheel because of the meagerness of levigated clay; it is more likely to be successful if the pot is handmade. Wheel-thrown pots require well-levigated clay, the finer the better. The advantage of using grog is that such pottery is less likely to crack when it comes into direct contact with fire. Thus, for the purposes for which the ukhā was made, i.e., to be used as a fire pan, a mixture with the clay would be essential. That the same technique was extended to other pots used in the ritual would suggest that there was some attempt at archaizing the process.

The use of grog would also ensure less shrinkage at the green-hard stage when the pot is dried before firing.[73] The inclusion of hair, which would burn up in firing, served the same function. Iron rust may have acted as a fluxing agent to prevent the pot from collapsing when fired. Water boiled in resin may have assisted in providing an adhesive texture. The fumigation of pots before firing is a recognized technique in making primitive handmade black pottery; it fills in the pores with the soot particles that darkened the pot.[74] Such pottery is generally fired below sinter point, often because the use of a crude kiln does not permit a high enough temperature and results in a porous fabric. Grog was probably also necessary because the firing was done in a pit rather than a regularly built kiln, with no separator between the actual pot and the fire, unless the layer of bricks fired with the pots acted as a separator. In any case, an open-hearth kiln can only fire to low temperatures, and the clay would have to be porous to prevent cracking.

The archeological correlations of this pottery remain enigmatic. Neolithic potting techniques would go back to the fourth millennium B.C. in the Indo-Iranian borderlands and to the third millennium in the Deccan. But clearly the potter's wheel and more advanced techniques of kiln firing were also known; therefore the technique for making pots other than the ukhā seems to have been deliberately archaic. There are no clear parallels to the shapes described, merely some suggestive similarities. There is one pottery form, referred to as having been found at Dabar Kot in the Loralai area,

[73] For some of this information on potting techniques and the firing of pottery, I am grateful to a modern potter, Gori Khosla, with whom I discussed the details given in the texts.

[74] Henry Hodges, *Artifacts* (London, 1964), pp. 20ff.

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that is described as a cup with a channel spout,[75] and the photograph does suggest a beaklike spout resembling the lip of an elephant! Similar pots have been noticed from sites in northeastern Iran, and the location of Dabar Kot would have placed it on the route connecting Iran with the central Indus plain. Pottery with udderlike elevations is rare in the ceramic assemblage of protohistoric India. A reference has been made to such a find at a site on the bank of the Tungabhadra at Itgi in Belgaum district, where a black oval pot was found with the required decoration and with the prescribed two holes in the base through which cord could be passed to enable the yajamāna to carry the pot.[76] However, the excavator dates this pot to the first century B.C. or A.D., a period much later than that of the texts.

PLATE I

The statement in the texts that the pots have to be placed in an inverted position for firing in the pit kiln has been interpreted as a possible reference to the inverted firing technique common to the widespread pottery of the Black-and-red Ware culture.[77] But if the intention was to produce a double color, then it is likely that the texts would have referred to this as a mark of distinction of the ritual pottery. Hyla Converse has argued that this was perhaps the secret technique that receives an ambiguous mention in the text. Reference to the color of the pottery is limited to one text that stipulates that the pots be fired to a red color.[78] To produce a black-and-red color would require controlled firing. Dry fuel and a good draft produce the oxidizing atmosphere necessary to make red pottery, whereas damp fuel and an obstructed draft are required to prevent oxidation and provide the reducing atmosphere necessary to make black pottery. A pit kiln such as the one described would have resulted in an indiscriminate mixture. The inversion of the pot may have had to do with ease of placing the pot in the pit. Pots are often placed in an inverted position in an open-hearth kiln, and the black and red tones that result can be accidental. The depth of the open-hearth kiln would also be significant. A deep pit would obstruct the flow of air. The reference in the texts to the bamboo handle of the spade disappearing in the pit would indicate a deep pit. In the description given for the making of the mahāvīra, there seems to be less admixture of grog, perhaps because unlike the ukhā this pot was not used for carrying fire. The mahāvīra is smoothed, perhaps to facilitate its handling. Curiously no reference is made to digging a pit when the pot is fired in an open-hearth kiln. This may be assumed, but it is worth noting that a shallow pit or a surface-level hearth would encourage a freer flow of air than a deep pit, thus permitting oxidation

[75] R. Mughal, "Explorations in Northern Baluchistan, 1972: New Evidence and Fresh Interpretations," *Proceedings of the Second Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (1973), p. 278.
[76] Kashikar, p. 26, n. 23; R. S. Panchmukhi, *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province from* 1941–46 (Dharwar, 1948), I–II; pp. 2.63–65.
[77] Converse; Kashikar; Rau.
[78] Kashikar, p. 20

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and resulting in a red-colored pottery. One text states specifically that the fuel to be used, including dry herbs, wood, etc., should be such as would produce a red-colored pottery.[79]

If the reference to inverted firing had to do with the Black-and-red Ware culture, then it poses another problem. A reference to nīla-lohita in the Atharvaveda[80] is taken by some scholars to refer to the Black-and-red pottery. If this be so, then the text disapproves of the practices of those who use this pottery, giving it an Asura connection. But this connection is also hinted at in the statement that the ukhā is born of the asuri māyā.[81] The Ṛgveda links Asuras with the Aṅgirasas, who are believed to be the priests of the fire cult.[82]

To add further complications, the texts also speak of the "smoothing" of the pots. It has been assumed that the outer surface of the pottery was black, and that therefore the reference to the polishing of this pottery may hint at a relationship with the Northern Black Polished Ware of the mid-first millennium B.C.[83] The latter is late on the ceramic scene, has its provenance in the middle Ganges valley, and was made possible through development of a highly evolved technique of firing at temperatures, that, it has been suggested, were probably attainable only after the invention of iron smelting. The nomenclature is deceptive, since the polish is not due to any post-firing technique but probably results accidentally through the interaction of natural constituents of the clay, or the addition of some special ingredient. It is generally associated with the luxury ware of the urban centres in the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan periods. In fact, the method for polishing pots described in the texts could more correctly be interpreted as a form of burnishing, a method used for the smoothing of the exterior surface of handmade pottery and already a common practice in the making of Neolithic pottery. This is further supported by the fact that the burnishing of pottery is usually done at the green-hard stage prior to firing, and polishing is a post-firing technique. The texts are clear that the "smoothing" is to be done prior to firing. The purpose of burnishing was literally to smooth the exterior surface, but it was also employed to make the pot less porous or to add a decorative feature.

As regards the pottery actually used in the ritual at Panjal, there are some similarities, admittedly very vague, with forms current in the protohistoric period. The ukhā, if visualized without the udders, suggests a pedestaled dish, the earliest examples of which go back to the Harappan period, and the form of which, with some variation, has a continuity into the Megalithic and central Indian Chalcolithic cultures of the peninsula. However, PLATE 5 (Volume I)

[79] ĀŚS 15.3.20, quoted in Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, XLIV, p. 456, n. 3.
[80] 4.17.4, 5.31.1.
[81] ŚB 6.6.2.6; VS 11.69; TS 4.1.9. See Volume I, pages 136–138.
[82] RV 3.53.7, 10.67.2. Cf. Volume I, pages 138, 162.
[83] Kashikar.

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PLATES 1A–D

Vessel Excavated at the Site of Itgi and Identified as an Ukhā

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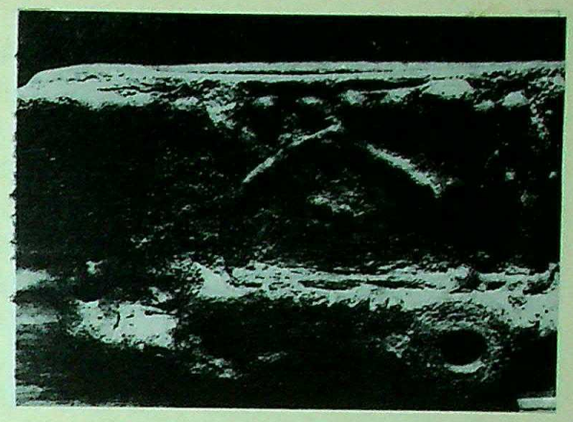
A



B

C

D

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the stand in this case would seem not to match the textual description, which makes it sound like a cauldron. The mahāvīra, inasmuch as its shape resembles the bowl-on-stand, would carry traces of some forms from the Gandhara Grave Culture and from post-Harappan pottery, particularly of the central Indian Chalcolithic. The latter cultures also provide evidence of vessels with a tubular spout. However, none of these resemblances are in any way close. The most that can be said is that the pottery used in the ritual at Panjal, if it has any archeological analogies at all, would seem to come nearest to shapes found more often in the post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures. Its immediate ancestry in terms of form, texture, and technique is suggestive of a later period, possibly the early first millennium A.D. This is not surprising considering that what is under investigation is a living tradition that would doubtless be influenced by late forms and techniques.

In the ceremonial space used for the performance of the Agnicayana, there is only one structure that is likely to survive, namely the altar. Consequently, the presence of an altar is the only major clue to the site of an actual performance of the ritual. Claims to have identified such sites from archeological remains are extremely few, and of these only one is accepted as genuine, since it carries an inscription describing it as an altar. This extreme paucity of evidence may have to do with the fact that such altars are required to be constructed on ground that has been sanctified and demarcated, and that therefore inevitably has to be at some small distance from settlements. Archeological excavation is primarily of settlements, and it is largely by chance that such an altar may be found in the process of exploration.

PLATES 2–4 Controversy still swirls around the identification of a śyenaciti on the outskirts of the ancient city of Kauśāmbi dating to the mid-first millennium B.C.[84] The śyenaciti is located on the outside of the eastern gate, but close to the defence wall of the city, and it is bounded by the revetment of the rampart and its returning wall. The altar, in the shape of a bird (eagle?) with outstretched wings, faces southeast. It has a length of 49 feet 8 inches and a width of 33 feet 6 inches. In the construction of the altar the first layer of bricks was sealed by a sand deposit of 6 inches. In its center was a gravel (kankara) nodule—with small cavities enclosed by a circle of 10 bricks—that the excavator takes to be the svayamātṛṇṇā. The most noticeable pottery object was shaped like an offering stand with a broken top approximately 5 inches high. In the same layer was included a terracotta female figurine, stylistically datable to about the second or first century B.C. The excavator also describes a brick with an engraving of a man tied to a stake who is about to be beheaded. There is a scatter of animal bones—a horse skull, tortoise shell, the jawbone of a pig, and the bones of elephants, bovines, and goats, the last three having been verified as such. Also included in this layer was an iron

[84] G. R. Sharma, *The Excavation at Kausambi* (1957–59) (Allahabad, 1960), pp. 87ff.

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model of a snake. Layer II seals off the jawbone of a buffalo and bricks of various shapes. Layer III produced three complete human skulls and some skull fragments, and also hipbones, ribs, and long bones. Some bones bearing incision marks were arranged in a V-shape or were enclosed in brick structures suggesting careful placement and some ritual function. Layers IV and V were badly damaged by a pit from a later period that had been dug into these layers, but they nevertheless provided evidence of human bone fragments. There were also a human skull and some pots placed in the tail section of the altar.

The identification of the site as a fire altar does raise some problems. The location of the altar so close to the ramparts of the city seems unusual. Given the fact that the altar is part of a ritual that requires the demarcation of sacred space, it seems strange that it should not have been placed farther from the city wall. The excavator quotes a reference in the Kandahāla Jātaka to a king digging a sacrificial pit just outside the eastern gate of the city.[85] It could be argued that the site was away from the original wall of the city but that the later extension of defences and the building of revetments resulted in encroachment on the altar space. This would depend on the date of the altar. If the terracotta figurine is not a stray from a later period, then the altar may well date to a period subsequent to the reinforcing of the city walls. The shape of the bird as presently reconstructed appears to be rather curvilinear, whereas the bricks used for the altar would indicate a more rectilinear form. The interpretation of the objects found is also not convincing.[86] The engraving on the brick of a man tied to a stake would seem to appear to be such only in the eyes of the excavator, if one can judge by the photograph; nor is the iron model of the snake recognizable. The pottery object described as an offering stand bears greater resemblance to a wide-mouthed jar. The frequency of human skulls and bones would also seem to suggest a ritual different from that described in the texts and it certainly is in excess of what is required. The texts refer to the burial of the head of a man, ram, goat, bull, and horse. The skulls of all but the human are absent in this śyenaciti, although their bones are there.

Whether or not the śyenaciti is in strict conformity with the descriptions of the fire altar in the literary sources, and whether or not the interpretation of objects as given by the excavator is acceptable, there can be little doubt that the structure did represent some kind of sacrificial or funerary site. The brick structure was built to some specification. The large number of human bones and the associated animal bones would point to a ritual connection. If the site is as late as the first century B.C., then it is possible that some pragmatic changes were introduced into the rituals described in the texts. The site was evidently disturbed in later periods, and this may have been

[85] *Kandahāla Jātaka*, No. 542.
[86] G. R. Sharma, Plate 31B, Fig. 18.4 facing p. 89; Plate 32A, Fig. 18.1 facing p. 89.

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PLATE 2

The Mound at Kauśāmbi Showing the Defense Structures

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PLATE 3A

Part of the "Śyenaciti"

PLATE 3B

Section Across the "Śyenaciti"

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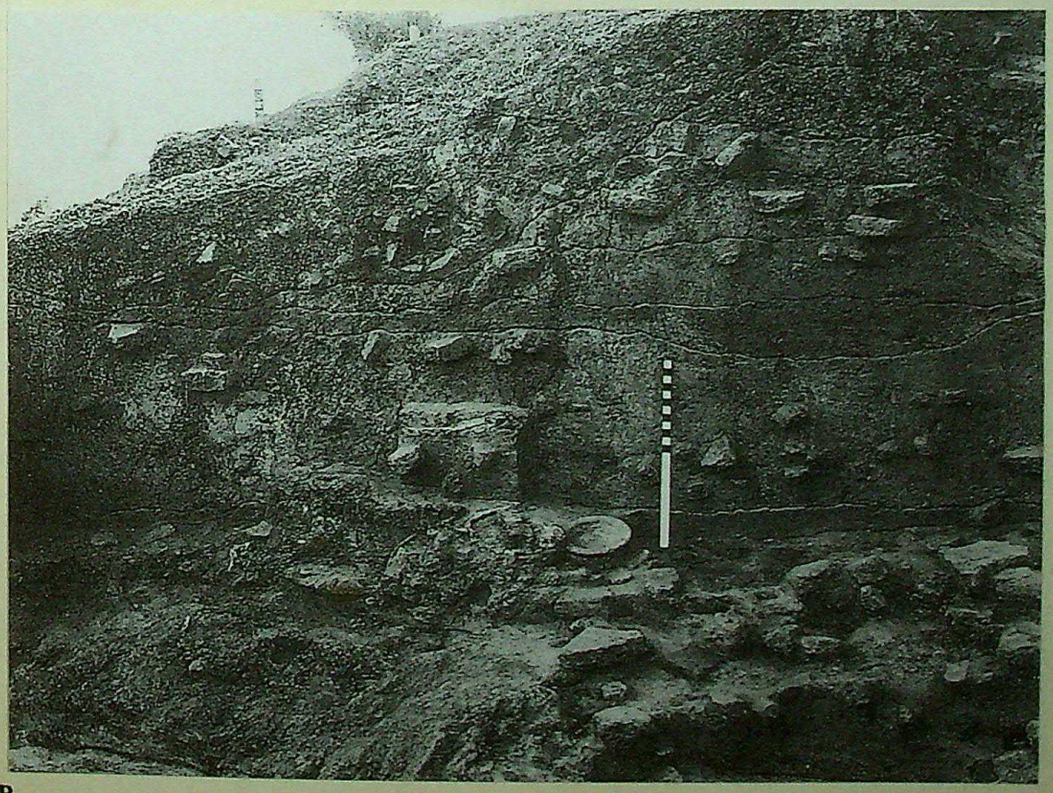
A



B

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PLATE 4A

The "Śyenaciti"

The head is in the foreground and the vertical scale demarcates the body from the wing.

PLATE 4B

The "Śyenaciti"

Horizontal scales indicate the location of the svayamātṛṇṇā and the tortoise shell.

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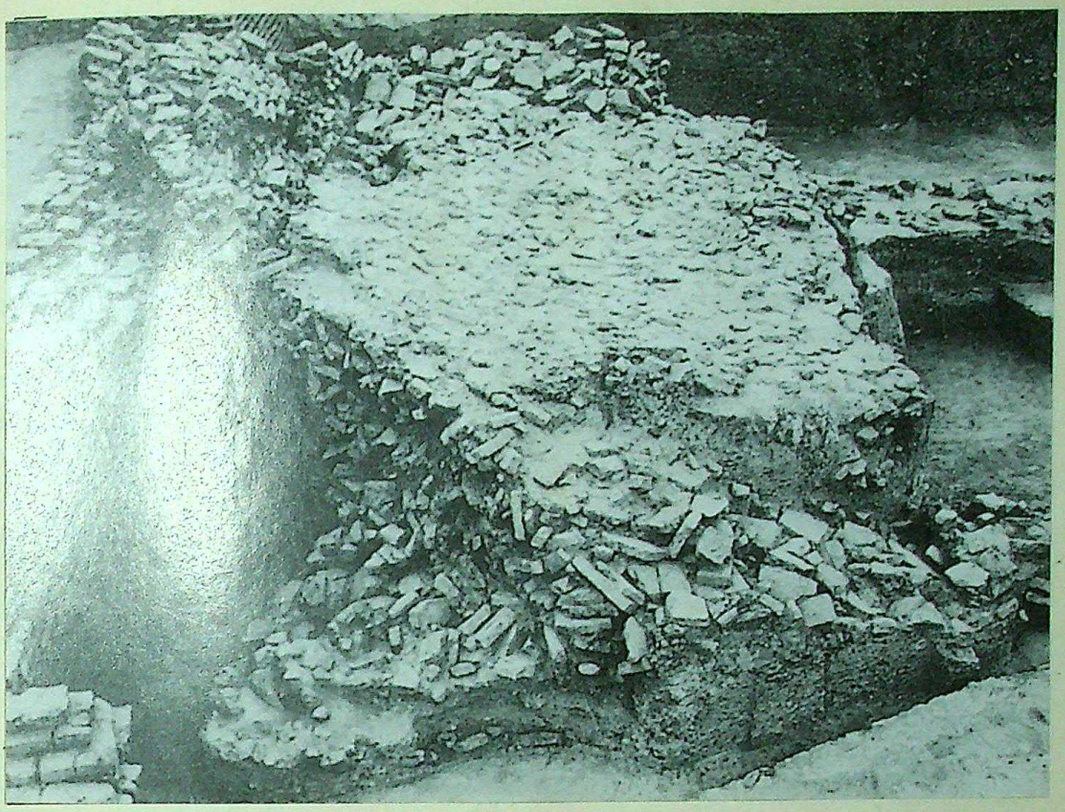

A

B

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accidental, although the possibility that such sites were believed to contain treasure may account for many tumuli having been broken into.

PLATE 5A–B Another place with far less evidence was also rumored to have provided an altar site. This was the town of Nagarjunakonda in the Paland taluka of Guntoor District. The inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku kings who ruled here in the second and third centuries A.D. refer to the performance of yajñas such as the Aśvamedha, and this encouraged the search for the sites of the rituals.[87] Two tanklike structures, one a square stepped tank and the other in the shape of a kurma or tortoise, were interpreted as altars. Recent opinion has rejected such interpretations.[88] The structures are pits in the ground and not platforms. They are part of the palace complex and appear to have been ornamental tanks. The system of underground drains, wells, and cisterns would support this idea. Had there been any fire altars in the vicinity of the city, it is most likely that they would have been discovered, since the original location of Nagarjunakonda at a lower elevation in the valley was carefully and systematically explored, the excavation being part of a project of "salvage archeology" carried out before the site was submerged on completion of the Tungabhadra dam.

By the early centuries A.D. the Vedic sacrificial rituals, inasmuch as they were performed by monarchs, appear to have acquired another dimension. They became a legitimizing ritual for kings, particularly for those seeking connections with the two royal lineages of kṣatriya ancestry, the Sūryavaṃśa and the Candravaṃśa. This may also in part explain the bifurcation of royal patronage to religious sects, where the women of the royal families—as, for example, the Ikṣvākus—were equally zealous in their support of Buddhism, which support is amply reflected in the monuments and inscriptions of the time.

PLATE 6 The one site that can be described without hesitation as that of a fire altar is at Jagatgram.[89] It was discovered in the course of exploration in the Dehra Dun district where the Yamuna River descends from the Siwalik hills to the plains. It lies in the vicinity of Kalsi, better known as the site of a series of rock edicts of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka. Three sites were exposed where a king had performed Aśvamedhas. Each site consisted of an eagle-shaped altar. Inscribed bricks from the first site provide the information that a king, Sīlavarman, performed four Aśvamedhas at Jagatgram. One inscription reads:

siddham aum yugeśvarasyāśvamedhe yugaśailamahipate iṣṭakā
vārṣaganasya nṛpatesīlavarmaṇa

[87] T. N. Ramachandran, *Nagarjunakonda* (Calculta, 1938). M.A.S.I. No. 71.
[88] H. Sarkar and B. N. Misra, *Nagarjunakonda* (New Delhi, 1972), p. 20.
[89] *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (1935–54), pp. 10–11; T. N. Ramachandran, "Asvamedha Site near Kalsi," *Journal of Oriental Research*, 21 (1953), pp. 1–31.

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"Hail! Brick from the altar of the Aśvamedha of the king Śīlavarmana of the Varṣagana, the lord of Yugaśaila, the Yugeśvara."

Another brick inscription reads:

nṛpatervarṣaganasya poṇaṣaṣṭhasya dhīmata caturatthasyāśvamedhasya citoyam śīlavarmaṇa

"Altars of the four Aśvamedhas of the renowned king Śīlavarmaṇa of the Varṣagana, sixth in descent from Poṇa."

It has been suggested that the Varṣagana-gotra may be the same as that referred to by Pāṇini as the sixty-ninth gotra, Vṛṣagana,[90] and the word *yugeśvara* suggests "the lord of the lustrum" described in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā. The latter might indicate that the repeated performance of the ceremony had to do with the purification of the king or the people. The identity of Śīlavarman remains obscure, as does also his line of descent from Poṇa. He may have been associated with the rulers of Lakha-maṇḍala in this area. Paleographically the inscription written in Brāhmi dates to the third century A.D. The bricks bearing the inscription are of two sizes, 1 : 2 : 3 and 1 : 2 : 4. The area obviously had settlements during the Mauryan period for there to have been a set of edicts inscribed nearby. Excavations in the neighborhood indicate more evolved settlements dating to the start of the Christian era.[91]

The Agnicayana altar as a structure is proceeded with layer by layer, and in a sense the same pattern of construction may have gone into the ultimate form of the ritual. Archeologically there is no clearly defined culture or period to which it can be related. The pottery-making techniques suggest Neolithic practices, the forms of the pottery carry traces of Chacolithic types, the bricks are strongly reminiscent of a Harappan urban culture, the hawk shape of the altar echoes shamanistic ideas, and the inclusion of both human and animal bones suggests analogies with Megalithic funerary monuments. The increasing emphasis on a form of potlatch included within the rites points to a people probably no longer nomadic and with enough wealth to be distributed and consumed on a ritual occasion. The Agnicayana ritual was gradually put together, modified, adjusted, and elaborated upon in the course of centuries. Not only was it extended by additional rites, taken perhaps from a variety of cultures, but the additions were interlocked in a vast edifice of ritual. In this process its purpose and function also underwent

[90] Pāṇini 4.1.105.
[91] N. C. Ghosh and R. P. Sharma, "The Cultures of the Early Historical Period in the Siwalik Ranges Between Ganga and Yamuna," paper presented at the Archaeological Society Conference, Chandigarh, 1975.

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PLATE 5A–B

The Tortoise-Shaped and Square Tanks at Nagarjunakonda

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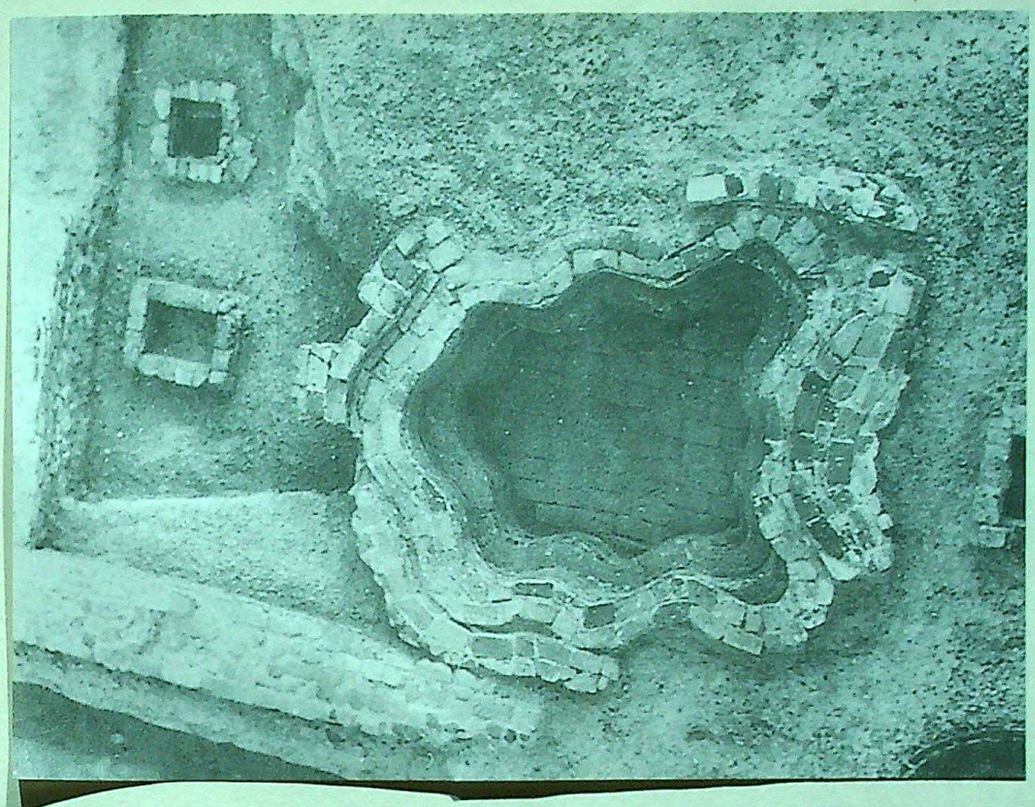
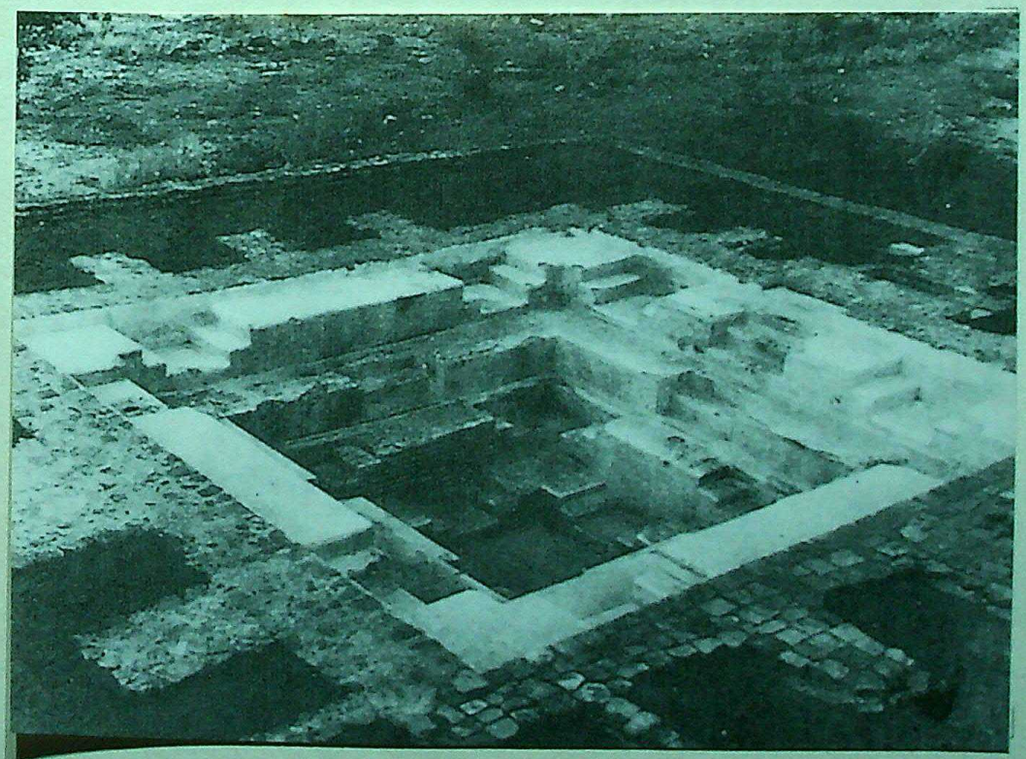


A



B

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PLATE 6

Altar Excavated at Jagatgram

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change. Beginning as a ritual performed for the acquisition of magical power linked to the concept of an immortal self and for the expression of communion between men and gods, it incorporated in its development notions of fertility, wealth, and power, and emerged as a ritual of legitimization and social validation. Its very survival into the present takes on yet another dimension, the historical dimension, that is far different from those with which it started.

ABBREVIATIONS

AŚS	Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra
BhŚS	Bharadvāja Śrautasūtra
BŚS	Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra
KŚS	Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra
M	Mahābhārata
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
R	Rāmāyaṇa
RV	Ṛgveda
ŚB	Satapatha Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
VS	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā

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THE PRE-VEDIC INDIAN BACKGROUND OF THE ŚRAUTA RITUALS

Asko Parpola

THE SCOPE

THE PRESENT PAPER has grown out of many years of study of the śrauta ritual on the one hand, and of the script, language, and religion of the pre-Aryan Indus civilization on the other.* The pre-Vedic Indian background of the śrauta ritual is a topic that has so far attracted little concentrated attention, but since it has been constantly in my thoughts over the years, a considerable amount of material has accumulated. While attempting to digest and present my findings in the present context, I have been painfully aware of the complexity and extent of the problems and material involved. I have tried to restrict myself to central issues and to put them concisely, yet the first draft came to more than two hundred typed pages before all that I wished to say was in writing. The limited space at my disposal here, therefore, allows only a condensation, which undoubtedly represents a gain in clarity, since I have been forced to concentrate on outlining the framework of the historical development as I see it emerging. The exposition is interspersed with details and examples that are of major significance as illustrations of the evidence upon which the reconstruction is based.

The first part of this paper deals with the various grounds for my basic hypothesis, namely, that the "classical" Vedic religion of the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts is a syncretistic one, the product of a religious acculturation in which two distinct traditions have been fused. One of these traditions is that brought to India from the outside, probably around 1200 B.C., by the invading Aryans who also introduced the poetry that the Ṛgvedic hymns perpetuate. The other tradition is that of the Dāsas, the people who occupied the so-called Vedic areas before the arrival of the Aryans in India. At the same time I argue that the Dāsas, too, were speakers of an Aryan language, though one dialectally different from that of the Ṛgveda.

The second part of the paper is concerned with the identification of Dāsa elements and their outstanding characteristics in the syncretistic Vedic ritual, and with the interpretation of the emerging pattern. Some of the most important insights that result from this study are also briefly indicated; the chief feasts of the Dāsa ritual appear to have been half-yearly seasonal

* This research has been financed by the Academy of Finland.

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rites; they are essentially "Tantric" in character, and are intimately connected with the mythology of Prajāpati and Rudra, which includes the Śunaḥśepa legend.

Since according to archeological evidence the Dāsa religion prevailed outside the Vedic area as well, its reconstruction, as based on the Veda, must be checked with the help of non-Vedic sources. In the third part I review some of the chief materials and problems that are to be more fully examined from this point of view.

The Dāsa religion, which forms the immediate pre-Vedic Indian background of the śrauta ritual, also appears to consist of two distinct traditions that have merged into one syncretistic whole. The participants in this earlier fusion, it is claimed, were on the one hand the Indo-Aryan speakers who called themselves Dāsas and came to India shortly after 2000 B.C., and on the other hand the people of the Harappan-related cultures, who spoke Dravidian languages. I also will indicate methods of proving the latter thesis. To illustrate one of these concretely, the last section of the paper presents in abbreviated form a suggested Dravidian solution to one of the many riddles of the Vedic ritual, that posed by the term *kiṃpuruṣa*.

THE ARCHEOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK

In an earlier paper (Parpola 1974), I have argued that it is possible, justifiable, and useful to integrate the archeological and linguistic evidence available for the reconstruction of Indian protohistory. I also suggested an overall correlation of this kind: only such a full-scale comparison can provide sufficient internal control.

A good starting point is the widely supported equation of the PGW (Painted Grey Ware) (ca. 11th to 5th century B.C. in the Panjab, North Rajasthan, and the Ganges-Yamuna Doab) with Vedic culture. These two, practically speaking, have identical spatial, temporal, and cultural horizons (e.g., B. and R. Allchin 1968, 208–212).

Between 2000 and 500 B.C. North India was gradually occupied by cultures characterized by the BRW (Black-and-Red Ware), which in the first millennium B.C. spread to South India as well, being attested there until A.D. 200. At Atranji-khera, the BRW has been found stratified under the PGW (Agrawal 1968, 61f.). After the intrusion of the PGW into the middle of the northern plains, the BRW continued its existence together with and surrounding the PGW until about 500 B.C. Around this time both were overlaid by the Northern Black Polished Ware, whose spread is probably related to the emergence of the historical Magadha (B. and R. Allchin 1968, 208–219).

The BRW people can hardly be identified with Dravidian speakers simply

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because they "once inhabited the *whole* of India" as the Dravidians had done (Zvelebil 1965, 65), or because the interaction between the PGW and BRW peoples in 500–300 B.C. coincides with the massive influx of Dravidian words into Sanskrit (Converse 1974, 82). The earlier Harappan-related cultures, which, if we include the Deccan neolithic with some northwestern influences (Fairservis 1975, 328f.), also cover the whole of India, form in my opinion the only complex that can be equated with the early Dravidian speakers (Parpola 1975, 190f.). The said Dravidian loanwords have apparently been adopted into Sanskrit through the eastern Indo-Aryan dialects, which have been subject to a Dravidian substratum influence until historical times. A Dravidian identification of the BRW cultures would leave no room for such other non-Vedic Indo-Aryan languages as are known to have been spoken to the east of the Vedic area in the Brāhmaṇa period (ŚB 3.2.1.18 f.; Thieme 1938, 3f.).

Emeneau (1966) has made it quite plain that even in Ṛgvedic times there existed in India several Old Indo-Aryan dialects. The one from which classical Sanskrit descended not only differed essentially from the Ṛgvedic dialect but also had in some respects a more archaic character. This evidence, replacing the theory of Hoernle and Grierson about "inner" and "outer" bands of Neo-Indo-Aryan languages, supports the suggestion made by Wheeler (1959, 28), Agrawal (1966), and the Allchins (1968, 324), that the BRW and the PGW represent a first and a second wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants. The early Banasian white-painted BRW (Ahar and Gilund I, ca. 1800 B.C. onwards), related to the BRW of Atranji-khera (Agrawal 1968, 61f.), is traced back (Fairservis 1975, 338f.) to the North Iranian Black or Grey Ware Culture. On the other hand, this latter culture diffused from the Gorgan plain (type site Tepe Hissar II A-B through III A-B-C, ca. 3000–1900 B.C.) over Tepe Giyan III westwards to the Mitanni area, where a luxurious fine white-painted black ware is attested during the rule of the "proto-Indo-Aryan" dynasty, but not before or after it. On the other hand, it spread eastwards to Turkmenistan (type site Namazga Tepe IV-VI, ca. 2000–1500 B.C.), to Balkh in North Afghanistan (C^{14} dates 1500–1250 B.C.), and to Swat (Ghaligai IV) as well as to Sind (the Jhukar culture in Amri and Chanhu-daro, with no break after the Harappan culture in the early second millennium B.C.) (Ghirshman 1977, 3–44; for Jhukar, see ibid., p. 72; Piggott 1952, 220ff.; and Fairservis 1975 , 302; for Swat, see Stacul 1969, 83f.). Ghirshman, who has been the first to understand the significance of the golden and silver trumpets of Tepe Hissar (IIIC) used in commanding the movements of horses during battles, has, it seems to me, succeeded in definitely proving the Aryan identity of this cultural complex, which domesticated the strong Turkmenian horse and yoked it to a war chariot with two archaic disc wheels, as shown in a cylinder seal of Tepe Hissar IIIB (Ghirshman 1977).

The origins of the PGW and the Ṛgvedic Aryans can be sought, it ap-

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pears to me, in the second wave of Aryan invasions from the Eurasian steppes to Iran and India. It is first attested at Sialk V with Necropole A (ca. 1250–1000 B.C.), while Sialk VI, with Necropole B (ca. 1000–800 B.C.) represents a later phase. The wave has been traced in Northern Iran (first in Madau I and other sites in the Kopet Dagh region), Margiana (Yaz I), Bactria (Tillia Tepe), Arachosia (Mundigak V), and Baluchistan (Pirak I) (Ghirshman 1977, 45ff.), as well as in Swat (Ghaligai V-VI), where it is represented by a fine grey ware (Stacul 1969, 84f.). The Ṛgvedic poetry and religion, up to the near verbal identity of numerous phrases (Schlerath 1968, II, xi, 148–164), is very much more closely related to the Avesta than to the Atharvaveda and the Brāhmaṇas. Although Ghirshman has interpreted the second wave in exclusively Iranian terms, it seems more legitimate to connect the Ṛgvedic people with this archeological evidence (i.e., Ghaligai V) than with the Hissar II-III complex, which is separated from the Iranian branch by an interval of some two millennia. References to iron are hard to find in the Ṛgveda (Rau 1974), which suggests that it represents the first iron phase when this metal was still very scarce (Sialk A), but iron is already known to the Atharvaveda (11.3.7; Rau 1974, 21) and the PGW culture, the first iron-using culture of North India. Iron can only have been brought to India by people of this second wave, who are known to have passed through the Swat valley.

THE IDENTITY OF THE DĀSAS AND THE VEDIC ACCULTURATION

The Ṛgvedic hymns refer to battles with people called Dāsas and Dasyus, who are clearly distinguished from the Ṛgvedic Aryans themselves (Zimmer 1879, 101, 104–118); they are "non-Aryan" (*an-ārya*), have a dark skin color, do not worship Indra (*an-indra*) or perform the Soma sacrifice (*a-yajña*), and either do not speak (*vi-vāc, an-āsya*) or use inimical speech (*mṛdhra-vāc*), which probably refers to ritual silence and curses, respectively; their black magic (*yātu*) is much feared. In two hymns (RV 7.21.5; 10.99.3); Indra is invoked against, or as the slayer of, "those who have the phallus as their god," or alternatively "tailed deities" (*śiśná-devāḥ*; Wackernagel 1905, II, 1, 275), which can be reasonably taken to refer to these same enemies.

The name *Dāsa* is in later language an appellative meaning "slave": this use may be derived from the self-appellation of the war captives (cf. Volga-Finnic *orja* 'slave' from Iranian **ārja* 'Aryan' in Joki 1973, 297). Like the presumably related word *dasyu*, it is of Indo-Iranian etymology, having in some Iranian languages cognates meaning "man" (this meaning is very common in ethnic self-appellations everywhere), and being besides attested as the name of the Iranian tribe *Daha* (with whom Hille-

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brandt [1891, I, 95ff.] equated the Dāsas; see Bailey 1958). Thus it supports the above identification of the BRW people as speakers of an Aryan language.

Since the Mitanni Aryans worshiped Indra, the epithet *an-indra* for the Dāsas, who supposedly belonged to the same first wave, is somewhat problematic; however, it must be borne in mind that in early Buddhist sources this deity is known but is exclusively called *Sakka*, which is an ancient epithet of Indra (Sanskrit *śakra*). The dark skin color of the Dāsas can hardly (with, e.g., Horsch 1966, 478) be considered as an insurmountable hindrance to the identification of the Dāsas as Aryan speakers: it is only what one reasonably would expect from the racial assimilation that accompanied the cultural fusion with the earlier Harappan-related inhabitants of North India after the beginning of the second millennium B.C.

A similar assimilation has also taken place between the Ṛgvedic Aryans and the Dāsas within the area that the former came to occupy (Rau 1957, 18f.; Walker 1968, II, 74ff.). It is possible to follow this amalgamation in the formation of the Vedic texts. The great bulk of the Ṛgvedic hymns, especially the old "family" books, are faithful to the Indo-Iranian heritage: the god of thunder and war (Indra), his arch enemy (Vṛtra), and the sacrifice of Soma providing the god with his invigorating drink, are in the foreground as they are in the Iranian sources (e.g. Renou and Benveniste 1934; Gonda 1960, I, 53 ff.). With Books I and X, which can be distinguished from the rest as considerably later (Wackernagel and Renou 1957, 1ff.), a radical change sets in; here and in the closely related Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā (AV), quite different subjects suddenly emerge: cosmogonic speculation and riddles, the ideology of the cosmic man (*puruṣa*) and his (self-)sacrifice, ecstatic practices, dialogues, legends, and "house" rituals (funeral, marriage, and, especially in the AV, white and black magic, *bheṣajam* and *yātu/abhicāra*).

The differences from the old RV increase with the passage from the Saṃhitā to the Brāhmaṇa texts. The earliest Yajurvedic texts already describe most of the śrauta sacrifices in all their complexity. Many of these rites, including such important ones as the Agnicayana, clearly have no original connection with the Soma sacrifice with which they are combined, and are altogether unknown to the old RV. Even the pantheon undergoes a radical metamorphosis. Indra loses much of his supremacy and becomes a phallic fertility god (cf. Rau 1966), exactly what his early worshippers loathed. New divinities, not traceable to Indo-Iranian origins, emerge in the late RV and quickly become the most important gods of Brahmanism. Such are, above all, the two chief gods of the Agnicayana: the cosmic man *(puruṣa)*, who is the creator god Prajāpati, and Rudra, who appears in a subordinate position in the old RV but soon gains in importance, becoming the Śiva/Skanda of classical Hinduism (Gonda 1970, 2ff.). An important cultural

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feature may also be mentioned: the calendrical asterisms, unknown to the Avesta and the old RV, are referred to in the late RV and fully listed in the AV (Scherer 1953, 149ff.).

So far it has been generally supposed either that all these striking deviations from the old traditions existed from the start in the women's circles or the lower ranks of Vedic society but were purposely kept out of the hieratic old hymns of the priestly elite (thus Gonda 1954, 8); or that they developed in the course of the all too short time that separates the RV and the Brāhmaṇa period (thus Renou 1957, 9). The reason an external influence has usually been left out of account is that many of these elements have features unmistakably of ancient Indo-European origin, and the Dāsas have been thought to be non-Aryans (e.g., Keith 1925, I, 234; and even Horsch 1966, 478). The importance accorded to the new elements from the beginning presupposes, however, a longer foregoing development, and at least the new śrauta rites and astronomy must needs have been in the care of the priests.

The dilemma is solved by my proposed model of acculturation between two separate waves of Aryan invaders. In itself such a hypothesis is not new. Reference has already been made to the "outer" and "inner" bands of Indo-Aryan languages alleged by Hoernle to represent such waves. But I want especially to mention here the important work on the Vedic ritual by Rönnow, whose basic assumption was that the worshippers of the asuras (especially Varuṇa) represented an earlier, pre-Vedic wave of Aryans (cf. Rönnow 1927, 8ff.; 1929, 113). This hypothesis is in my opinion quite warranted. In ŚB (3.2.1.18ff.) the Mlecchas who worship asuras and speak a Māgadhī-like Prakrit are clearly the enemies of Vedic Aryans residing in eastern India. The word *asura* did not originally have the younger Vedic meaning "demon" (i.e., god of the enemy), but meant "god" as in Iranian (see Keith 1925, I, 231ff.; and Konow 1926 for the earlier explanations).

THE VRĀTYAS AND THE PREHISTORY OF THE ŚRAUTA RITUAL

Although the two-wave hypothesis has not been very popular in the study of the Indian religion, it is also required by the fact that the śrauta ritual in the earliest form we know it is not only largely new in comparison to the Ṛgvedic ritual but also contains in itself proof of a long prehistory.

A curious group of śrauta rites described in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, called Vrātyastomas, has ever since 1850 attracted the attention of scholars on account of the unusual dress, social terms, manners, and cults of the people called Vrātyas for whom these rites are prescribed. The Vrātyas have been considered to be non-Vedic nomadic and raiding tribes, Aryan or non-Aryan, and their religion has seemed to represent a precursor of either the later Śaiva asceticism or the "heretic" religions of Magadha (see

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especially Hauer 1927, I, which gives a survey of the earlier research).

Instead of taking the Vrātyastomas in the traditional way as rites effecting the incorporation of Vrātya "converts" into Vedic society, Biswas (1955, 9) suggested that they are rites of purification for "brahmanical" Aryans: the Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra (18.26) relates in plain words that in former times the sons of Kuru brahmins went as Vrātyas on an expedition against the Pañcālas. These two tribes, the Kurus and the Pañcālas, inhabited the core area of Vedism. Heesterman, who has developed Biswas' thesis further, concluded that "the Vrātyas are authentic Vedic Aryans" (1962, 36). He has convincingly shown that the Vrātyastomas are a survival of a more archaic ritual from which the śrauta sacrifices have developed. The earlier "preclassical" ritual, which Heesterman has studied in several papers, was dualistic and cyclical, involving among other things alternating raids and potlatch-like competitions between rival clans. When the "classical" ritual was codified, the original cyclical pattern was broken, and the rites were made separate single sacrifices. At the same time "impure" acts, especially killing, were as far as possible eliminated and made symbolical (Heesterman 1962, 1964, 1967, and below, pages 51ff).

Although the establishment of the temporal precedence of the Vrātya rites over the classical śrauta ritual is a most important advance, I cannot agree with Heesterman when he goes on to state that no antithesis is involved in the relation between the Vrātyas and the Vedic Aryans, and that earlier explanations connecting the Vrātyas "with later developments, such as yoga and Śaivism . . . lose most of their urgency" (Heesterman 1962, 36). Converse (1974; cf. also Staal, *Agni,* I, 130ff and II, 18) has shown that the ukhā vessel, one of the central implements of the Agnicayana ritual, was baked with the inverted firing technique characteristic of the BRW. The Kurus and Pañcālas who mounted Vrātya expeditions are likely to have followed the pre-Vedic BRW traditions of their area. Moreover, we shall soon see that the old Vrātya rites in the main coincide with the distinctly antithetical Dāsa religion. In any case, Heesterman's researches have hardly invalidated the following important conclusion reached much earlier (Weber 1850, 51ff.; and more recently Horsch 1966, 402ff., 424ff.): the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra descriptions of the Vrātyas relate them to contemporary peoples living outside the Vedic sphere, especially in Magadha, i.e., in areas that even at this later period continued to be inhabited by the BRW people. The pre-Vedic origin of Śaivism and Tantrism, on the other hand, is one of the chief conclusions emerging from my studies.

Vrātīnas 'those who live in marauding bands (*vrāta*)'—closely connected if not identical with the Vrātyas (Hauer 1927, I, 194ff.)—are, in LŚS 8.5, the performers of the Śyena, one of the foremost rites of black magic (*abhicāra*), described immediately before the Vrātyastomas (the name of the rite, Śyena, means "falcon," a symbol connected with the fire altar as well). The Vrātyas are moreover intimately connected with the Atharvaveda (Hauer

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1958, 48ff.; Horsch 1966, 408f.), which is chiefly devoted to magic. In BŚS 18.26 the Kuru brahmins warn their Vrātya sons of the curses of the Pañcālas. Altogether it seems that the Vrātya sorcery and the yātu magic of the Dāsas are one and the same thing.

All the texts describing the Vrātyas agree in specifying that they are accompanied by a prostitute (*puṃścalī*) and a bard (*māgadha*), who are otherwise mentioned together in the Vedic texts only as a couple who perform sexual intercourse in the Mahāvrata rite and in the list of victims of the human sacrifice. Hauer's (1927, 246ff.) identification of the Mahāvrata as a Vrātya rite has been generally accepted (e.g., Heesterman 1962, 10). Since it is the performers of the Mahāvrata who seem to be meant by the Ṛgvedic references to the Śiśnadevāḥ (cf. below, p. 49f.), the most distinctive features of the Dāsa religion (which radically differs from the Ṛgvedic Soma sacrifice)—sexuality and black magic—are attested in the Vrātya ritual.

The name *Vrātya* seems to have been used by the Dāsas of themselves when they were ritually consecrated into a sacred state in which they had to keep certain observances (*vrata*), often collectively as a group (*vrāta*) united by this characteristic.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES AND NATURE OF SOME PRINCIPAL VRĀTYA RITES

The most striking features of the Mahāvrata are the sexual intercourse of the bard and the harlot and the accompanying abusive dialogue. They have a close parallel in the horse and human sacrifices; the latter, practically speaking, are identical with each other, only the chief victim (a horse or a man, respectively) being different. The Vrātya affinity of these latter sacrifices is in my opinion confirmed by the traditional name of the verses (AV 20.136) that are applied in the ritual as the verses of abuse recited when the sacrificial victim is having sexual intercourse with the chief queen (*mahiṣī*) of the sacrificing king; these verses are called *āhanasyāḥ* 'obscene', and JB 2.222 expressly says of the Vrātyas that "they speak what is obscene" (*āhanasyaṃ vadanti*). The non-Ṛgvedic origin of the Vrātya tradition is underscored by the observation made by Fišer (1966, 112) that the erotic terminology of the āhanasya verses "is completely different from what we have learnt in the RV."

The verb *ā* + *han-*, which in *āhanasya-* has the erotic meaning of "beating" the female with the penis (Fišer 1966, 46, 92, 113), is also used of the "beating" of drums at the Mahāvrata. Particularly significant is the fact that the "earth drum," which consists of a hole in the earth covered by a bull hide, is beaten with the severed *tail* of this bull. The tail here clearly represents the male organ of the sun bull fecundating the vulva of the earth goddess. In

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addition to this erotic connotation I should like to call attention to the presence of the other dimension characteristic of later Tantrism: the sun bull is at the same time (symbolically) slain (*ā + han–*), like the actual victim of the human and horse sacrifice, the male partner of the sacred marriage rite. We shall return to this below. Here it is important to note that the double meaning "tail"-"penis" seems to solve the old problem (Fišer 1966, 85f.) connected with the Ṛgvedic Śiśnadevāḥ, where the word *śiśna* can be translated "tail" as well as "penis." The connection of the verb *ā + han–* with the Mahāvrata and the horse/human sacrifice is certainly not accidental. This verb is also used of the *dāsī* maidens (note this express connection with the Dāsas), who go around the mārjālīya dhiṣṇya at the Mahāvrata, and of the royal consorts and their female companions, who similarly go around the dead victim at the horse sacrifice: in both cases they "beat" their thighs, an act that likewise has a sexual connotation, for "thigh" stands for female organ (e.g., in Caland's translation of ĀpŚS 20.18.4).

According to much Vedic evidence, the horse of the horse sacrifice belongs to and represents Varuṇa (the divine king par excellence and the lord of the primeval waters of chaos), as well as the creator god Prajāpati; the latter appears to be, as was suggested long ago, just another name for Varuṇa (Johansson 1917, 132f., n. 1). Prajāpati is the primeval being from whose sacrificed body the cosmos was created; the human victim of the Puruṣamedha also personifies this Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa. Since this primeval sacrifice apparently was repeated at every New Year's feast (see below), we can compare it to the sacred drama of the Babylonian New Year ritual, which also included a sacred marriage rite: two groups of actors mimed the struggle between Marduk, the god, and Tiamat, the monster of chaos, from whose slain body Marduk created the world (see Éliade 1965, 55ff.; and, in general, Hubert and Mauss 1964 [1898], 77ff.).

The horse sacrifice is normally combined with the construction of the fire altar (e.g., Yudhiṣṭhira's Aśvamedha in the Mahābhārata, Calcutta ed., 14.88. 2633–2637); the building of the agniciti puts together the disintegrated body of the creator. Because the heads of the five victims put in the first layer of the fire altar apparently are those of the Aśvamedha, Heesterman (1967, 42) has suggested that the Aśvamedha and the Agnicayana originally formed an alternating and recurring ritual cycle. But the Agnicayana is closely connected with the Mahāvrata as well (Eggeling 1897, IV, xxiv ff.); and the bird form being shared by both the mahāvrata sāman and the mahad uktha (which are sung and recited at the culmination of the mahāvrata) suggests that the mahāvrata may have been the original ritual context of the agniciti (cf. also Oldenberg 1917, 10). But on the other hand the horse/human sacrifice, which is preceded by a year-long roaming of the victim, and the year-long sacrificial session (*gavām ayana*) that culminates in the Mahāvrata may have originally been one and the same ritual.

The piling of the funeral monument is said to complete the piling of

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the fire altar (ŚB 13.8.1.17): the parallelism between the Agnicayana and the Śmaśānacayana is evident from numerous common details. The intimate connection between the Mahāvrata and the Agnicayana is in my opinion sealed by the fact that rites parallel to those of the Mahāvrata are performed in connection with the śmaśānaciti. I am referring to the peculiar rite of "fanning" (*dhuvanam*), which must have become antiquated and unfashionable quite early but nevertheless is described as optional in the texts (Caland 1896, 135–140). There are, however, some differences between this dhuvanam and the Mahāvrata that seem to have the same nature as the differences between the śmaśānaciti and the agniciti. Caland (1896, 172ff.) has already explained them in terms that I consider correct: the difference is that between a sacrifice to the fathers and a sacrifice to the gods; among other things, the oppositions include old worn-out things against young and fresh things, and black against red.

This brings us back to the Vrātyastomas, which are classified according to their performers. The Nidānasūtra (6.11) expressly divides the Vrātyas into two groups and cites for them names that, however they are ultimately to be interpreted (cf. the suggestions of Heesterman 1962, 10), are connected with the concepts of "head and [severed?] male organ [lit 'reed']" (*dvaye vrātyā bhavanti: śīrṣādayaś caiṣīkayāvayaś ca*). The latter group is referred to in JB 2.226 as having had Kuṣīta as their gṛhapati, while in PB 17.4.3 Kuṣītaka is the gṛhapati of a group of Vrātyas "who have an unmoving, down-hanging male member" (*śamanīcameḍhrāḥ*); in PB 17.4.1 their sacrifice is said to be the rite of the eldest Vrātyas, while LŚS 8.6.4 explains them to be "those who on account of old age (*sthāvirāt*) have lost their ability to generate." The Nidānasūtra's division can thus be matched with the other division of the Vrātyas into "the younger/youngest ones" (e.g., *kanīyāṃsaḥ*, BŚS 18.26; or *kaniṣṭhāḥ*, PB 17.3.1) and "the eldest ones" (*jyeṣṭhāḥ*). The sons of the Kuru brahmins, who made a Vrātya expedition of an evidently aggressive nature (Heesterman 1962, 6, 15ff.), undoubtedly belong to the former group.

THE RITUAL CYCLE OF THE YEAR AND ITS TWO GREAT FEASTS

TB 1.8.4.1 and ŚB 5.5.2.3ff. inform us that it was in the cool season that the Kurus and Pañcālas regularly started their raiding expeditions, which were easterly directed and lasted the whole summer season. They returned westwards only immediately before the rainy season and thereafter ploughed their fields (Rau 1957, 15; Heesterman, 1957, 211). It is at the beginning and end of such occupational seasons that the seasonal rites of intensification are usually celebrated; they are festivals of crisis in which the symbolism of death and regeneration as a rule plays an important role.

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Among the patrilineal clans of Karnataka, the most important yearly festival has until recently been performed with a human sacrifice and a communal meal of rice mixed with blood at the time men gather for their seasonal raiding expedition (Silva 1955, 577–583). This is not the only striking parallel that can be cited from the later Indian tradition to Heesterman's independent conclusion that "the vrātyastoma primarily celebrates the convenant between the vrātyas when setting out on a vrātya expedition, while on return a similar celebration takes place" (1962, 7). The description that the archaic Vādhūlasūtra (Caland 1926, §79) gives of the composition, dress, weapons, and other apparel of the army that accompanies the sacrificial horse on its expedition that initiates the Aśvamedha recalls the descriptions of the Vrātyas. The horse sacrifice is concluded with a sacred marriage rite resembling that of the bard and the harlot who accompany the Vrātyas, and the female partner (*mahiṣī*) symbolizes the earth ("this earth is a mahiṣī," ŚB 6.5.3.1). Among the matrilineal clans of Karnataka who practice agriculture, human sacrifices have been performed to increase fertility at the most important festival of the year, which marks the inauguration of the agricultural season (Silva 1955, 587–589).

Although fully agreeing with Heesterman on the originally cyclical nature of the Vrātya rites, including the Aśvamedha/Puruṣamedha and the Agnicayana, I would insist that in the last analysis the original ritual cycle consisted of nothing but one single year divided into two alternating halves of antithetical character. The spring-summer half of the year, which is spent by young men in warring, can be equated with the *uttarāyaṇa* half of the year (when the sun "goes in the north"), which ŚB 2.1.3.1–3 associates with the gods (*deva*); the *daivāḥ vrātyāḥ* mentioned as one category of the Vrātyas (e.g., PB 17.1.1) would thus be synonymous with the "younger Vrātyas," their group of thirty-three (PB 17.1.17) representing the thirty-three gods (RV 3.6.9, etc.; cf. Macdonell 1897, 19; and Hopkins 1915, 55) during the "young year." The autumn-winter half of the year, which is spent in cultivation, can be equated with the *dakṣiṇāyana* half of the year (when the sun "goes in the south"), which is associated in ŚB 1c with the fathers (*pitaraḥ*), i.e., the dead ancestors; this "old year" would naturally be linked with the "elder Vrātyas."

In the liturgical arrangement of the śrauta ritual, the two halves that make up the year-long sacrificial session (*gavām ayana*) are symmetrical. The first six months culminating in the Viṣuvat day are the mirror image of the next six months culminating in the Mahāvrata day, and these two great festal days coincide with the turning points of the sun (KB 19.3). On the analogy of the horse/human sacrifice, the sacred marriage rite of the Mahāvrata probably originally involved a human sacrifice, that of the male partner of the sexual union. There is some veiled evidence (PB 4.7.3) that the Viṣuvat, too, involved a human sacrifice, and probably also a sacred

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marriage, though in all likelihood one diametrically opposed to that of the Mahāvrata. This is suggested by the symmetry and the polarity (for which cf. also p. 38 above on agniciti ~ śmaśānaciti).

On the mythological plane, the "old" and "young" half of the year and the "elder" and "younger" Vrātyas (fathers and sons) seem to have counterparts in the gods Varuṇa/Prajāpati and Rudra. I would connect the Vedic myth of Rudra's birth with the ritual of the Mahāvrata. This rite appears to have celebrated the incest of the old father (Prajāpati = the impotent Varuṇa with miraculously restored virility; AV 4.4.1–2) with his own sixteen-year-old virgin daughter (Uṣas = Aṣāḍhā, the "invincible" goddess of victory, later Durgā). In the ritual as in the myth, the father was killed in punishment for his crime, originally by his own son (Rudra), the crown prince who succeeded his father (King Varuṇa) upon the royal throne. Or else the slayer of the god of winter, death, night, and chaos was his bride, the young goddess as the Mahiṣāsuramardiṇī (the buffalo of this myth probably was replaced later by the horse as the sacrificial animal of Varuṇa/Prajāpati).

The other sacred marriage, that of the Viṣuvat, seems to have celebrated the incest of the old and barren mother (the Earth, *mahiṣī*, later Jyeṣṭhā and Kālī) and her young beautiful son (Kumāra = Rudra/Skanda), who had reached warrior's age and sexual maturity (at the age of sixteen) but had not yet had sexual intercourse. This hypothetical sacrifice probably was the proper ritual context of the legend of King Hariścandra and his son Rohita (= Varuṇa and Rudra), doubled by Ajīgarta sacrificing his own son Śunaḥśepa.

The archaic Vādhūlasūtra (Caland 1926, §94) has preserved a unique passage that has not been properly understood nor attracted due attention: "They bring to the place as the cutter of the [sacrificial] horse this son of a famous bard [*etaṃ sūtaśreṣṭhasya putram*], who is still a youth with unemitted seed [*kumāram asiktaretasam*] after having adorned him, and [while bringing him] they lament him as if he was to die [*rudanto yathā mariṣyantam eva*]. For they say that in olden times [*purā*] he who first cut it [the horse], his head used to fall severed [*mūrdhā ha smāsya vipatiṣyatīti*]." In the Mahāvrata the male partner of the sacred marriage is a bard (*māgadha*), and here the male partner of a similar sacred marriage (the horse) is cut by the son of a bard, whose own head will also be cut (presumably in a similar feast half a year later after he has led a victorious expedition). The word *kumāra* 'youth' is also the name of Rudra, and the verb *rud-* 'to lament, cry', which is also used in this text, is quoted in the Brāhmaṇas in explanation of the name Rudra: both of these key terms are attested in this way in ŚB 6.1.3.8–9. But no Vedic text other than the cited passage of the VŚS reveals the original nature of this lamenting: Rudra is the Indian version of the dying and lamented young god who is so well known from such figures as Dumuzi/Tammuz, Attis, and Adonis.

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In either feast the sacrificed male victim represents the divine sun king whose two aspects (spring/summer = day, and autumn/winter = night) are personified as son and father. The sacrificed male partner has ruled during the immediately preceding half year, while his bride or his successor represents the starting half year into which that preceding half year is fused in a "sacred marriage," or by which it is terminated. The vernal half was understandably conceived as a *kumāra* or *kumārī*, who remained "eternally young" and was each year represented by a new sixteen-year-old boy or girl who was necessarily a virgin.

THE AGE OF HINDUISM

We have indeed evidence that a virgin (*kumārī . . . asiktaretas*) was involved in the horse/human sacrifice (VŚS, in Caland 1926, §93). In addition to ritual killing it also included the eating of the flesh of the human victim (VŚS, in Caland 1928, §108) and large-scale sexual orgies (Caland 1926, §92). We thus have all the essential elements of Tantrism in the pre-Vedic Dāsa rituals.

It has been customary to view the history of Indian religions from the perspective affected by the chronological development of the literary sources. However, the corresponding periodization, as well as the commonly accepted view, which sees a more or less unilinear development starting from the "germinal" hymns of the Ṛgveda, is seriously distorted. It is imperative, especially when studying the religions of "timeless" India, to distinguish between the age of the contents and the age of the literary form of a given document. We have already discussed the relation between the old family books of the Ṛgveda and the younger Veda (RV I and X, the Atharvaveda and the Brāhmaṇas). Although the latter texts are younger as far as the chronology of their expression is concerned, the religion preserved in them often represents a more archaic stage of development than that of the Ṛgveda. Thus, instead of Soma, which is an Indo-Iranian innovation, the cultic beverages of the Dāsas were above all *madhu*, which goes back to proto–Indo-European times, and *surā* (Rönnow 1929; below, p. 49; Horsch 1966, 231f.).

The Vedic texts were fixed comparatively early. The epic and mythical lore of Hinduism, on the contrary, was handed down orally and hence was subject to continuous change and interpolation over a period of at least a millennium. Although much historical development undeniably has taken place in Vedic and post-Vedic times, the early Vedic references and parallels prove that the core of the Mahābhārata is very ancient (Weber 1891). Since the proto-epic tradition is certainly connected with the Vrātyas (Horsch 1966, 54ff. and passim), I would go even so far as to suggest that it reflects the heroic age of the Dāsas of pre-Ṛgvedic times, in the same

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way as the Homeric epics reflect the Mycenaean civilization that predates the invasion of the Dorian Greeks.

Be this as it may, the Hindu ritual, even as it is practiced today or very recently, appears to have preserved with singular fidelity rites many millennia old, in forms that are closer to the reconstructible Dāsa religion than those of the Veda. Thus a sword or sickle is used in decapitating the human and animal victims offered to the Goddess, in contrast to the Vedic ritual, where the victims are suffocated. Yet there is enough evidence in the Vedic texts to show that suffocation has replaced an older method of severing the head with a slaughtering knife (Heesterman 1962, 18f.). It is therefore wrong to consider Hinduism only a continuation of Vedism, as some scholars have been inclined to do. Although the Veda has secondarily exerted considerable influence upon Hinduism as represented by the epics and the Purāṇas, it is primarily an independent tradition, one directly continuing the Dāsa heritage.

THE RELIGION OF THE NON-VEDIC BLACK-AND-RED WARE AREAS

An overdue emphasis on the relative chronology of the literary sources has tended to distort the perspective in another way as well. The spread of the Vedic religion has been traced geographically from the Northern Indus valley and the Panjab, where the Ṛgveda was composed, eastwards to the upper Ganges valley, where the oldest Upaniṣads were produced. More often than not this eastward movement has been supposed to have continued, in the sense that Buddhism and Jainism, which arose in Magadha, have been held to be indebted to the Upaniṣadic philosophy. The Mahāyāna of the Northwest, again, has generally been viewed only as a branch of Buddhism spread from Magadha.

With the exception of the relation between the Upaniṣads and the Magadhan "heresies" (a term illustrative of these preconceptions), for they are probably only indirectly connected (cf. Horsch 1966, 462), the view sketched above may be considered as legitimate, provided that its onesidedness is not forgotten. The areas peripheral to the Veda were not such religious vacuums as they have been more or less implicitly considered to be in the absence of sources that could in their age rival the Veda. We do possess some glimpses into the earlier history of religion in those areas, glimpses that should be accorded at least as much attention as the above mentioned diffusionistic influences when sketching the historical development.

Thus an acceptable explanation of Vajrayāna Buddhism seems hard to find. For example, von Glasenapp (1936) suggests a gradual development of this branch of Buddhism from original Hīnayānic elements, while Schulemann (1958, 50f.) speaks of "the adoption of Yogic practices" and "diffusion of Dravidian deities of South India, borrowed from Śivaism." In re-

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ality, the Vajrayāna appears to be nothing else than a Buddhist transformation of the earlier local Dāsa religion, from which we have some authentic records. The Mahābhārata (ed. Bombay 8.44–45) describes orgiastic Vrātya (sic) feasts (abhorred by the orthodox teller) in Śākala (modern Sialkot). The Greek Megasthenes (ca. 300 B.C.) gives an account of the Dionysos worship in the mountain regions of India (Dahlquist 1962, 46ff. with further references), while Herodotus (ca. 450 B.C.) describes the habits of the tribes of Northwest India (3.99–101). Also the Vedic texts contain some references to the northwestern peoples, who were not reckoned among the Vedic Aryans. These and later Indian sources relating to the Northwest attest to a religion from which the Mahāvrata and the other Vrātya rites seem to be derived. One important theme to be studied further may be specifically mentioned here: the relation of the gandharvas and apsarases, connected in the epic sources with the northern mountains and the Northwest (Gandhāra), to the bards and the harlot with similar musical and sexual functions at the Mahāvrata and the Aśvamedha.

The folk religion of Magadha from the sixth century B.C. onwards is relatively well known from the Buddhist and Jaina texts, especially the Jātakas that are based on popular tradition, and from the art. Tree and water spirits called yakṣas occupy a central position in this folk religion, and there is general agreement about their great antiquity (Coomaraswamy 1928, 1931; Gonda 1960, I, 323f.). ŚB 13.8.1.5 refers to the round burial monuments of the "demoniac" (*āsura*) people of the East (i.e., Magadha) as differing from the four-cornered śmaśānacitis of the "godly" people, i.e., the classical Vedic Aryans. The relation of the Vedic citi to the Buddhist stūpa (which is round) and its predecessor, the yakṣa caitya (which often consists of nothing but a sacred tree with a simple altar or dais), is a significant problem that deserves closer study (cf. Thapar, above, page 16). It has led me to a lengthy examination of the cult of trees, especially the banyan and aśvattha trees, in the Dāsa religion. There is evidence for the cult of trees in the Veda, but this important topic can merely be mentioned here, unfortunately.

THE HARAPPAN/DRAVIDIAN BACKGROUND OF THE DĀSA RELIGION

The cumulative results of these comparative studies, starting from the internal reconstruction based on Vedic texts alone, bring to the fore an archaic nature religion. It can be assumed a priori to have resulted from the syncretistic fusion of the early Aryan religion involving, among other things, chariot races and the horse sacrifice (Koppers 1936) brought to India by the Dāsas, and of the religion prevailing in North India at the time of the Dāsa invasion. We have seen that this invasion in all likelihood started early in the second millennium B.C. By that time the Harappan-related culture had

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for a millennium predominated in the western half of North India, the area where the Dāsas first settled.

The religion of the Indus people has remained problematic on account of the scarcity and ambiguity of the surviving evidence. Briefly, it consists of the iconography and the short enigmatic inscriptions carved on seals or printed on sealings, the small terracotta figurines with animal and human forms, conical and circular stones that have been interpreted in sexual terms, and the more general archeological material—the cities with their baths and drains, the painted pottery, etc. (see especially Marshall 1931, I, 48–78). Renou (1953, 3) says, "If the forms of religion revealed in the seals and figurines of the Indus have any remote connection with Indian forms, it is not so much with those of Vedism as with those of Hinduism, a Hinduism which, though known to us only by inference, must have already existed in Vedic times, and probably considerably earlier. The Harappa inscriptions would no doubt tell us more on this subject, but until they are deciphered it is idle to try to explain. . . . In short, we are faced with a complete defeat in this quarter." This view was more or less repeated by Sullivan and Gonda in 1964–65 when, independently of each other, they reviewed the various hypotheses put forward about the religion of the Indus civilization, especially the comparisons with later Hinduism; they both found them all to be ambiguous and inconclusive. It must be conceded that Hinduism is a vast and heterogenous religion that offers various possibilities of interpretation of its mute archeological remains. Moreover, since classical Hinduism is separated by a gap of some two millennia from the Indus civilization, it is quite justifiable to suspect the legitimacy of such parallels as long as the gap is not bridged.

It makes an essential difference to be able to compare the Indus material to a sort of proto-Hinduism that prevailed in post-Harappan times immediately before the Ṛgveda. Although the reconstruction of the Dāsa religion necessarily remains defective and to some extent hypothetical, some prominent features stand out clearly. It does carry some weight if these very features are also attested in the Indus evidence, and this indeed seems to be the case. I can quote here just a few important examples.

Mode (1959, 69–71) has plausibly interpreted a seal from Chanhu-daro (Mackay 1943, pl. 51 no. 13) as depicting the copulation of a bull and a priestess. He also has compared this scene with the sacred marriage of the Aśvamedha, which already had been interpreted as a continuation of a pre-Aryan bull cult with phallic fertility rites; such cults are known to have existed in the religion of the early West Asian civilization. Since Vajrayāna Buddhism may represent a transformation of the pre-Vedic Dāsa traditions, the copulation of Yama's buffalo with an old woman in the Vajrayānic iconography could also be a genuine reminiscence of the pre-Aryan bull cult. Yama as the righteous king with the strangling noose (*pāśa*) as his emblem is very similar to the early Vedic god Varuṇa, the Asura par excellence and the rival of Indra (RV 4.42); Varuṇa also has been plausibly interpreted as an early form of Prajāpati (see above, page 37).

PLATE 7A

PLATE 8

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In another Indus seal (Mackay 1938, II, pl. 99A) a human head has been placed upon a dais that stands beneath a sacred fig tree inhabited by an anthropomorphic deity (the shape of the head is indistinct in the photograph, but not in the original seal kept at the National Museum, New Delhi). The presence of a kneeling priest suggests that the scene is sacrificial, so the severed head of a human victim is meant rather than an iconic portrait of some deity. PLATE 7B

In 1973 I pointed out that "the elaborate canons of bricklaying [related to the Vedic fire altar] cannot be traced back to Aryan traditions [outside India] but only to the brick-built cities of the Indus civilization" (Parpola 1977). This point has also been independently raised by Converse (1974) in a paper discussed in Volume I (pp. 130–137). In the original larger version of the present paper I have some important points to add concerning the relation of the agniciti to the vāstupuruṣa = Rudra and to house building, which must have been an important ritual in the Harappan religion.

For the Indus script and its decipherment I refer the reader to other articles of mine (Parpola 1975, 1976). The reader is also referred to these and to the present paper (pp. 42–44, 62ff.) for evidence that the suggested Dravidian solution is in agreement with the results of historical linguistics and their integration with archeological data and can be checked by means of internal controls. A forthcoming study will also provide further support for the astral nature of the Harappan (priestly) religion hypothesized on the basis of the inscriptions and evidenced archeologically by the orientation of the cities.

I can point out two further controls for the hypothesis of the predominantly Harappan/Dravidian origin of the reconstructed Dāsa religion. One is derived from comparison with the religions of other early agriculturally based city civilizations that have a very similar ecological context and development (Steward 1955). In Babylonia and in ancient Mexico the New Year feast with its sacred marriage ritual, which in the latter case was accompanied by a human sacrifice, was also very prominent. And in ancient China the year was divided into two halves of polar opposition. The other control is provided by the religion attested in the Old Tamil texts, which constitute the only ancient (two thousand years old) non-Aryan literature that has not yet been so contaminated by Aryan contacts that it would not be possible to distinguish the characteristic features of the native religion. In this case, too, the overall picture (for which see especially Hart 1975) is very similar to the emerging Dāsa religion.

THE IDENTITY OF THE KIṂPURUṢA

There is at least one more way in which Dravidian elements of the Dāsa religion can be identified as such: the philological and linguistic study of its

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PLATE 7A

Bull and Priestess from Chanhu-Daro

PLATE 7B

Priest Kneeling Before Human Head, Mohenjo-Daro

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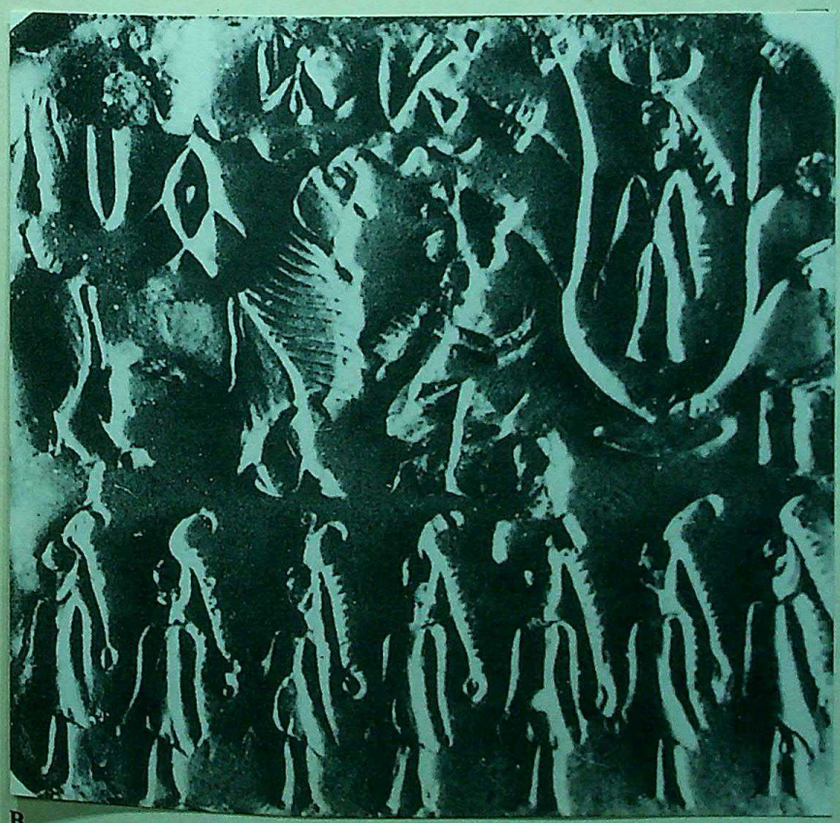
A



B

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PLATE 8

Yama
One of the Drag gsed or Eight Fearful Ones
(Tibetan painted scroll).

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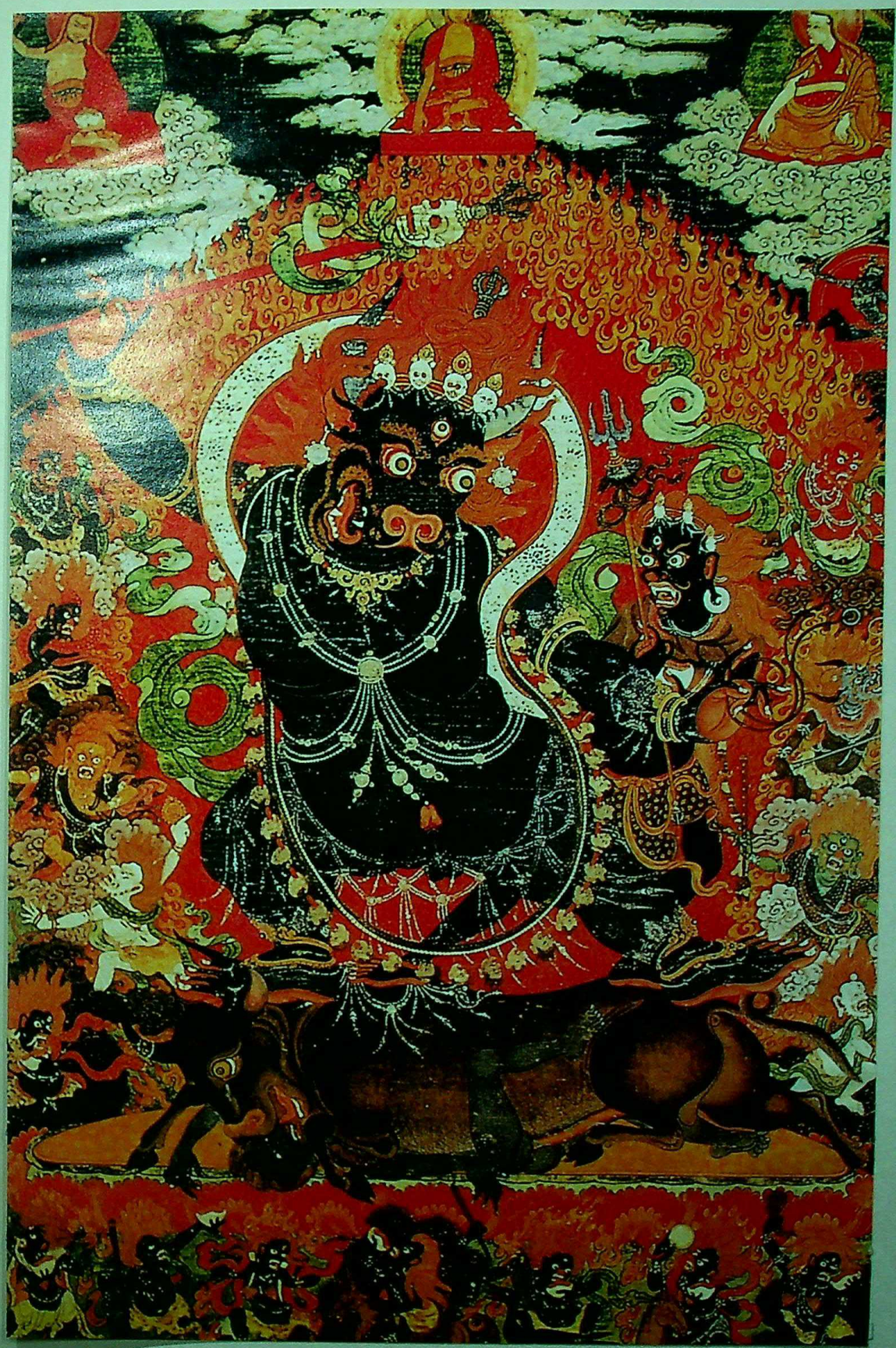

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key terminology, which may contain direct or translation loans from Dravidian. In this last section of the present paper, I shall illustrate this method by presenting one concrete example, which is also quite new. I have studied the problem posed by the term *kiṃpuruṣa* in greater detail, but the exposition, again for reasons of space, has here been restricted to the essential points.

In the epic and classical Sanskrit literature, the words *kiṃpuruṣa* and *kiṃnara* or *kinnara* are of frequent occurrence. They denote mythical beings who, in the paradisiacal lands of the northern mountains, serve their lord, the god of riches Kubera. These demigods usually appear in hosts, and they are often mentioned together with other kinds of Kubera's servants such as yakṣas, guhyakas, and the like. Most frequently, however, they are classed together with the naras and the gandharvas (in one place the kiṃnaras and the naras are said to be two kinds of gandharvas). All these last-mentioned beings are described in very similar terms. They are skilled singers, musicians, and dancers. The males and females are both very beautiful and noted for their love affairs, while the men are also fierce fighters. Their outward appearance is half human, half animal, the animal part being usually a horse, or sometimes a flying horse or a bird (Böhtlingk and Roth 1858, II, 284, 288; Sörensen 1925, 407f.; Hopkins 1915, 142–159). The Middle and Neo-Indo-Aryan counterparts of these words have essentially the same meaning.

At first sight the word *kiṃpuruṣa*, which already occurs several times in the Veda, is quite clear and straightforward Sanskrit; a compound of *kim* 'what? which'? (neuter singular of the interrogative pronoun) and *puruṣa* 'man'. But what particular kind of being was originally intended by this "what-man"? No unanimity has been reached by Vedic scholars, who have from the start been conscious of this problem; various solutions have been suggested: "mock-man," "depraved man," "deformed man," "dwarf," "savage," "ape," but it has usually been admitted that the sense is doubtful. In judging these translations it is important to be aware that the interrogative pronoun as the first member of compounds expresses inferiority, deficiency, and reproach (Pāṇini 2.1.64 and 6.3.106; Wackernagel 1905, II.1, 82ff.). The most important previous study of the word *kiṃpuruṣa* is that by Rönnow (1929, 145–149), who also discusses the earlier literature on the subject. Rönnow himself comes to the conclusion that the kiṃpuruṣa of ŚB 7.5.2.32 etc. is none other than the sacrificed human victim, whose head is placed on or in the ukhā vessel. I want to emphasize that Rönnow has already clearly shown the important position this sacrificed human victim and his head (see also Heesterman 1967) occupy in the "pre-Vedic, asuric religion" (i.e., the religion of the Dāsas), which Rönnow, too, was reconstructing.

My own conclusion is that Rönnow is right, but that in addition there

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is much reason to take seriously the Indian commentators, whose views have been ignored as anachronistic; they include in their considerations the later meaning of the word, which seems to be derivable from the Vedic evidence. To be more precise, in my opinion kiṃpuruṣa denoted a human victim whose profession was that of the bard, and who was decapitated in connection with a sacred marriage feast. In this sense the word is synonymous with *māgadha* (a bard that hails from Magadha, cf. Horsch 1966, 404f., 424f.) of the Mahāvrata and with *gandharva* (probably a bard who is a native of Gandhāra, the northwestern mountain region). In the Vedic literature, the gandharvas are connected with the consummation of marriage, where they have the ius primae noctis (RV 10.85.21–22 and 40–41; BGS 1.5.16ff.; ĀpGS 3.8.8ff.). According to ŚB 11.5.1.11–12, Purūravas ("crying much or loudly," Mayrhofer 1963, II, 313) was to come to lie with the apsaras Urvaśī for one night, the last of the year, when his son would have been born; in the morrow of that night (i.e., after his sacrificial death in this sacred marriage rite; Kosambi 1962, 54; Wright 1967, 527) he was to become a gandharva (i.e., a demigod, "celestial" musician). In the Mahābhārata (Calcutta ed., 14.88.3638–3643), gandharvas (and kiṃpuruṣas and kinnaras) are singers and dancers who entertain the priests during the intervals of the ritual acts at Yudhiṣṭhira's horse sacrifice, and so are comparable to the harp players of the horse sacrifice in the ŚB (13.4.3.1ff.).

In the Vedic texts the word *kiṃpuruṣa* is chiefly attested as denoting the two-footed one among the five sacrificial victims (the four-footed are the buffalo, gayal, camel, and deer) that are consecrated but released at the horse and human sacrifice. These five victims correspond to another set of five victims (man, horse, ox, sheep, goat), whose heads are placed in the lowest layer of the fire altar. (Cf. Vādhūlasūtra in Caland 1927, §19a, ŚB 1.2.3.9; AB 2.8). On this occasion, mantras are employed in which these latter "tame" animals related to the "village" are delivered of "burning heat," which is conjured to enter the first five animals explicitly connected with the "forest" (*araṇya*) in these formulae (KS 16.17; KapS 25.8; MS 2.7.17; TS 4.2.10; VS 13.41–51; for the ritual, BŚS 10.34). To my mind, the contrast between the village and the forest (Malamoud 1976) is here related to the polarity of the winter and summer halves of the year, respectively; the forest is connected with violence, robbing, warring, and Rudra. The two sets of five victims were probably sacrificed each at its corresponding seasonal feast in the earliest ritual. The puruṣa and kiṃpuruṣa in these lists could possibly be equated to the brāhmaṇa bard and the rājanya bard, who at the Aśvamedha sing improvised gāthās to the accompaniment of a harp (*viṇā*) during the day and night, respectively. The former sings on such peaceful activities of the king as "such sacrifices he offered, such gifts he gave"; the latter, being obviously a war bard, sings on such topics as "such war he waged, such battle he won!" (ŚB 13.1.5.1–6; 13.4.3.1ff.)

In the aforementioned release mantras, kiṃpuruṣa is replaced by the

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word *mayú*, while in the corresponding lists of ŚŚS 16.3.13 and 16.12.12–13 *māyu* is the epithet of *kiṃpuruṣa*. The word *mā̆yu* is derived from the verbal root *mā-* 'to bellow, roar, bleat', which normally denotes the "bellowing" of cows or "bleating" of goats as, for instance, in *ajá-māyu* (RV 7.103.6, 10), an epithet for the croaking frogs that is a metonymy of the chanting and reciting brahmins. As this example shows, the word might also refer to singers. In RV 10.95.3, the hymn of Purūravas and Urvaśī, it is said of the gandharvas that "the sounding ones have been understood to bleat like an ewe" (*úrā ná māyúm citayanta dhúnayaḥ*). In AV 6.38.4 and 19.49.4 mention is made of *puruṣasya māyú* 'man's roar' (Whitney 1905), where *puruṣa* in all likelihood is the same as *kiṃpuruṣa*, as Whitney suspected; the context, which speaks of a "noble" (*rājanya*), "[war] drum," "drawn [arrow]," and "horse's vigor" in the first of these verses, is very suggestive of the war bard; cf. also *ūrdhvá-māyu* 'shrill-crying' as an epithet of the war drum in AV 5.20.4. In regard to the later meaning of *kiṃpuruṣa*, it is worth noting that the late lexicographers mention *mayurāja* as a name of Kubera and *māyurāja* as a son of Kubera.

In the list of the symbolic human victims of the Puruṣamedha, the kiṃpuruṣa is assigned to the mountains (VSM 30.16 = VSK 34.3.3; TB 3.4.12). As in the epics, the word here is undoubtedly associated with the northern mountains. In the sources just cited, the kirāta assigned to the caverns denote the mongoloids of the Himalayas, especially of the Nepal region, who live in caves (*guha*) as do the guhyakas, a class of Kubera's servants. In BŚS 2.5: 40.5f., where the sacrificer conjures his bodily defects to enter into things or beings of a similar nature, the weeping, wailing, or lamentation (*roda*) is connected with the kiṃpuruṣa; I refer here to the lamentation that accompanies the young son of a noble bard who is going to lose his head according to the VŚS (see above, page 40).

From Māgha's Śiśupālavadha (4.38) we learn that the kiṃpuruṣa is a demigod with a horse's head and a human body, while the kiṃnara has a man's head and a horse's body. Speaking of these two kinds of beings and the gandharvas, Hopkins (1915, 158f.) states that in the epic "there is little to indicate that any of the three classes was of equine form at all and only the mention of Kiṃnaras and Kiṃpuruṣas support the [late] difference genealogically." It seems quite evident that the differentiation between kiṃnaras and kiṃ-puruṣas is secondary; in Sanskrit, *nara* 'man' is a synonym of *puruṣa* 'man', and only the kiṃpuruṣa is spoken of in the Veda. But if kiṃpuruṣa originally was a human being, a war bard, how did this idea of a centaurlike being originate?

In the Vedic Puruṣamedha, both a man and a horse were sacrificed (VŚS in Caland 1928, §108), originally by cutting off their heads. It seems that in some cases at least, the heads were exchanged, resulting in a situation that accurately corresponds to the one quoted above from Māgha. This may be concluded from the legend of Dadhyañc Āthárvaṇa (already referred

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to as a horse-headed being in RV 1.116.12) in ŚB 14.1.1.18–24. Dadhyañc knew the secret of "how this head of the sacrifice [i.e., of the sacrificed puruṣa] is put on again, how this sacrifice becomes complete." Indra forbade him to teach it to anyone else, threatening to cut off his head. The Aśvins (the medical gods connected with the horse), however, wishing to learn the secret, promised to protect him: "When thou wilt have received us as thy pupils, we shall cut off thy head and put it aside elsewhere; then we shall fetch the head of a horse, and put it on thee: therewith thou wilt teach us; and when thou wilt have taught us, then Indra will cut off that head of thine; and we shall fetch thine own head, and put it on thee again."

The secret of Dadhyañc was the madhuvidyā, the knowledge of the cultic beverages madhu and surā intimately connected with the head of the sacrificial victim (Rönnow 1929; Heesterman 1967). Surā is related quite specifically to the gāthā singers, both of these being discriminated on the side of the Ṛgvedic Soma cult (Horsch 1966, 231f.). Much surā was consumed in the orgiastic Vrātya feasts of the Northwest involving a sacred marriage and a human sacrifice (Mahābhārata, Bombay ed., 8.44.1ff). In the Northwest reside also numerous warrior tribes connected through their name with the horse, such as the Assakenoi of Alexander's historians and the Aśmakas or Aśvakas (Das Gupta 1972); there are even people called "horse-faced" (Aśvamukha, Turagānana) (Kirfel 1920, 88f.). It can be assumed that such names are derived from their practice of wearing the skin and head of the sacrificed victims during the feasts; in ancient Mexico, for example, the dead human victim was flayed and his skin was put on the one who was to succeed him in the following year in order to carry the sacredness over to him (Hubert and Mauss 1964, 73). Gandhāra and other northwestern countries have been famous for their numerous horses (Law 1943, 12). The epic praises the gandharvan breed of horses, and also knows the gandharvas themselves as warriors who are revived by a rain of ambrosia after they have been slain in battle (Hopkins 1915, 155). References can also be made to the archeological evidence: the graveyards of Swat contain skeletons of horses (Silvi Antonini and Stacul 1972, 288, 291) and human skeletons whose heads have been severed from the trunk (pp. 194 and passim).

We can now turn to the linguistic analysis of the word *kiṃpuruṣa*. First of all, I want to draw attention to the fact that both components of this word, *kim* and *puruṣa*, happen to be among those few words of clearly Prakritic origin that are attested in the Ṛgveda (Emeneau 1966, 130f.). This can be taken as further evidence for its pre-Vedic, Dāsa affinity, for both the Vrātyas (PB 17.1.9 and the interpretation of Weber in Horsch 1966, 418 n. 2) and the "demoniac" Mlecchas whom the Vedic Aryans encountered in the east (ŚB 3.2.1.18ff.; Thieme 1938, 3f.) spoke Prakrit.

But what has all this to do with Dravidian? The most characteristic feature of the Prakrit languages in comparison with Sanskrit is the simplification of the consonant clusters through assimilation, anaptyxis, and si-

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milar processes. This seems to be mainly due to the adaptation of Indo-Aryan to the Dravidian pattern of their mother tongue by the first bilingual generations who initiated the Aryanization of Dravidian North India. Dravidian has originally no initial consonant clusters and in the middle of the word only double consonants and clusters of homorganic nasal + voiceless stop (Zvelebil 1970, 76f.) The phenomenon is paralleled by the changes of Sanskrit loanwords in Tamil, which has preserved the proto-Dravidian phonology very faithfully (e.g. Tamil *tottiram*: Sanskrit *stotram*). It has been suggested that such structural Dravidianisms of the Ṛgveda as retroflexion have been derived from the early Prakrits (Killingley 1969). This is plausible in view of the chronology presupposed by these early Dravidianisms (Kuiper 1967, 96f.).

This is not all. In addition to the word *kiṃnara* or *kinnara* m. 'mythical musician' and the corresponding feminine (°*rī*), there are in Indo-Aryan the following words denoting "a kind of stringed instrument, a lute of the Caṇḍālas": Sanskrit *kiṃnarā* f. (lex.), *kiṃnarī* f. (lex. and Kathāsaritsāgara 37. 64), Sindhi *kīniro* m., and Marathi *kinrī* f. Against this rather meager representation on the Indo-Aryan side, we have corresponding words likewise meaning "a stringed musical instrument" in nine Dravidian languages representing all of the three main branches: Tamil and Malayalam *kinnaram*, *kinnari*, Kannada and Tulu *kinnari*, Telugu *kinnara*, *kinnera*, Parji *kindri*, Kuwi (F.) *kinēri*, Kurux *kendrā*, and Malto *kéndre*. The Dravidian words are considered borrowings from Indo-Aryan, and the name of the instrument a secondary derivation from "musician," with the traditional etymology *kim* (used pejoratively) + *nara* 'man' (Mayrhofer 1956, I, 210; Turner 1966, no. 3145; Burrow and Emeneau 1972, 478 = DBIA S 5). On the face of this evidence, however, it seems to me that the name of the musical instrument is primary, and that the Indo-Aryan words are of Dravidian origin. It is easy to find parallels for the semantic development from "harp" to "harp player" (witness a modern orchestra). Moreover, if the original Dravidian word was *kinnaram*, Sanskrit *kiṃpuruṣa* is obviously just an early (pre-Vedic) Indo-Aryan folk-etymological interpretation.

If the word *kinnaram* indeed is native Dravidian, then the Tamil, Malayalam, and Telugu words have an analogical *k*- caused by the Indo-Aryan influence (Sanskrit *kinnara*-) instead of the expected *c*-, palatalized before a front vowel (in the other Dravidian languages the original *k*- in this position is usually retained; Zvelebil 1970, 116ff.). Zvelebil (p. 118) also notes that "there is, however, a number of residue forms [in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu] probably due to dialect mixture or borrowing (from non-palatalizing Kannada) which do not conform to this rule [of palatalization]." Monosyllabic roots, both nominal and verbal, may normally occur in Dravidian as the first members of compounds (e.g. DED 2473 *taṇ-ṇīr* 'cold water', DED 2435 *tak-appan* 'father [who is worthy of respect]'; Zvelebil 1973, 35, Beythan 1943, §74 i.f.). The variant *nara* 'mythical musician

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similar to *kinnara*' suggests that *kin-naram* originally is a compound that is to be segmented as in Sanskirt. The first element of this compound could thus well be the Proto-Dravidian root *kil* 'to (re)sound' (DED + DEDS no. 1311, attested from Tamil all the way to Kuvi), which in all likelihood is originally identical with the onomatopoeic *kil-kil*, *kilu-kilu*, *kila-kila* 'to clink, tinkle, resound with noise' (DED 1312, attested from Tamil to Kui, and borrowed into Sanskrit as *kilakilā* 'sounds of joy'). Before the following nasal of *naram*, the final lateral has naturally assimilated: 1 → n/_n. In several languages the root *kil* 'to (re)sound' appears in the alloform *kel*, which would conform to the North Dravidian forms (Kurux *kendrā*, Malto *kéndre*). In Tamil this root is found, as expected, as *cil* or (augmented) *cilai*. Among the derivatives in Tamil we have *cilampal* 'sound of lute' and *cilai* 'bow' and its 'musical twang', the latter very well attested in the Old Tamil texts (Akam 38.3, etc.; Subrahmanian 1966, 365), and Tivākaram by Cēntaṉār records for the corresponding verb the meaning "to twang, as musical instrument." In view of the epithet *māyu* that kiṃpuruṣa has in the Veda, and his connection with *roda-* 'lamentation, crying', it may be worth while to note that the root *kil* also means "to utter a shrill cry (of joy or fear), weep, lament."

The second part of the compound could be the Proto-Dravidian root *ñaral*, *naral*, *naraku*, etc., meaning "to sound, make noise, hum (as many voices), grumble, groan, roar," which is attested in all branches of Dravidian from Tamil to Malto (DED 2365). In Tamil we have from this root *naralvu* 'sounding, roaring, high pitch, vibrating sound of a lute', and *narampu* 'the string of the harp (*yāl*)' (also 'the particular tune appropriate to the string', and 'stringed instrument'), which is attested very many times in Old Tamil texts, including the most ancient one (Tolkāppiyam, Eḷ. 33; Akam 109.2; see also Subrahmanian 1966, 479, and Tamil Lexicon, s.v.). Another possibility is the Proto-Dravidian word *ñarampu*, *narampu* 'nerve, sinew, vein' (DED + DEDS + DEN no. 2364, attested from Tamil to Malto), from which we have forms like Kannada *naravu*, *nara*, Tulu *nara*, Telugu *naramu*, Kolami *naram*, Gondi *naral*, *naram*. Sinews have been used as bow and harp strings, and so the former item seems to be derived from this word.

Kin-naram thus might well be a genuine Dravidian bahuvrīhi compound, meaning literally '(musical instrument) with a resounding string,' a most appropriate name for 'a stringed musical instrument, harp,' which is the widely recorded denotation of *kinnaram* both in Dravidian and in Indo-Aryan. The credibility of this Dravidian etymology is enhanced also by the extraordinarily important role played by the many different kinds of bards and their (deified) musical instruments (above all the harp and the drum, both prominent also in the Mahāvrata) in the most ancient, native Tamil religion and culture; note also that one of the two poetical genres, *puṟam*, was heroic war poetry; the other one, *akam*, was the sexual love lyric (Kailasapathy 1968; Hart 1975, 138ff.)

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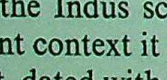
There are, however, also the following phonetically and semantically very similar words from the Near East, about whose relation to the Indian material Mayrhofer is hesitant (1956, I, 210 "Aber sollte der Anklang . . . blosser Zufall sein?"): Old Babylonian **kinnārum* 'lyre' (GIŠ*ki-in-na-ra-tim*, CAD K, 1971: 387b; von Soden 1965, VI, 480b 'Indian zither'), attested in Mari (18th cent B.C.) and slightly later in Ras Shamra (Ugarit), where the word, written syllabically d. GIŠ*ki-na-rum* and alphabetically *knr*, occurs as a deified cult object (Nougayrol, *Ugaritica*, 5, 1968, 45, and discussion p. 59); Syriac *kennārā* 'lyre'; Egyptian (New Kingdom *k(#)-nù-rú* (Helck 1962, 540; on a papyrus of about 1300 B.C. according to Sachs 1940, 102, where the word is transcribed *k·nn·r*) and Neo-Egyptian  *kniniwr* 'lyre' (Erman and Grapow 1931, V, 132, attested in Papyrus Anastasi IV 12.2; cf. idem., 1959², Belegstellen, 5, 20; "the late Egyptian or Coptic form, *ginēra*," cited by Sachs 1940, 102, is unknown to the Coptic dictionaries), both words being considered as loanwords from Canaanite; Hittite *kinirtalla-* 'a sort of musician (zitherplayer?)' (Friedrich 1952, 110); Arabic *kinnāra*, *kinnīra*, *kinārun*, *kannāratun* 'lyre' (Hickmann 1970, 64); Hebrew *kinnōr*, plur. *kinnōrōt* (fem.) 'a stringed musical instrument (probably lyre)' (Gen. 4:21, 31:27, etc., played by ecstatic prophets and by David as a shepherd, 1 Sam. 10:5, 16:16ff.), whence Greek κινύρᾱ, κιννύρᾱ 'lyre' (LXX, 3/2 cent. B.C. and in the first cent. A.D. in Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae 7.12.3, where it is described as a ten-stringed musical instrument played with the fingers; cf. also for Syriac, Koehler and Baumgartner 1954, 443; Stewart 1917, 387b; and Sachs 1940, 107).

We know for certain that Harappan traders visited and probably even resided for long periods in Mesopotamia and the islands of Failaka and Bahrain in the Persian Gulf, at least from the 24th to the 20th century B.C. (Gadd 1932; Parpola, Parpola, and Brunswig 1977). A Harappan seal (which in its round form agrees with the seals of the Persian Gulf civilization but differs from the native Harappan square seals found in India), inscribed with the Indus script characters, was excavated in 1970 in Bahrain. In the present context it is significant that this seal was associated with a cuneiform tablet, dated with the help of orthographic conventions to approximately the 20th century B.C.: the tablet contained three Amorite personal names (Brunswig and Parpola, in press). The Amorites, who in the early second millennium B.C. penetrated Mesopotamia from the west in growing numbers, constituted a very considerable ethnic component of the Old Babylonian kingdom of Mari, where the word *kinnārum* is first attested.

From the above evidence it seems possible that all the Near Eastern words, Old Babylonian *kinnārum* included, actually go back to an Amorite etymon. Yet the word looks decidedly non-Semitic in its structure (Jussi Aro, oral communication). It would seem possible to connect Dravidian *kin-nara(m)* with *kinnārum* by assuming that it was, as a cultural word, borrowed by the Amorites from Harappan traders in the entrepots of the Persian

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Gulf (cf. the later introduction of the instrument and its name from Canaan to Egypt: Helck 1962, 540). This would have taken place in the 20th century B.C., leaving just enough time for the *kinnārum* to become a thoroughly assimilated Amorite item by the 18th century. The Amorites cannot have reached the Persian Gulf much earlier, and the word was in all probability borrowed just there and not in Mesopotamia, because the word is not found in Sumerian. The lengthening of the final *a* in this process may have been caused by a possible side accent in the Dravidian word, but more likely because it was mediated by the Sumerian merchants living in the Persian Gulf in the 20th century and earlier. In Semitic, the final vowel of the words borrowed from Sumerian is often lengthened (e.g. *makkītu* < *m á-g í d*), the reason for this being in all likelihood the Sumerian accent, which to some extent can be compared to that of modern French (Krecher 1969). The archeological evidence proves beyond doubt the presence of both the Sumerians and the Harappans in Bahrain and Failaka, whose Dilmun culture moreover in various ways exhibits "a cultural influence and a borrowing and amalgamation of elements from both the Sumerian and the Indus Valley Civilization" (During Caspers 1973, 6).

It remains to be pointed out that the Indus script contains a pictogram, 𝍐 with an allograph 𝍐 (Marshall 1931, III, pl. 105 no. 46; Vats 1940, pl. 100 nos. 680 and 692), which many authorities have interpreted as depicting a harp (Sachs 1940, 152; Knorozov 1968, 16). It has the same form as the oldest historically known Indian harp, the vīṇā in its early form (for which see Coomaraswamy 1930; and Marcel-Dubois 1941, 72ff.), and the hundred-stringed harp (*vāṇa śatatantu*), which occupies a prominent position in the Mahāvrata, a most important Dāsa rite of the Vedic ritual (LŚS 3,12,15ff.; JB 2, 45; BŚS 16,20f., etc.).

Moreover, *kīniro* is still played in Sind today, four thousand years after the fall of the Indus civilization. In view of the minimal spread of the mainly lexically attested Indo-Aryan material for the meaning "stringed musical instrument," it is difficult to see how Sindhi could have borrowed this word from Sanskrit. As in the case of the solid-wheel cart, which has to the present day in Sind remained identical with its Harappan prototypes in spite of all the technological innovations in the meantime (e.g., Marshall 1931, III, pl. 154 nos. 10–11), we seem to have here one of those cases—witness also the Kerala Agnicayana!—where millennial traditions have survived in India. The Jaina lexicographer Hemacandra (1089–1172 A.D.), who lived in Gujarat, a territory that in pre-Aryan times belonged to the Harappan realm, specifies that *kiṃnarī* is a lute of the Caṇḍālas (Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, śeṣa 82, cited by Böhtlingk and Roth, 1855–1875, s.v.), i.e., of despised aboriginal tribes. Marathi, the only other living Indo-Aryan language in addition to Sindhi to have the word, is the Neo-Indo-Aryan language that contains by far the largest number of Dravidian loanwords (cf. the indexes of DED and DEDS). It has been pointed out that "the 'standard' Marathi of the hi-

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gher castes shows less influence of Dravidian than lower-caste Marathi," and the analysis of the data "would lead to the hypothesis that those with more Dravidian features in their speech had originally been Dravidian speakers, and had later replaced their home language by Marathi" (Southworth 1974, 219f.). Indeed, such a process seems to have taken place not only in Maharastra but also in Gujarat and Sind, where the earlier population was according to Southworth (p. 222) "probably mainly Dravidian-speaking".

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OTHER FOLK'S FIRE[1]

J.C. Heesterman

To the memory of Hertha Krick

AGNI, FIRE, is the central feature of the Vedic world.[1] We hardly need to insist on this point: all of Vedic ritual, centered as it is on the fire cult, is there to prove it. Not surprisingly, then, fire is the focus of a deeply layered, many-faceted imagery. To mention only some prominent points, fire, which prepares man's food and carries offerings to the other world of gods and fathers, is both the center of the human world and the means for communicating with the ultramundane sphere. It is the pivot in the cosmic circulation of the goods of life. For instance, we are told that the ādityas—or the gods in general—went to heaven taking everything with them, including fire; however, when they arrived there they suffered from thirst, for even in heaven they remained dependent on burnt offerings made on earth. Therefore, they had to reestablish fire on earth so as to restore the cosmic circulation whereby they could live in heaven.[2]

Fire, then, stands for life, wealth, procreation, and the continuation of family, clan, and lineage. Hence the importance that is attached to the installation of the domestic fire and, even more, to that of the separate fire for the solemn sacrifice. One establishes fire, we are told, because one wishes to become rich in cattle, in progeny, and in fiery energy (*tejas*).[3] Thus, it stands to reason that the origin of man is mythologically bound up

[1] This essay should have been written in cooperation with Dr. Hertha Krick, whose unpublished thesis, *Das Ritual der Feuergründung* (Vienna, 1972), dealt in an expert way with an important part of the relevant material. Her work emphasizes the originally agonistic nature of the ritual in the context of a communal fire cult. Though very personal, her interpretation is congenial to the approach presented here. Since her untimely death took away the possibility of a joint publication, it is fitting that the present essay should be dedicated to her memory.

I should here also record another debt of gratitude to Mr. Timothy Moody of McMaster University, Hamilton. During a three-month stay at the University of Toronto I had the advantage of working with Mr. Moody on questions relating to his Ph.D. thesis dealing with the Agnyādheya rite. His work offers a different viewpoint. By keeping the ritual system and the ritual symbolism analytically separate, it investigates the ritualists' method of using the available symbolism. Stimulating discussions with Mr. Moody have greatly helped me in the preparation of this essay. His thesis will provide not only full material on the Agnyādheya but new interpretations as well, that will provide a useful contrast to this paper.

[2] TS 1.5.3.4; MS 1.7.5; KS 9.3.

[3] KS 8.8.

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with the appearance of fire,[4] as, for instance, in the Brāhmaṇa versions of the story of the earthling Purūravas and the fleeting nymph Urvaśī, whose son Āyu is an ancestor of both mankind and fire.[5] Or, in terms of the ritual; "Man is unborn as long as he has not yet established the fire; he is born only when he establishes the fire."[6] In this way fire even represents immortality. For in the beginning Agni was the only immortal among the gods and their rivals, the asuras, since both were still without an ātman and therefore, as the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa tells us, subject to death. By toiling and singing Agni's praise the gods finally managed to establish Agni in their inner selves, in their ātman, and so to become immortal, thus defeating their asura rivals.[7] In the same way the fire cult should ensure man's immortality. The reference to the self is also interesting in another respect. It suggests the identification of man with his fire, as is also clear in the case of Āyu. Indeed, the ritual texts emphasize this identification. Not only are man and fire said to be father and son, but the relationship is reversible.[8] In short, they are one, a unity that guarantees immortality. Against this background we can understand that the ritualistic concern with the fire borders on the obsessive, as appears from the elaborate casuistry regarding possible mishaps that may befall the sacrificial fire.[9]

However, this obsessive concern seems to point to something else, too. Fire symbolizes life and immortality, but its possession is far from secure. Not only can fire be dangerous and destructive when it gets out of hand and acts in its aggressive Rudra form, it is also notoriously fickle and ephemeral. Indeed, the central theme of the cult and its imagery is not so much the security given by the fire as the fact that it constantly tends to withdraw from men and gods and to go into hiding in the waters, plants, or other elements, whereupon it must be found and taken possession of again.[10] Paradoxically, the fire, though representing continuity and immortality, is said to become "worn out" (*jīryati*)[11] and to fear death. Agni's fear of death is the theme of the story of his three predessors, or elder brothers, who had succumbed or disappeared under the weight of their sacrifical function.[12]

[4] A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* (reprint ed., Darmstadt, 1968), pp. 64–84.
[5] MS 1.6.12; KS 8.10; ŚB 11.5.1; BŚS 18.44–45.
[6] MS 1.6.4.
[7] ŚB 2.2.2.8–14; cf. also 10.4.1.6.
[8] ŚB 2.3.3.6.
[9] See, for instance, the reparatory rites in ĀpŚS, which include the rather far-fetched case that the fires might go out even though there be no wind (9.10.6). This case may originally have had another meaning in the "preclassical" phase of the ritual's development.
[10] See, for instance, RV 10.51, esp. 2–5.
[11] TS 1.5.7.3; MS 1.5.6; KS 7.4.
[12] See verses referred to in note 10; and also TS 2.6.6.1–2, 6.2.8.4–6; MS 3.8.6; KS 25.7; ŚB 1.2.3.1, 1.3.3.13–17.

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The present Agni, the fourth in succession, is afraid that the same lot will befall him, and he flees to take refuge in the waters. The gods finally find him and lure him back into sacrificial service by promising him a share in the sacrifice and immortality. (This is in striking contrast to Agni's immortality elsewhere, as noted above).

In a similar vein we are told about the three bodies or forms (*tanū*) of Agni, dispersed throughout the universe in the guise of cattle, water, and sun. These bodies have to be brought together and reintegrated, as is ritually done by means of the so-called tanūhavīṃṣi, the "body-offerings" to Agni, once the fires have been set up at the Agnyādheya rite.[13] This can also be done by assembling the different kinds of earth that are used in making the fire hearths—a procedure that is closely parallel to assembling the loam for baking firepots and bricks in the Cayana ritual, that is, reassembling Agni purīṣya—and by collecting different kinds of firewood. So Agni continually disintegrates or disappears and must be found, collected, and reintegrated again and again.

Thus we find that it is not sufficient to establish the fires once and for all at the Agnyādheya rite; there is in addition a repeated setting up of the fires (Punarādheya), and we even find a third setting up mentioned.[14] Even the prestigious brick altar does not provide permanence. On the contrary, the altar is abandoned, never to be used again. After its use in the Soma ritual it is considered a cadaver, Agni's dead body, as I was told by certain Nambudiris.[15] Here, too, the basic pattern is one of cyclically alternating phases, periodical disappearance or dissolution and even death, followed by reassembling and resuscitation of the fire through the action of man or of his predecessors, the gods. There is thus no security for man in the fire, nor is the fire comfortable with man. And yet they need each other for the common goal of continuity and immortality: man needs the fire in order to keep up the circulation of the goods of life, and the fire needs man in order to be resuscitated again and again. But far from there being from the start an absolute and unshakable identity of man and fire, the weight of cult and mythology goes to show that at best the relationship is one of compromise and mutual manipulation.

The myth of the fire's descent, then, does not only tell us how in the beginning the fire came to be established among men on earth. Equally and more importantly, it tells us about the nature of the fire and its dubious relationship to man. For instance, at the churning of the fire the myth of Purūravas and Urvaśī and of their son Āyu is referred to in the simple mantra addressed to the fire drill: "You are Urvaśī, you are Āyu, you are Purūravas."[16] This is intentionally made to seem a confident recall of mythical times

[13] TB 1.1.6.1–3; MS 1.6.8; KS 8.8–9; ŚB 2.2.1.13–15.
[14] TS 1.5.4.4; ĀpŚS 5.29.11.
[15] For the brick altar and death, see TS 5.4.4.4.
[16] TS 1.3.7k; ĀpŚS 7.12.13–14.

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by way of an unproblematic reenacting of a previous founding act. But at the same time this simple, straightforward mantra conjures up the mythical story that turns on the unstable and ephemeral relationship of the two unequal partners, Purūravas and Urvaśī, the uncertainty of life's continuity, and the problem of obtaining and holding the fire—a problem for which the story of the two partners provides the paradigm. Thus in this story the lightning, the heavenly fire, is not only a sign of Purūravas' virile prowess.[17] It is equally his undoing as it shows him (in violation of the critical condition of their covenant) naked before Urvaśī, who then disappears.

The fire, then, presents a paradox. It holds out the promise of continuity and immortality, but at the same time it is characterized by instability and an unaccountable lack of security. This is the problem that the ritual must attack: how to devise a ritual means to obtain and to hold the fire securely so that it will work uninterruptedly for the maintenance and continuity of life. This problem, it would seem, was both the stimulus and the nodal point of the elaboration of the fire ritual. The ritualist had to start by acknowledging the truth of the mythological paradox and, taking his cue from there, then had to devise a means to break away from the paradoxical tie. One must remember that, given the nature of the fire as expounded in mythical lore, it is not in man's or, in ritual terms, in the householder's (*gṛhastha*) possession from the beginning. The fire is always elsewhere, i.e., with someone else, with the "others," whence it must be obtained by any means, fair or foul. And, as well shall see, the means used are usually foul. Mythology teaches that man did not obtain the fire in any regular or natural way, but by irregular or violent means, notably by theft. In Greek mythology, and equally in its ancient Indian counterpart, fire had to be stolen from heaven, as has been shown by Johanna Narten in her study of the double root *math*: *mánthati*, the laborious but harmless act of churning, notably the fire by means of the fire drill, and *mathnā́ti*, to rob, steal.[18]

In order to see how the problem presented itself to the ritualists we may turn to the ritual instructions for obtaining the fire. The primary fire is, of course, the home or aupāsana fire, the focus of the household and its cult, from which the fires for the solemn or śrauta cult are derived. The most frequently mentioned method of obtaining and setting up the home fire is marriage, the home fire being originally used at the marriage ceremony (*vaivāhikāgni*).[19] However, the marriage ceremony takes place in the parental

[17] RV 10.95.3: *avīre krátau ví davidyutan ná* "without virile power there is no lightning."
[18] Johanna Narten, "Das Vedische Verbum *math*," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 4 (1960), pp. 121–135.
[19] ŚGS 1.1.3; ĀśvGS 1.9.1; PārGS 1.2.1; KhādGS 1.5.1; GobhGS 1.1.8; HirGS 1.22.2; ĀpGS 5.13. Thus we can understand that, according to some authorities, the domestic Agnihotra offering can be performed by the sacrificer's wife (KhādGS 1.5.17), and that the śrauta ritual generally requires that the sacrificer should have a patnī

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home of the bride, and so one derives one's home fire from one's in-laws. It thus looks as if the fire is transmitted in the female line or, in the case of regularly repeated matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, from one's mother's family. This is also in keeping with the Brāhmaṇa versions of the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, since the fire, both as lightning and as contained in the aśvattha wood of the fire drill, is linked with or comes from Urvaśī's relatives, the Gandharvas.[20] There is, however, a practical problem. Obtaining the home fire from the marriage ceremony implies that one sets up a separate household with one's own domestic cult. But this is not always the the case; the new couple may, and in many cases will, start off by living in the household of the groom's father as full participants in the paternal domestic cult. The Ṛgvedic dialogue of Purūravas and Urvaśī suggests that this was also their case. If the newlyweds do not set up a separate household, there is no occasion—not even the jural possibility—for maintaing one's own home fire. Consequently, other ways are mentioned. One may derive one's fire from that of the teacher at the time that one leaves the preceptor's home to set up one's own household.[21] Since this is the moment when the onetime pupil becomes householder, this method of obtaining one's fire is parallel to that of the marriage fire, and so we run up against the same problem. But there are still other alternatives. One may also obtain one's fire from the house of a cattle-rich vaiśya (*purupaśu-viṭkula*), a munificent sacrificer, or a śrotriya. Or it may be obtained from a frying pan (*ambarīṣa*), presumably by heating a pan filled with combustible material in another unspecified fire.[22]

We may retain two essential points from this somewhat confusing list of possible sources. The first is that these alternatives all have one feature

however restricted her role may be. On the other hand, there is the stress on the male line in the mantras for worshiping the fires after the Agnihotra: "May [name of sacrificer's son] continue this work of mine."

[20] See references in note 5. MS, KS, and ŚB stress the relationship with the Gandharvas. According to Baudhāyana, however, the aśvattha wood of the upper drilling stick grew out of Purūravas's seed, which Urvaśī put in a pot, the latter becoming the śamī that provides the lower araṇi. Here, then, it would seem that the fire's connection with the male line is emphasized.

[21] Leaving the teacher's home is the occasion of the Samāvartana ritual. However, this ritual does not specifically refer to the pupil obtaining his fire from the teacher's hearth. In fact, it would seem that the Samāvartana originally had a different meaning, namely, the setting out of the consecrated warrior on a tour of conquest and of prize- or booty-winning. As we shall see, this is in itself not an improbable context for obtaining one's fire. On the Samāvartana, see Heesterman, "The Return of the Veda Scholar," in *Festschrift F.B.J. Kuiper* (The Hague, 1968), pp. 436–447. I avail myself of this opportunity to correct an irritating mistake on p. 445 of my rendering of ŚB 11.4.1: it is not that Svaidāyana is outwitted by Uddalāka, with whom he eventually seeks upanayana, but the other way around.

[22] ŚGS 1.1.8; PārGS 1.2.3; KhādGS 1.5.4–5; HirGS 1.22.4 (cf. 1.26.15); ĀpGS 5.16.

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in common: the fire has to be procured from elsewhere, or rather from someone else, whose willing or unwilling cooperation is therefore necessary. And, strangely, it is nowhere said that one should take one's fire from one's father's fire, let alone that one should continue maintaining one's paternal or ancestral fire. In fact, there does not seem to be such a thing as an ancestral fire, because the fire ends with the life of the householder and is last used in his cremation. After that his son has to set up his own fire. If relatives are involved they are not the patrilateral but, as we saw, the matrilateral relatives. This is surprising, for it sits uncomfortably with the strong brahmanical stress on the patrilineage and, more specifically, with the otherwise emphasized double identification of the householder with his son and with his fire. One would have expected the son to maintain his father's fire so as to ensure the continuity of the lineage as well as the immortality of his father and earlier patrilineal ancestors. However, this is clearly excluded. Here, in ritual terms, we encounter the paradox we already noticed, namely, that of permanence and instability, continuity and discontinuity.

The second point that emerges is that no use is made of the fire drill, an instrument otherwise much in evidence. Technically, it is, of course, quite possible to obtain one's fire without having to turn to other people, namely by churning one's own by means of the fire drill. However, the fire drill is only used in exceptional circumstances, namely, when the fire obtained through marriage inadvertently goes out and must be replaced.[23] So preference is clearly given to the fire of others. Perhaps this is not so surprising after all, if we take into account that the fire is not only the focus of the limited household, but equally of the web of social relationships in the wider community. This is illustrated, for instance, by the fact that at festive occasions the fire provides the food for both human and divine guests. Moreover, the texts mention, as one of the fires in the śrauta ritual, the fire in the assembly hall, the sabhā, even though after its solemn installation we do not hear any more about it.[24] But the difficulty lies exactly in this social or communal function of the fire, and that may well be the reason why we do not learn more about the assembly hall fire than that it is solemnly installed. The difficulty is that the fire is the householder's intensely personal property or even his own self. At the same time, however, it is communal, tying the householder in with his fellows and making him dependent on them. This seems to be the social reality behind the mythological notion of the fire's peripatetic impermanence. The ritual expresses this in the rules that command the householder to obtain his fire from others.

At this point we should turn our attention to the fires for the śrauta

[23] HirGS 1.22.4; ĀpGS 5.15.
[24] According to BŚS 20.17:37.15–17, the sabhya as well as the āvasathya fire (of which there is no further mention) are used in the manner of a gṛhya fire, namely, for the preparation and offering of a sthālīpāka.

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ritual, which form in a complicated way the extension of the domestic fire. Of prime importance for our purpose is, of course, the ritual for setting up the śrauta fires (Agnyādheya). The outline of the procedure is the following. On a special fire taken from the domestic hearth a rice stew is prepared, the brahmaudana. This odana is offered to and eaten by four brahmins—the officiants—while the remainder of the odana is stirred with three pieces of wood that are then put as fuel into the fire over which the stew was prepared. This fire is kept burning throughout the night until the following morning, when it is allowed to go out.[25] So this fire, however sacred it may seem on account of the cooking of the brahmaudana, is not used directly for setting up the śrauta fires. The only link is an indirect one: before the brahmaudana fire is allowed to go out, the fire drill is warmed over it so that the brahmaudana fire is symbolically transferred to the two araṇis that form the fire drill. Here, then, the fire drill comes into its own. The first of the śrauta fires, the gārhapatya fire, is then produced by churning at the site of the now extinguished brahmaudana fire and is then brought to the gārhapatya hearth, which is to the east. Curiously, the gārhapatya fire, notwithstanding its name (which pertains to the gṛhapati, the householder), is not directly linked with the domestic fire. Between the gṛhya and śrauta fires there is a gap that is bridged by interposing the fire drill.[26]

Once the gārhapatya fire, on which the offerings for the gods are prepared, is on its hearth, the āhavanīya or offering fire can readily be established by taking it from the gārhapatya. Here the fire drill is no longer necessary. And, indeed, apart from the critical phase of establishing the gārhapatya fire, the drill seems strangely supernumerary. Its further use seems to be either in case of mishaps, as for instance when all the fires, including the gārhapatya, have gone out; or, rather superfluously as it would seem, in the animal and Soma sacrifices when fire is churned and added to the already burning āhavanīya at the moment the victim is brought forward. We cannot here pursue these somewhat puzzling situations. For the moment it may suffice to conclude that the ritual use of the drill does not appear to be based on its obvious technical advantages. This situation is comparable to the very restricted use of the churning sticks in the domestic ritual, where we noticed a distinct preference for other's fire. This preference also appears in the case of the third of the śrauta fires, to which we shall now turn.

Apart from gārhapatya and āhavanīya there is the southern fire, or

[25] Cf. ĀpŚS 5.4.1.2–7.3, 8.5–9.1, 10.7–11.6.

[26] I have followed here ĀpŚS. BŚS, however, does not derive the brahmaudana fire from the domestic fire but takes for the purpose an ambarīṣa or uttapanīya fire, that is, one indirectly kindled at another fire by means of a frying pan or similar device. Possibly this was originally meant to be done stealthily, for Baudhāyana prescribes that they should go to the place where they take this indirectly kindled fire "covered" (*saṃpracchannāḥ*). At any rate in Baudhāyana there is no link whatsoever with the domestic fire (BŚS 2.13:54.15).

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dakṣiṇāgni. In many respects this fire stands in opposition to the others. In contradistinction to the gārhapatya and āhavanīya, which are situated on a line running from west to east, the heaven-going direction, the dakṣiṇāgni is placed to the south. It marks the north-south direction that is concerned with the fathers, i.e., predominantly with men.[27] This southern fire, according to its function also known as anvāhāryapacana or odanapacana—that is, the cooking fire for the food offered to the brahmins at the sacrifice—is very much akin to, if not a double of, the domestic and brahmaudana fires.[28] It is therefore not only installed by a different priest, the āgnīdhra (the adhvaryu deals with the gārhapatya and āhavanīya), it is also procured in a different way. There is, of course, the possibility of taking it, like the āhavanīya, from the gārhapatya hearth,[29] but this is only given as an alternative and clearly represents an attempt to eliminate the opposition and to amalgamate the śrauta fires into a homogeneous group, as against the domestic fire.[30] However, the evidence is overwhelming for setting the dakṣiṇāgni apart from the other śrauta fires. Thus the brahmaudana fire, instead of being allowed to go out, may, according to some authorities, be preserved and used again for the dakṣiṇāgni.[31] In view of their similarity in function—both being used for preparing the food for the brahmin guests and officiants—this procedure is readily understandable. At any rate it clearly sets off the dakṣiṇāgni from the other śrauta fires. Or again, the dakṣiṇāgni may be kindled by churning with the fire drill.[32] But the southern fire is preferably to be taken from elsewhere—a burning tree top, for example, apparently one hit by lightning.[33] Mythologically this makes perfect sense, but as a ritual prescription it does not seem to be overly practical. So one is back again at the point where, as was the case with the domestic fire, one obtains the dakṣiṇāgni from someone else, namely from an opulent householder, whether brahmin, kṣatriya, vaiśya or even śūdra. But here we are in for a surprise; not only should this householder be opulent, but he should also be "like an asura," or countergod (*asura iva*).[34] This is indeed at first sight puzzling, but it can be linked up with other statements. Thus, in the same

[27] For the opposition west-east as against south-north, cf. ŚB 4.6.8.19–20.
[28] Interestingly, the hall for the brahmaudana fire is oriented south-north (ĀpŚS 5.4.1).
[29] BŚS 2.17:61.18.
[30] BŚS 2.17:61.18 goes to some length to justify the alternative by referring to the unitary sacrificial god Prajāpati. ŚB, which is most systematic in unifying the ritual and eliminating all oppositions, is clearly embarrassed by the southern fire and recommends its kindling only when actually necessary for cooking the food for brahmins at the Full Moon and New Moon sacrifices (ŚB 2.3.2.6–8).
[31] BŚS 2.16:58.17, 2.18:61.10 Cf. also ŚB 2.1.4.6.
[32] ĀpŚS 5.13.8.
[33] ĀpŚS 5.14.3 (cf. KS 29.10). Probably this is a reference to the Purūravas story, where Purūravas finds the fire given to him by the Gandharvas in a burning aśvattha top (KS 8.10).
[34] ĀpŚS 5.14.1–2; KS 8.12.

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vein we learn that the dakṣiṇāgni belongs to the rival (*bhrātṛvyadevatya*), in contradistinction to the gārhapatya, which belongs to the sacrificer (*yajamānadevatya*).[35] In a comparable case—namely, that of the fire that the sacrificer must carry for a year in preparation for the building of the brick altar (the ukhya fire)—it is said that if the adhvaryu officiant wants to raise an enemy against his patron, he should get the ukhya fire from someone else's place.[36] So we can hardly doubt the seriousness of the statement that the dakṣiṇāgni should be taken not only from someone else but from an enemy.

The ritual, although it offers hardly any scope for inimical or antagonistic proceedings, is indeed shot through with the idea of conflict and bloodletting. In the Brāhmaṇa explanations Indra is forever killing Vṛtra, while references to the battles between devas and asuras abound to such an extent that one is inclined simply to discount them as hyperbole, the more so since there is very little in the actual ritual that directly reflects such warlike exploits. But here the ritual itself gives a direct indication of inimical proceedings, for if the householder from whom one should take one's southern fire is indeed "like an asura," it is unlikely that he will be prepared to lend his fire to the service of the devas without putting up some resistance. Of course, the ritual as we know it does not elaborate this point, and indeed does not offer any room for such elaboration, but the statement is the more telling for it. If the ritual is at variance with the ritual system as propounded by the texts, we must assume that the variance indicates a previous state of affairs that was so strongly embedded that the standardized system of ritual could not totally ignore it. This adds a further dimension to the problem that confronted the ritualists; not only was the fire impermanent and regularly obtained elsewhere, but obtaining it also meant conflict and strife. Therefore, we should investigate how this conflict manifested itself in connection with sacrificial fire.

The mythological prototype of conflict is the perennial war of devas and asuras, of gods and countergods. The asuras are not demons in our sense, but rather lordly if dull-witted warriors and sacrificers who are continually outwitted in sacrificial contests by the devas. Also, in later purāṇic mythology, the champion of the gods, Viṣṇu, assumes the guise of a dwarfish brahmin to trick the munificent sacrificer and king of the asuras, Bali, into ceding the whole of the triple world. Significantly, this episode occurs at a sacrifice arranged by the liberal but overbearing asura king. In the Vedic texts, as well, the battles between asuras and devas are often said to take place in a sacrificial context. The site of the sacrifice seems to be a battlefield rather than a tidy and peaceful place.

[35] ŚB 2.3.2.6; the same is true the for dakṣiṇāgni and āhavanīya (TB 1.6.5.4).
[36] ĀpŚS 16.9.7.

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If we now look again at the rite for establishing the śrauta fires, we can easily perceive further remnants of battles and contests. In the first place we notice that a horse, apparently without any special function, should stand nearby when the fire is drilled for the gārhapatya. Later on this horse accompanies the fire that is brought from the gārhapatya eastwards to the āhavanīya hearth. The significance of the horse's presence becomes somewhat clearer when we learn that on the arrival at the site of the āhavanīya, the horse is made to step on the site while the mantra "He has overcome all foes" is being recited.[37] Moreover, to the south of the fires' emplacement a wheel or a chariot is rolled from the west to the east when the fire is brought forward.[38] One text combines these three elements—fire, horse, and chariot—and has the fire transported on the chariot and the chariot drawn by the horse.[39] At first one will be inclined to think of a harmless piece of solar symbolism, even though this episode is said to be intended to smash a non-specified and absent enemy.[40] However, if we combine this episode with other features of the same rite, it no longer appears so serene. We find, in fact, that it is expressly forbidden to anyone to cross the west-east line between the burning gārhapatya and āhavanīya fires—that is, in a south-north direction. A guardian (*goptṛ*) is even appointed at the time to guard against such an eventuality.[41] However unlikely the event, there is nevertheless a reparatory rite in case not just a harmless person but a chariot or a cart or somebody carrying his fires passes between the burning gārhapatya and āhavanīya fires.[42] Such an occurrence, however, can hardly be just a mishap. It must be intentional. The explanation emerges when we read in another context that the gods were attacked at their place of sacrifice by the asuras from the south and had to retreat to the āgnīdhrīya hearth on the north side of the extended place of sacrifice, where they held out and finally overcame the asura attackers.[43] We are now in a position to understand why the southern fire is derived from someone who is "like an asura," and why it is said that it belongs to the enemy. Originally the place of sacrifice was a fighting ground, and not only in symbolic mythological terms. Its diagram is made up of two perpendicular lines running west-east and south-north representing the movement of two opposing parties; here one fought for one another's fire, food, and cattle. Such fights may have been prearranged, ceremonial, and conventional, but they were no less violent because of it. Incidentally, this may also explain why one who removes the fire is guilty

[37] ĀpŚS 5.10.9, 14.5.14–18; TS 4.2.8a (mantra).
[38] ĀpŚS 5.14.6–7.
[39] VaitŚS 5.18.
[40] See W. Caland on ĀpŚS 5.14.7; and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 53, p. 699.
[41] BŚS 2.16:60.1–3.
[42] ĀpŚS 9.10.17; MS 1.8.9.
[43] TS 6.3.1.1; ŚB 3.6.1.26–28.

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of manslaughter (*vīrahan*).[44] The ritual texts explain this "manslaughter" as removing one's own fire from its hearth, but given the fact that one had to obtain or win the fire from someone else, it does not seem improbable that this symbolic manslaughter was originally connected with violent scenes at the sacred hearths.

In the "preclassical" background of the śrauta ritual the mythological paradox of the fire's instability and impermanence found its explanation in the actual struggle for life—always uncertain in its outcome—which was ceremonially enacted by opposing parties at the place of sacrifice. Here the fire is not merely a symbolic rallying point, like a flag or standard. In a very direct and concrete sense it gives and sustains life in its capacity as the cooking fire that converts dead or killed matter into life-sustaining food. It does not seem to be accidental that both the violent strife and the sustenance of life emerge most clearly at the southern fire, which is the cooking fire par excellence. It is significant that, in contrast to the two other fires, the dakṣiṇāgni is associated with both the domestic fire and with others' fires. The meaning is, quite simply, that for the business of life one needs the others. But this also entails strife and conflict in a world of scarcity. The cooperation needed to keep life going is not without disruptive tensions, and it is far from being always willingly given. Thus the social aspect of the fire is inextricably bound up with strife and violence. The mythological motif of the fire's impermanence reflects its social function: fire as the guarantor of life is by that very token subject to the vicissitudes of the struggle for life. We should therefore pursue the matter of the fire's social function a little further.

The social function of the fire becomes clear in the ritual of preparing the rice stew, or odana, offered to the brahmins. The relevant point is that this brahmaudana—or any odana—is prepared and eaten by four persons, who are obviously four brahmins in the context of the ritual.[45] The number four characterizes the social world as a whole, as is illustrated by the four persons administering the unction at the Rājasūya, the four players in the dicing episodes of the Rājasūya and Agnyādheya,[46] the four varṇas, the four directions, and so on. Also, the rule that one who studies the caturhotṛ formulas should not eat in a company of four for a year shows that the number four stands for the community: during this year the caturhotṛ student should remain outside the community.[47] As the odana is presented in the texts, it is an unassuming vegetarian affair. However, a divergent opinion

[44] TS 1.5.2.1; KS 8.15, 9.1; MS 1.7.3–5; KB 1.3–5.

[45] On the odana and its being eaten by four persons, see J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 52–59.

[46] Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (The Hague, 1957), pp. 114ff., 143ff.

[47] ĀpŚS 14.13.1; MS 1.9.7. For the number four as defining the smallest number of monks forming a saṅgha, see H. Bechert, "Aśoka's Schismenedikt," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, 5 (1961), esp. pp. 30ff.

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according to which a cow should also be killed, prepared, and eaten at the time of the Agnyādheya's brahmaudana is also on record. One authority is even of the opinion that not one, but many cows should be so used, because this gives the sacrificer meritorious fame (*puṇyā praśaṃsā*).[48] Here the odana ceremony reveals itself as a prestigious communal affair. As we have come to expect, the element of competition and rivalry is not absent. Apart from the brahmaudana on the previous day, there is a second odana that is connected with or replaces the killing, preparing, and eating of a cow. Four participants including the sacrificer (again the significant number) have a dicing contest for the parts of a cow, which may be replaced with the odana.[49] So we may assume that the odana ceremony was originally quite different and far more elaborate—as regards the ceremony itself and the social participation—than the simple and innocent-seeming porridge offered to four brahmins. Against this background we may understand why the Atharvaveda calls the odana a means for conquering one's foes,[50] and why it elsewhere states that the fire has come into existence for the display of great heroism, although it adds in the same breath that it is for cooking the brahmaudana.[51] In other words, the odana combines all the elements of abundant food and of rivalry, elements that characterize the potlatch.

The odana, then, seems to be the central feature of the Agnyādheya, far more so than the series of standard iṣṭis—for Agni, for the three forms or tanūs of Agni (*pavamāna, pāvaka, śuci*), for Indra-and-Agni, and for Aditi—that should follow the establishing of the fires. As the Atharvaveda tells us, the fire was established for cooking the odana, and it is in the odana ceremony that the fire's meaning and purpose become manifest. The odana is not simply a preliminary rite on the day preceding the installation of the fires. It recurs in a different form, which includes the gift of a cow and the gambling with dice, as we have seen, on the main day when the fires are established. It even recurs a third time in the form of the Aditi caru—a porridge in no way different from the odana—that forms the last of the iṣṭi series after the ādhāna. This caru is typically given to and eaten by four brahmins, and a cow is added as dakṣiṇā.[52] Moreover, Aditi has a special relationship with the odana, having given birth to the Ādityas as a result of eating the remainder of an odana.[53] The importance of the odana cannot be doubted, but is this sufficient to explain why it recurs so often?

Not only in the Agnyādheya but also in other rituals we find repeated

[48] BŚS 2.15:57.13.
[49] ĀpŚS 5.19.2–20.3; BŚS (2.8:46.16, 2.9:48.4) has the dicing for the cow on the previous days where the others have the brahmaudana ceremony.
[50] AV 4.35.7.
[51] AV 11.1.3.
[52] ĀpŚS 5.22.3–5.
[53] TS 1.1.9; MS 1.6.12; KS 7.15.

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odanas. Thus we find the odana prescribed both at the beginning and at the end of the horse sacrifice. At its end there are even twelve odanas on consecutive days.[54] In other words, the odana marks the opposite ends of a cycle. The interesting point is that the first odana, at the beginning of the horse sacrifice, precedes the year-long conquering procession of the sacrificial horse and the accompanying warriors. It is even said that by means of the odana ceremony the sacrificer obtains the right to plunder brahmins during the year-long procession—namely, those brahmins who, when challenged with questions about the Aśvamedha, do not answer adequately and so lose out.[55] When we now look again at the Agnyādheya, it is striking that there also we find a year-long interval after the brahmaudana and the setting up of the fires; only after this interval is the first sacrifice performed, either as the already mentioned series of iṣṭis concluded by the Aditi caru or as an animal or Soma sacrifice.[56] There can also be a year's interval before the setting up of the fires, that is, between the installation of the brahmaudana fire and the brahmaudana ceremony proper. In that case the brahmaudana ceremony is repeated at the end of the year's interval.[57] Obviously these year-long intervals can be reduced to shorter periods (twelve days, for instance) that can symbolically equal a year. But the point is that in place of a single brahmaudana ceremony and the establishment of the śrauta fires performed once and for all, we now can see the procedure as a concatenation of year-long cycles (or their symbolic equivalents) punctuated by odana ceremonies. In fact, this pattern of cyclical repetition was already apparent when we observed that the whole of the Agnyādheya, not just the odana, is liable to be repeated in the Punarādheya and even in a third ādhāna. It is hardly likely that these repeated ādhāna ceremonies would be necessitated by mishaps or lack of success, as the usual explanation goes.[58] In such cases a simple reparation rite would seem to be the answer, rather than the elaborate length of abolishing the old fires and establishing new ones. Clearly these repeated ādhānas originated from a cyclical pattern.

The cyclical pattern can be recognized as a general characteristic of the original śrauta ritual. It was already to be seen in the year-long conquering and looting expedition of the Aśvamedha, preceded by an odana ceremony (as well as by animal and vegetal sacrifices) and closed by the horse sacrifice proper, after which other ceremonies follow, including a twelve-day period with an equal number of brahmaudanas. Furthermore, in the elaborate ritual for the construction of the brick altar (cayana), we notice that the first stage of

[54] ĀpŚS 20.2.4–6, 23.8–9.
[55] BŚS 15.3:206.16; ĀpŚS 20.5.15–16.
[56] ĀpŚS 5.21.2–6; MS 1.6.11.
[57] ĀpŚS 5.7.11–15.
[58] ĀpŚS 5.26.3.

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the ritual is an expedition to obtain the clay for bricks and the fire pot. Incidentally, since this clay is considered to be a form of (the dispersed) Agni, the expedition is all but tantamount to winning the fire—other folk's fire, that is. This expedition can be shown to have been originally a razzia, or even a head-hunting campaign to provide the human head that is to be put in the center of the altar's foundation.[59] Then an animal sacrifice is performed, after which the sacrificer should carry the fire pot (ukhā) for the period of a year—apparently during a further expedition—before the brick altar is finally built and a Soma sacrifice performed.[60] At the end we again find an odana ceremony.[61] In the Rājasūya such cycles can also be recognized, all with warlike expeditions during the intervals.[62] Even in the standard form of the Soma ritual, the Agniṣṭoma, this pattern is still discernible, though in a muted form, the setting out on a chariot of the consecrated sacrificer-to-be (*dīkṣita*) with his fires (or rather his fire drill), toward the eventual place of sacrifice. This setting out can be easily linked with the saniyācana, the collecting of goods for the sacrifice, which takes place at the same time. Although it is only briefly mentioned and is reduced to an innocuous begging rite, we need not be taken in by appearances.[63] The dīkṣita's journey does not seem to be just a solemn but harmless procession. Similarly, the bringing forward of the fire to the new āhavanīya on the extended place of sacrifice seems very much a compressed, telescoped version of such conquering or booty-winning expeditions, the accompanying mantras containing references to conquest and booty.[64]

It may be objected that although the Agnyādheya does exhibit these cyclical intervals, they are not necessarily connected with expeditions, let alone warlike ones. There is, indeed, an explicit rule stating that in the interval between the brahmaudana and the Agnyādheya proper the sacrificer should not set out on any journey, nor should the brahmaudana fire be allowed to go out during this time. However, it is further stated that, if the sacrificer should set out and allow the fire to go out—the two cases being very much the same, since the sacrificer would take the fire with him not in live form but in the fire drill, or symbolically in himself—he should simply perform the odana ceremony again.[65]

[59] Heesterman, "The Case of the Severed Head," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, 11 (1967), pp. 22–43.
[60] ĀpŚS 16.9.1; that it was indeed originally an expedition is apparent from ŚB 6.8.1.1–4.
[61] ĀpŚS 17.17.10.
[62] Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (The Hague, 1957), esp. chap. 21 (*saṃsṛp-offerings*) and chap. 26 (*prayujāṃ havīṃṣi*); Heesterman, "The Conundrum of the King's Authority," in J. S. Richards, *Authority and Kingship in South Asia* (Madison, Wisc., 1978).
[63] ĀpŚS 10.18.5–19.5.
[64] TS 1.3.4c.; on the Agnīṣomapraṇayana, see W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), §106 and Volume I, page 590.
[65] ĀpŚS 5.7.7–12.

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So although the sūtras seem to prefer a closely fitted, straight succession of ritual acts without intervals, much less journeys, we are in fact back again to the cyclical pattern of odana-interval-odana, as is the case with the Agnyādheya followed after an interval by the Punarādheya. These cyclical yearly intervals connected with the Agnyādheya do not themselves display traces of conflict and violence, but they do fall into the same pattern shown by other rituals, and so the original nature of these intervals can reasonably be inferred, the more so since we already saw that the fire and its establishment were the focus of agonistic proceedings.[66] Moreover, even though the intervals seem to be given over to perfectly serene observances, their mythological explanations are replete with conflict and violence. This comes out clearly in the explanation of the Punarādheya.[67] There it is said that the gods, before they set out to do battle with the asuras, deposited their tanūs, their respective selves or essences, with Agni, in the fire—as, indeed, the sacrificer who sets out on a journey is supposed to do according to the mantras for such an occasion.[68] After their victory they came back, took up their deposited tanūs, and established their fires again. Incidentally, the fire seems here very much to be the form of the precious essence or self, which is not surprising in view of the tendency to identify the sacrificer with his fire. The same explanation is given for the interval between the Agnyādheya proper and the tanūhavīṃṣi offerings. Here again the gods deposit their precious selves in the fire, go out, beat the asuras, and come back to take up their deposited selves again. The tanūhavīṃṣi, then, are the price they have to pay to Agni to get back their selves.[69]

Translated into the terms of the ritual, there appears to be a cycle starting at one end with a fire sacrifice involving possessions—in other words, a grandiose distribution of goods. Then one goes out on a conquering and booty-winning expedition. During this period the fire is inactive in that one does not arrange for large sacrificial distribution ceremonies such as the brahmaudana ceremony, although one may visit other people's sacrificial distributions in hopes of winning at least part of the goods put up as prizes. The inactivity of one's fire during this period is also expressed in the mythological theme of Agni's disintegration or dispersion: Agni, being unable to carry the load of the gods' selves, divided them—or rather divided himself, for the gods' selves were their fires—among the animals, the waters, and the sun.[70] This dispersion tallies with the sacrificial distribution of goods by the sacrificer before his setting out for the interval period.

[66] Only the gataśrī, the man of apparently permanent fortune, has the duty to keep his śrauta fires continually burning.
[67] TS 1.5.1.1; MS 1.7.2; KS 8.15; ŚB 2.2.3.2.
[68] ĀpŚS 6.24.2–3, 6–7.
[69] KS 8.8; TB 1.1.6.1–3. In the same way the Punarādheya is said to be exclusively Agni's share, his compensation for the gods' taking back their selves.
[70] See references in note 69; and KS 8.9.

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On the other hand, the identification of man and his fire is strongest exactly during the interval period of dispersion and recuperation of sacrificial goods. That at least seems to be the meaning of the so-called avāntaradīkṣā, or intermediate consecration, which begins on the day immediately following the dīkṣā and ends after the leading forward of fire and Soma (Agnīṣoma-praṇayana).[71] The mantra for initiating the avāntaradīkṣā says: "Your form be in me, my form be in you."[72] At the opposite end, the visarjana (giving up the avāntaradīkṣā and its special observances), which significantly comes after the eastward procession of fire and Soma, both fire and sacrificer take up each their own form again. The two aspects—the deactivation or dispersion of the fire and the rigorous identification of the consecrated with his fire during the interval period—are not necessarily in conflict with each other, for during the expedition the fire is either symbolically taken up in the person consecrated or in the fire drill.[73] At the same time these periods are characterized as periods of dispersion, the expeditions serving the purpose of recuperating from the dispersal caused by the foregoing sacrificial distribution. That this involves strife and violence need hardly be argued, and indeed the interval of the avāntaradīkṣā (like those between brahmaudana and Agnyādheya or between Agnyādheya and Punarādheya) is explained by evoking once again the deva-asura conflict: the gods, fearing the asuras, entered the fire, and having in this way made Agni their protection, then defeated the asuras.[74] Finally—that is, when one has survived all contests and battles or, in terms of the classical ritual's avāntaradīkṣā, when the fire and Soma have triumphantly been brought forward—there is again a sacrifice and distribution of food and cattle, after which, tragically, the same cycle of danger and violence sets in again. In short, the world of the original ritual was governed by an inexorable cyclical rhythm of strife and violence punctuated at the nodal points by grandiose potlatch-like festivals that concluded the previous cycle and, at the same time, initiated a new one of disintegration and conflict; the obverse of this heroic view of the world was the necessity of constantly renewed exposure to death and destruction.

We are now in a position to see both the problem that the ritualists faced—namely, breaking out of this deadly cycle—and also how they attacked it. If the fire, the focus of life and well-being, had to undergo unremitting cycles of dispersion, reconquest, and renewed dispersion, then ritual means had to be devised to fix and stabilize it in its place so that life could be organized around it in a permanently stable fashion. As we have seen,

[71] See W. Caland and V. Henry, §50 and 106e; and ĀpŚS 11.1.13, 18.3.
[72] TS 6.3.2.6.
[73] ĀpŚS 6.28.8–11.
[74] TS 6.2.2.6–7.

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the crux of the matter was the fact that the fire as the sustainer of life was dependent on the others who also had to fight for their own survival in a world of scarcity. The latter fact—the world of scarcity—could not be changed, but the ritual could. In other words, the ritualists had to work on the fire in ritual terms while the reality of the world remained as it was. The ritualist way was therefore to emancipate the śrauta fire from society and to make it absolutely individual and unequivocally identical with its sacrificer. The difference with the previous state of affairs will be at once apparent if we remember that before this the absolute identification of the consecrated with his fire was only thought to obtain during the intervals of dispersion and violent strife—or, in ritual terms, during the avāntaradīkṣā. Now, however, the śrauta fire was to be permanently attached to and identical with the sacrificer. This meant, in the first place, that the śrauta fire had to be rigorously dissociated from the domestic, which inevitably remained bound up with marriage and household—and hence with society. We have already seen how this dissociation was achieved. Furthermore, the Agnyādheya, instead of being a period devoted to potlatchlike communal feasts and sacrifices at the nodal points in the cycle, had to be made into an asocial, strictly individual rite performed once and for all. And so it was, as one can see from the inadequate reasons given by the texts for the continued existence of the Punarādheya, as well as from the lack of reasons for the third ādhāna. For its explanation the ritualists had to fall back on the old mythological cycle of battles between the devas and asuras, which no longer had a place in the ritual. The cyclically alternating phases were deprived of their function. Loss, extinguishment, or other discontinuities in the maintenance of the fire now came to be viewed simply as ritual mistakes calling for equally ritual reparation.

But the elimination of the cyclical character of the fire ritual also meant that one had to do away with the intervals: the phases of the cycle had to be straightened out into a linear series of ritual acts. This is particularly visible in the discussion about whether or not an interval should be allowed between the ādhāna proper and the tanūhavīṃṣi offerings. Some argue for an unbroken immediate succession;[75] some compromise on a twelve-day period.[76] In other words, elimination of the cyclical phases leads to ritual *horror vacui*. All acts have to follow each other in an unbroken series, as we can see in the Agnihotra, which was originally also subject to cyclically alternating phases (still visible in the dīkṣita's not being allowed to perform it[77]) but developed into an almost obsessive repetition of evening and early morning offerings.

There remains, however, the problem of the fire's permanence: How can one hold the fire permanently? Keeping the fire going all the time is

[75] KS 8.8.
[76] TB 1.1.6.7.
[77] Heesterman, "Vedisches Opfer und Transzendenz," in G. Oberhammer, ed., *Transzendenzerfahrung* (Vienna, 1978), pp. 29–44, esp. pp. 37ff.

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obviously possible only for the man of permanent fortune, the gataśrī. But here the old cyclical usage of taking the fire into oneself or into the fire drill (by warming one's hands or the drill over the old fire, which is then left to go out) found a new interpretation. The relationship between the sacrificer and his fire no longer passed through alternating phases but instead remained constant. All ambivalence was eliminated. Even if in actual practice one used another fire—as in fact, one obviously does—the pious fictions of an unbroken permanence could be maintained. For the continuity of the fire was henceforth guaranteed by its owner, whose relationship with his fire was no longer subject to the vicissitudes of alternating phases. Conversely, the break between the domestic and brahmaudana fires on the one hand and the śrauta fires on the other could be bridged, not by using the same fire but by interposing another entity, namely the sacrificer and his fire drill, which then provided the link between the socially oriented domestic and asocial śrauta fires that now should be kept separate.

The importance of the fire drill, then, lies not in its technology but in its capacity to make the desocialization of the sacrifice, the individualization of the sacrificer, and the permanent identification of sacrificer and fire a viable proposition. This is well illustrated in the conclusion of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa's version of the Purūravas story, which relates how Purūravas finally succeeded in transcending his human condition to become a Gandharva so that he could be permanently united with the fleeting nymph Urvaśī.[78] Having been granted a boon by the Gandharvas, he asks to become one of them, but this is beyond their power. Or, as the text puts it: "There is not that pure form of fire among men that would make possible a sacrifice aimed at becoming a Gandharva." However, the Gandharvas do the next best thing by giving him some of their own fire in a fire pot (ukhā). Having gone back, he hangs the ukhā in a tree before entering the village. But the fire disappears, as Urvaśī did. The fire had become the aśvattha tree and the ukhā the śamī tree. In a second attempt the Gandharvas now advise him to devote himself for a year to the brahmaudana ritual, each time smearing three pieces of aśvattha wood with ghee and putting them into the fire. They feel, however, that this is a "hidden" or indirect (*parokṣa*) procedure. The reason may well be that the brahmaudana ceremony, as we saw, carries with it the connotations of community and strife. As a third tactic, they advise Purūravas to make himself an upper drilling stick of aśvattha wood and a lower one of śamī wood. The point here seems to be that he should make the drill himself instead of receiving the fire from his Gandharva in-laws, as was the case in the first attempt. But this also turns out to be too parokṣa to be successfully handled by man, apparently owing to the fact that two different kinds of wood are needed, one male and one female.[79] So finally the

[78] ŚB 11.5.1.14–17.

[79] See AV 22.3.5–4.1, where the use of different kinds of wood is rejected on the ground that this would constitute yonisaṃkara.

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Gandharvas advise him to make both the araṇis from aśvattha wood only. Then, sacrificing with the fire that he churned with this fire drill without external aid or any parokṣa connection, Pūruravas did indeed transcend his human condition and became a Gandharva. And, as the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa concludes hopefully, so will every sacrificer who himself makes the araṇis using only aśvattha wood.

In this way we can see that a relatively old text, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, already indignantly rejects the possibility of taking the dakṣiṇāgni from some one else's fire and prefers it to be churned, however laboriously, with one's fire drill,[80] like the first of the other śrauta fires. For, after all: "Our ain reeks better than other folk's fire." The ritualist's ideal is to emancipate the sacrificer from the stresses and strains of the human condition, and the ultimate purpose of the fire drill is to serve this end. But at the same time this means divorcing oneself from human society for the fictitious benefit of becoming a heavenly being. And so the reasonable conclusion must be, as one of the texts has it, that the churned fire is the most pure (*puṇya*), but by the same token it is unproductive (*anardhuka*).[81] In the final analysis the problem of how man may transcend his human condition remains wide open, even for the ritualists.

[80] MS 1.6.11.
[81] KhādGS 1.5.3.

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THE GEOMETRY OF THE VEDIC RITUALS

A. Seidenberg

I. VEDIC GEOMETRICAL RITUALS

THE GREAT, TWELVE-DAY Agnicayana rite takes place in a large trapezoidal area, the *mahāvedi*, and in a smaller rectangular area to the west of it, the *prācīnavaṃśa*. In the mahāvedi there is built a brick altar in the form of a "falcon about to take wing," and in the prācīnavaṃśa there are (among other things) three fire altars in specified positions, the *gārhapatya, āhavanīya*, and *daksiṇāgni*. The construction of the mahāvedi, the prācīnavaṃśa, and the various altars, if it is to be done exactly, requires a certain amount of geometrical knowledge. It is the object of the present essay to discuss the mathematics involved in this and in other Vedic rites, to consider its relavance for Greek and Sanskrit studies, and to indicate its bearing on the history of mathematics in general.

It is well to bring in Greek mathematics, for Greek and Vedic geometry have many things in common. As we shall see, the Vedic ritual constructions involve a large part of Euclid's *Elements,* Books I and II, and the source of the similarity—or rather the common part—is at issue. Moreover, the Vedic geometry is part of a sacrificial system, and there are indications that for the Greeks, too, or for their forerunners, geometry was associated with sacrifice.

Let us first glance at this geometry. The Indians had a class of sacred works, the Śulvasūtras, of which there are several versions, devoted to the geometrical constructions. The Śulvasūtras have been called "manuals for altar construction." When one hears that the ancient Indians had such works, one may think that one will find in them a few "carpenter's rules," that is, a few applications of elementary geometry to the construction of material objects. One does, indeed, find there rules for constructing a right angle, which is sometimes accomplished by applying the Theorem of Pythagoras: the ends of a cord of eight units' length are tied to two pegs hammered into the earth at points A and B four units apart, a mark is made at a point three units from one end of the cord, say the end tied at B, and the string is then picked up at this point and stretched so that the mark touches the earth at C, whereupon the right angle ABC is produced (see Fig. 1; also see Vol. I, Fig. 14, p. 247). Right angles are also constructed without recourse to the Theorem of Pythagoras.

Yet a perusal of the Śulvasūtras shows that matters are not quite so straightforward. The construction of altars (or "agnis") of various shapes

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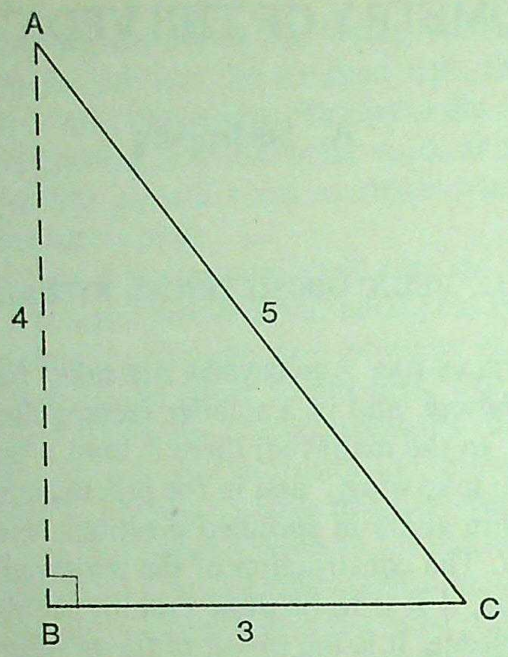

Figure 1—Construction of a right angle

is described, the shape depending on the particular ritual. Thus there are square altars, circular altars, and altars of many other shapes. The altars were, for the most part, composed of five layers of bricks that together reached to the height of the knee; for some cases ten or fifteen layers and a corresponding increased height of the altar were prescribed. Most, though not all, of the altars had a level surface and these were referred to in accordance with the shape and area of the top (or bottom) face. The basic falcon-shaped altar (a variant of which occurs in the Agnicayana ritual) had an area of 7 1/2 square puruṣas: the word *puruṣa* means "man" and is, on the one hand, a linear measure—namely, the height of a man (the sacrificer) with his arms stretched upwards (about 7 1/2 feet, say)—and, on the other, an areal measure (about 56 1/4 square feet). Aside from secondary modifications or variations, the body of the falcon-shaped altar was a 2 × 2 square (4 square puruṣas), and the wings and tail were one square puruṣa each; in order that the image might be a closer approach to the real shape of the bird, the wings and tail were lengthened, the former by one-fifth of a puruṣa each, the latter by one-tenth (see Fig. 2; for a variant, see Fig. 3). This was the size and shape of the falcon altar upon its first construction. On the second construction, one square puruṣa was to be added—that is, the area of the second altar constructed would then be 8 1/2 square puruṣas; on the third construction another square puruṣa was to be added; and so on, until one comes to the "one-hundred-and-one-[and-a-half]-fold" altar. The sacrificer is climbing a ladder, his sacrificial rank being determined by, or determining, the area.

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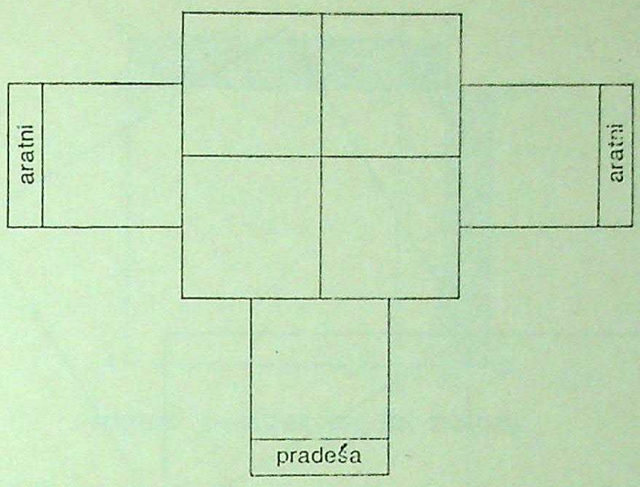

Figure 2—Basic bird altar

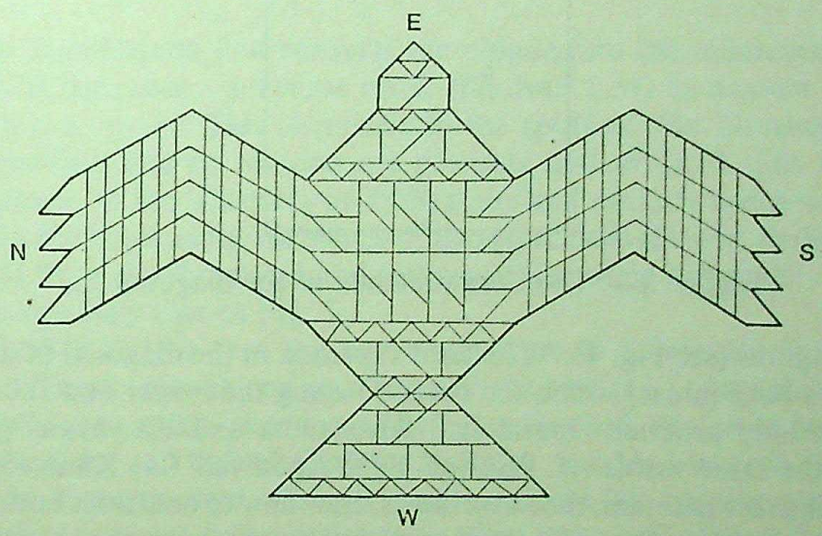

Figure 3—Variant of the basic bird altar

In the construction of the larger altars (8 1/2, 9 1/2, . . .), the same shape as the basic altar is required, and the problem of finding a square equal in area to two given squares is actually and explicitly involved: the construction is carried out using the Theorem of Pythagoras. The problem of converting a rectangle into a square is also explicitly involved. This is not carpentry.

There is no intention here of minimizing the role of "carpenter's rules," and it may be that there existed a tradition of "tricks of the trade," but if so the Śulvasūtras say nothing about them.

The main versions of the Śulvasūtras are those of the schools of Baudhāyana, of Āpastamba, and of Kātyāyana. Baudhāyana gives the Theorem

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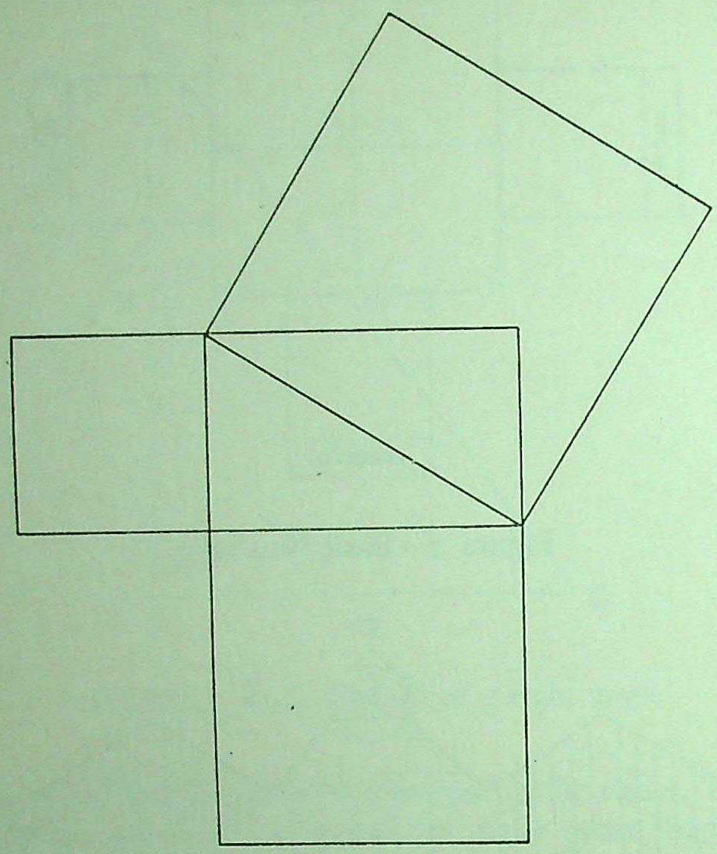

Figure 4—"The Cord stretched in the diagonal . . ."

of Pythagoras (see Fig. 4): "The cord stretched in the diagonal of an oblong produces both [areas] which the cords forming the longer and shorter sides of an oblong produce separately." Āpastamba and Kātyāyana give it in almost the same words (cf. BŚulvaS 1.48; ĀpŚulvaS 1.4; KŚulvaS 2.11).

Using this theorem, the Śulvasūtras show how to construct both a square equal to the sum of two given squares and a square equal to the difference of two given squares (cf. BŚulvaS 1.51; ĀpŚulvaS 2.5; KŚulvaS 3.1).

Note that the Theorem is given as a theorem on rectangles, rather than as a theorem on right triangles, as in *The Elements,* I.47. Moreover, the Śulvasūtras state the theorem separately for oblongs and for squares. From a logical point of view these differences are of no importance, but the presence of logical irrelevancies can be of great help in comparative studies (cf. Seidenberg 1962, 503).

For turning an oblong into a square Baudhāyana says: "If you wish to turn an oblong into a square [see Fig. 5] take the tiryaṅmānī, i.e., the shorter side [*AD*] of the oblong [*ABCD*], for the side of a square [*AEFD*], divide the remainder [*EBCF*] (that part of the oblong which remains after the square has been cut off) into two parts and inverting [one of them] join these two parts to the sides of the square. (We get then a large square [*AGKJ*] out of which a small square [*HKIF*] is cut out as it were.) Fill the empty space (in

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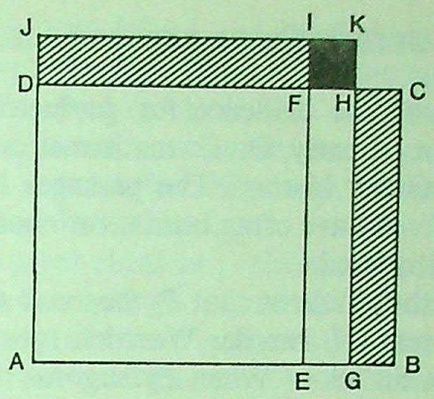

Figure 5—Squaring the oblong

the corner) by adding a small piece (a small square). It has been taught how to deduct it (the added piece)." Āpastamba and Kātyāyana give the same method in about the same words (cf. BŚulvaS 1.54, ĀpŚulvaS 2.7, KŚulvaS 3.2).

Thus Baudhāyana first converts the oblong into the difference of two squares and then uses a previous result (BŚulvaS 1.51) to convert the difference into a square. This is entirely in the spirit of *The Elements,* Book II. The problem and its solution are precisely that of II.14. The solution there depends on the Theorem of Pythagoras and on II.5, which tells how to regard a rectangle as the difference of two (specified) squares. Propositions II.5 and II.6 are closely related and say nearly the same thing; the diagram for II.6 is precisely that of Fig. 5.

BŚulvaS 2.12 tells how the larger altars are to be constructed: "That which is different from the original form of the agni (i.e., that area which is to be added to the area of the saptavidha, i.e., sevenfold, agni) is to be divided into fifteen parts and two of these parts are to be added to each vidha (to each of the seven puruṣas; the one remaining part has consequently to be added to the remaining half puruṣa); with seven and a half of these (increased vidhas [i.e., units]) the agni is to be constructed." KŚulvaS 5.4 in effect does the same. ĀpŚulvaS 8.6 is different in that it speaks of expanding the "7" to "*n*" and in that some question remains as to what to do about the "half."

Baudhāyana does not explain that the "two parts," which we may suppose to be in the form of a rectangle, are to be converted into a square as explained, and then added, as explained, to the smaller vidha (i.e., the 1×1 square) to get the increased viḍha, or unit; nor should this have been expected as the Śulvasūtras are about as brief as possible. Kātyāyana, however, though the result is the same, follows a slightly different method, in the course of which he is obliged to mention the conversion of a rectangle into a square.

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2. EVIDENCE FOR GEOMETRICAL RITUALS AMONG THE GREEKS

Let us now examine the evidence for geometric rituals among the Greeks. The association of early Greek mathematics with cult is one of the commonplaces of Greek history. The passages from ancient authors that will now be considered have often been mentioned, yet their relation to ritual has not been appreciated.

Several ancient authors tell us that Pythagoras sacrificed an ox upon discovery of some theorem (cf. van der Waerden 1961, 100). Thus Plutarch (*Epicurum* IX) quotes a distich—"When Pythagoras discovered his famous figure, for which he sacrificed a bull"—and he says that the figure in question is either that of the square on the hypotenuse or that of the application of areas. "Application of areas" refers to the problems taken up in *The Elements,* VI.28 and 29, which in effect show how to solve quadratic equations. Elsewhere (*Quaestiones Convivii,* VIII, Quaest. 2.4), however, Plutarch says that the bull was sacrificed in connection with the problem of constructing a figure with the same area as another figure and a shape similar to a third.

Professor van der Waerden (1961, 117) thinks that these three subjects, which indeed are mathematically related, were not arbitrarily thrown together but formed a part of a Pythagorean textbook, "The Tradition of Pythagoras." In any event, the third problem is precisely the central problem of the Śulvasūtras, and the theorem on the square of the hypotenuse is needed for its solution. The turning of a rectangle into a square is, at least abstractly, the simplest case. There is no clear evidence in the Śulvasūtras on the application of areas, but it has been suggested that the Vedic priests could solve quadratic equations, and there are some grounds, not very solid to be sure, for this opinion. (Cf. Datta, 1932, 173f.).

Van der Waerden (1961, 100) writes: "But the entire story is an impossible one, because Pythagoras was strongly opposed to the killing and sacrificing of animals, of cattle especially." Yet it is a plain fact and not a reconstruction that many an ox fell victim to the Theorem of Pythagoras. I do not suppose, any more than van der Waerden supposes, that Plutarch is relating history. Rather, I suppose that he is transmitting legend. Legends reflect custom, nevertheless, and the custom here reflected is that of sacrificial rites associated with exact geometrical constructions. I do not even suggest that the custom is a living one, merely that, as a comparison shows, evidence of the Indian practice is found in Greek history. A vegetarian partaking of the sacrifice, it may be remarked, is not a contradiction in terms. The Brahmans are vegetarians, but they sacrifice—and eat—goats, though only when consecrated in a ritual context.

The builder of a fire altar was called an agnicit. According to one of the the sacred works, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (5.2.5.5–6), an agnicit should live upon what is obtained freely from nature; even the products of sowing are forbidden. In particular the flesh of birds is forbidden (cf. also the passages

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from the Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.7.6.1 and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10.1.4.13 cited in *Agni*, Vol. I, p. 87). The Theorem of Pythagoras, as we have seen, used to be attributed to Pythagoras (c. 550 B.C.), but this is no longer the general opinion, since, as we now know, the theorem was known in Old Babylonia some 1200 years earlier. Similarly, it would appear, the role of the agnicit was imposed on Pythagoras.

One of the three great classical problems was the so-called duplication of the cube (the other two were the squaring of the circle and the trisection of the angle). A large part of Greek mathematics was actually built up in attempts to solve these problems. Eutocius, the commentator of Archimedes, produces what he calls a letter from Eratosthenes (c. 240 B.C.) to King Ptolemy concerning the first of these. This letter is nowadays considered to be spurious, but it contains some important material—in particular, two legends about the duplication problem. According to the first (cf. van der Waerden 1961, 160), "It is said that one of the ancient tragic poets brought Minos on the scene, who had a tomb built for Glaucus. When he heard that the tomb was a hundred feet long in every direction, he said: "You have made the royal residence too small, it should be twice as great. Quickly double each side of the tomb, without spoiling the shape." He seems to have made a mistake. For when the sides are doubled the area is enlarged fourfold and the volume eightfold." Afterwards, we are told, Hippocrates of Chios (c. 430 B.C.) worked on the problem. The letter continues: "It is further reported that, after some time, certain Delians, whom an oracle had given the task of doubling an altar, met the same difficulty. They sent emissaries to the geometers in Plato's academy to ask them for a solution. These took hold with great diligence of the problem."

Van der Waerden (1961, 160ff.) is concerned with tracing the source, or sources, of the "letter." He finds that the second part derives from the *Platonicus* of Eratosthenes. He considers the *Platonicus* to be a dramatic story, and hence not a historical source, though Eratosthenes may have made use of historical materials. The first part "probably derives from historical sources," and some credence can be given to the tradition that Hippocrates of Chios worked on the problem. According to another reconstruction (Cantor, 1907, 203), the poet who "brought Minos on the scene" was Euripides (485–406 B.C.).

We have, then, good grounds for believing that legends of geometric rituals existed in Greece in the third and even the fifth centuries B.C.

According to Theon of Smyrna (Hiller, ed., p. 2), Eratosthenes said that the duplication was for the purpose of fighting a plague. Now it would be interesting to know whether the oracle at Delos really did put the problem of the duplication of the cube, but if the issue is the nature of the origin of the idea, and not merely its local history in Greece, this can hardly be of crucial importance. If the oracle did put the problem, the question is: How did it ever occur to the oracle that doubling an altar was a way of fighting a plague? And if the oracle did not put the problem, the question is

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still the same: How did the person who made up the story get the idea that doubling the altar would defeat a plague?

In the Delian legend the temple "architects" are confronted with a geometrical problem: in India the priests were actually involved with geometrical problems. In the legend the altar of Apollo was to be varied for a special purpose: in India the altar actually was varied for special purposes. In the legend the altar is varied, the form remaining constant: in India this was the actual practice (in the one case, to be sure, it is the shape of a volume; in the other, of an area). In the legend the altar is doubled: in India, multiplication of the area of the vedi and of the agni by specified constants on specified occasions explicitly occurs. Thus the area of the mahāvedi at the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice was to be the third part of the mahāvedi at the Soma sacrifice and the area of the agni at the Horse sacrifice was three times that of the basic sevenfold agni (cf. ĀpŚulvaS 5.8 and 21.6). Where, then, did either the oracle or Eratosthenes get the idea that doubling the altar was a way of fighting a plague? Does it not seem likely that he got it from a once-existing rite, perhaps in the fossilized form of a legend?

In Greece sacrifice could be used to harm an enemy (Republic 364c); in India the same was true (TS 5.4.11), and it may be that disease was considered as an enemy, or as the instrument of an enemy, to be fought with sacrifice.

3. HISTORY OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE ŚULVASŪTRAS

In 1900 the view generally held was that mathematics as a body of knowledge worthy of the name of science did not exist in the ancient oriental civilizations (i.e., those outside of Greece). The monumental work "Mathematische Keilschrift-Texte," published in the thirties, in which Neugebauer deciphered the mathematical cuneiform texts of Old Babylonia (about 1700 B.C.), quite transformed our notions of ancient oriental mathematics, at least for Babylonia, but at the beginning of the century there was little known about the mathematics of (Old) Babylonia and Egypt. From Old Babylonia one had a table of squares up to 60×60 and an astronomical text giving the magnitude of the illuminated portion of the moon for every day from new to full moon (Cajori 1929, 4ff.). From Egypt one already had the Rhind mathematical papyrus, but paleographers could argue whether the area of a triangle was correctly computed in it. So Ball (1901, 1) could easily bring himself to write: "The history of mathematics cannot with certainty be traced back to any school or period before that of the Ionian Greeks." This did really correspond to the situation as known—except for the Śulvasūtras and other sacred works of the Indians.

In 1874 Thibaut had begun his translation of the Baudhāyana Śulvasūtra, and in an 1875 paper he gave a general account of the Śulvasūtras,

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with many excerpts and comments, and in particular he indicated their relation to the older sacred literature. In doing this his principal object was to make available to the learned world the mathematical knowledge of the Vedic Indians, but that wasn't his only object. After commenting that a good deal of Indian knowledge could be traced back to requirements of the ritual Thibaut added: "These facts have a double interest. They are in the first place valuable for the history of the human mind in general; they are in the second place important for the mental history of India and for answering the question relative to the originality of Indian science. For whatever is closely connected with the ancient Indian religion must be considered as having sprung up among the Indians themselves, unless positive evidence of the strongest kind point to a contrary conclusion."

And after giving reasons for not relying, in this respect, on "the Lilāvati, the Vijagaṇita, and similar treatises," he added: "We must search whether there are not traces left pointing to a purely Indian origin of these sciences. And such traces we find in a class of writings, commonly called Śulvasūtras, that means "sutras of the cord," which prove that the earliest geometrical and mathematical investigations among the Indians arose from certain requirements of their sacrifices."

My object at the moment is not to enter into a critique of Thibaut's views, but merely to display them. Thibaut himself never belabored or elaborated these views, nor did he formulate the obvious conclusion, namely, that it was not the Greeks who invented plane geometry, it was the Indians. At least this was the message that the Greek scholars saw in Thibaut's paper. And they didn't like it.

Most of the "refutations" were mere haughty dismissals, but Cantor, a leading historian of mathematics of the day, at least examined the evidence, and even gave arguments. In 1877 Cantor, realizing the importance of Thibaut's work, began a comparative study of Greek and Indian mathematics. He starts his paper by reminding us that Greek studies were already about four hundred years old, and Indian studies only about one hundred. As a consequence Greek dates could usually be given within a decade, whereas estimates of Indian dates varied by centuries. Yet even in 1907, in the third edition of his *Geschichte der Mathematik,* he postulates that Heron was about 100 B.C., emphasizing, however, that other opinions vary from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200. Recently Neugebauer (1962, 171) has assigned Heron to A.D. 62.

Cantor made many acute observations, and he concluded that Indian geometry and Greek geometry, especially that of Heron, are related. For Cantor there remained only the question of who borrowed from whom. He expresses the opinion that, in geometry, the Indians were the pupils of the Greeks.

Thibaut in 1875 had assigned no absolute date to the Śulvasūtras, thereby showing proper scholarly restraint, so Cantor felt free to press his own chronology. He had been struck by the analogy of the Indian altar problems

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to the Greek duplication of the altar and grave problems. According to Cantor, about 100 B.C. Heron's geometry intruded into India, where it was given a theological form. This theological geometry then left traces in Greece in poetry ascribed (by Cantor himself) to Euripides (485–406 B.C.)—a clear contradiction. Cantor eventually (in 1904) renounced his view and conceded a much earlier date to Indian geometry. Even so, he did not believe that Pythagoras got his geometry from India; he preferred to believe it was Egypt.

Finally, in 1899 Thibaut, perhaps prodded into it by dates for the Śulvasūtras that he considered to be far off the mark (as for example the 100 B.C. of Cantor), ventured to assign the fourth or the third centuries B.C. as the latest possible date for their composition (it being understood that this refers to a codification of far older materials). Thibaut's estimate agrees pretty well with those of a number of other Sanskrit scholars, starting with Max Müller, who some fifty years earlier had given 600–200 B.C. (For some of the references, see Seidenberg 1962, 505.)

The Śulvasūtras, as Thibaut remarked, are but a codification of Vedic geometric knowledge, and the dating of this knowledge and of the Śulvasūtras are separate problems. As for the knowledge, by taking into account the Greek legends, we can say with complete confidence that it was already old in the third century B.C. The date of the Śulvasūtras was considered important as giving a date before which the Vedic geometric knowledge is certain. From this point of view, 500–300 B.C. is a very conservative estimate.

One should not imagine that the battle lines were clearly drawn, with the Sanskrit scholars on one side and the Greek on the other. Far from it! In 1884 Weber, a Sanskrit scholar, expressed the opinion that there was "nothing of a literary-historical nature standing in the way of the assumption of a use [on the part of the Śulvasūtras] of the teachings of Hero of Alexandria"—of 215 B.C. according to Weber (1884, col. 1564).

After giving his estimate, Thibaut added: "There is nothing striking in the independent development of a limited amount of practical geometrical knowledge by two different peoples." But this can hardly be a considered statement! Rather it shows that Thibaut was getting lost in the polemics. A "limited amount of practical knowledge" is surely not what Cantor was thinking about; nor could it have been what Thibaut was thinking about in 1875, else what is the relevance of his "mighty sway of religion" and "requirements of the sacrifice"? (Nor is it what Neugebauer and van der Waerden are thinking about when, especially in view of the information coming in from Old Babylonia, they go to great lengths to explain why, for highly technical reasons, Greek geometry took the form it did.) Thibaut's remark may have been a polite gesture to Cantor, who a few years later changed his mind, or it may be that Thibaut really did not know how to answer the scholarly objections.

At the start of the twentieth century, Bürk (1901–2, 55, 56) translated the Śulvasūtra of Āpastamba, prefixing it with a commentary. It was this work,

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according to Cantor, that brought about a shift in the situation and led him to change his mind. This is to give Bürk too much credit. Bürk's paper is excellent, and he does make original points, but the argument already occurs in all its essential aspects in Thibaut's paper. Anyway, the damage had been done, and the Śulvasūtras have never taken the position in the history of mathematics that they deserve. Bell (1940) and van der Waerden (1961) do not even mention them, though their contents are briefly described in Cantor's *Geschichte der Mathematik*, which both cite. Neugebauer mentions them briefly a couple of times. Perhaps with the date 1700 B.C. well in hand, the question of whether Vedic geometrical knowledge dates from A.D. 200, 100 B.C., 300 B.C., 500 B.C., or even 1000 B.C., faded into insignificance.

A.B. Keith, a Sanskrit scholar, denied any connection between the Śulvasūtras and the more ancient sacred literature, especially the Saṃhitās (1910, 519–521), and as the connection is a vital point in attempts at a chronology, we turn next to this.

4. RELATION OF THE ŚULVASŪTRAS TO THE OLDER SACRED LITERATURE

There are various strata of the Vedic sacred literature. Everybody agrees on their relative ages (at least within the individual schools). Of the strata with which we shall be concerned, the Sūtra period is the most recent. Roughly speaking, the Śulvasūtras contain all the geometrical details we want. They never say they are being original; they always insist that they are doing things as it has been taught, especially in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas purport to give the symbolic meaning of the rituals; the Saṃhitās give the formulae that are uttered at the rites. In the nature of things, the Saṃhitās come before the Brāhmaṇas, and both come before the Śulvasūtras (or, to put it more generally, before the Kalpasūtras, which digest the teachings relative to the performance of the rites).

One might presume that the geometric constructions given by the Śulvasūtras with reference to the Brāhmaṇas and Saṃhitās must have been known to the compositors of those works, and so be coeval with them. But that, however plausible it may be, will here be the issue.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa speaks about the sevenfold altar and its being augmented one square puruṣa at a time until it is transformed into the one-hundred-and-one-fold altar. Thus in ŚB 6.1.1.1–3 we are told that "in the beginning" the Ṛṣis (vital airs) created seven separate persons, who are assimilated to squares. After giving a reason they say: "Let us make these seven persons one Person!"—whereupon the seven are composed into the falcon-shaped altar; 10.2.2.7 speaks of the lengthening of the wings, and 10.2.2.8 of the tail. In 10.2.3.18 we read: "Sevenfold, indeed, was Prajāpati created in the beginning. He went on constructing [developing] his body,

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and stopped at the one-hundred-and-one-fold one. . . . Hence one should first construct the sevenfold [agni] and then by increments of one [square puruṣa] successively up to the one-hundred-and-one-fold one." (Cf. Eggeling's translation, 1882–1900.) Passage 10.2.3.11 describes a "ninety-eight-fold" bird: "Now as to the (other) forms of the fire altar. Twenty-eight [square] puruṣas and twenty-eight [square] puruṣas is the body, fourteen the right, and fourteen the left wing, and fourteen the tail. Fourteen *aratnis* he covers (with bricks) on the right, and fourteen the left wing, and fourteen *vitastis* on the tail. Such is the measure of an (altar of) ninety-eight [square] puruṣas with the additional space for wings and tail." (Cf. Seidenberg 1962, 508f., for some comments on this translation.)

ŚB 10.2.3.6, in speaking of the "construction [of the] higher forms" (i.e., larger altars) and warning the sacrificer not to enlarge the gārhapatya altar, mentions that the "fathom" (for measuring the bird altar) and the "steps" (for measuring the mahāvedi) are "increased accordingly." Thus, in agreement with the Śulvasūtras, for the larger altars one simply uses "new" units in place of the "old."

From these passages it is not only clear but explicit that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa knows the basic 7 1/2 puruṣa bird altar, its augmentation 1 square puruṣa at a time, and the principle of maintaining similarity of form. Elsewhere the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa shows that it is concerned with, or rather takes for granted, exact constructions. Thus in 10.2.1.1–8 the variation in the wings is spoken of. We read: "He (the sacrificer) thus expands it (the wing) by as much as he contracts it; and thus, indeed, he neither exceeds (its proper size) nor does he make it too small." And 10.2.3.7 says that those who deprive the agni of its due proportions will suffer the worse for sacrificing. The exact construction of the larger altars (except for the sixty-seven-[and-a-half]-fold altar) requires, in effect, the Theorem of Pythagoras. I therefore regard it as certain that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa knows the Theorem.

It is conceivable that the "ninety-eight-fold" altar here spoken about is really the 101 1/2-fold one. According to Baudhāyana and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as just cited, the length of the "new" unit x after the mth augmentation satisfies $x^2 = 1 + (2m/15)$. Here m runs from 1 to 94; for $m = 94$ one gets the largest altar, and $x^2 = 13\ 8/15$. The 14 may be a rounding off of 13 8/15; and if it is, then the 101 1/2-fold altar is being described. This rounding off, though perhaps reasonable in context, may have given rise to confusion, for a moment later the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa appears to speak of adding 3 more puruṣas to the body and proportionate amounts to the wings and tail—and here, at least, there were objections that the agni was being made too large (cf. ŚB 10.2.3.15). In any event, note that $\sqrt{13\ 8/15}$, like $\sqrt{14}$, is irrational, and that in either case the larger altar is similar to the basic one.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3.5.1.1–6) and the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (6.2.4.5) both explicitly give the dimensions of the mahāvedi: this is an isosceles tra-

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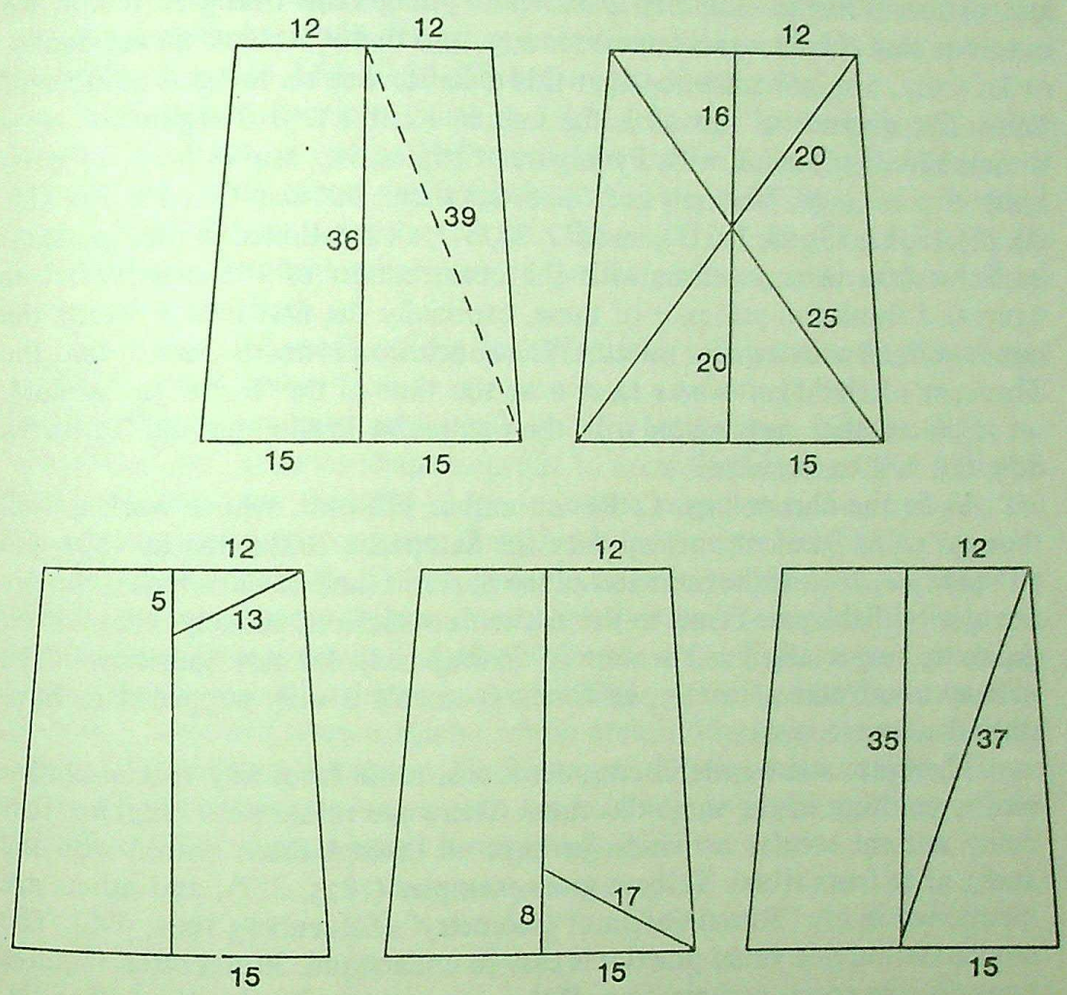

Figure 6—Constructions of the mahāvedi

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pezoid (see Fig. 6) having bases 24 and 30 and width 36. There is a (15, 36, 39) triangle here, and the Śulvasūtras use this to construct the mahāvedi. Now the question is: Did the priests at the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā know this Pythagorean triangle? If not, we conclude that the 39 was a later discovery, and that it was just an accident—or let's say, a minor miracle—that this distance was an integral number of units. The absence of this 39 is the nub of Keith's (1910) argument. Now the mahāvedi is loaded with Pythagorean triples, i.e., triples (a, b, c) satisfying $c^2 = a^2 + b^2$. Not only is (15, 36, 39) there, but also (12, 16, 20), (15, 20, 25), (5, 12, 13), (8, 15, 17), and (12, 35, 37), all mentioned in the Āpastamba Śulvasūtra in connection with the construction of the mahāvedi (see figures). I think the presence of these, especially the first two, converts the minor miracle into a major miracle. The conclusion is nearly certain that the Theorem of Pythagoras was known at the time of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā.

Still another connection with the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Taittirīya Saṃhitā will be made below.

As to the chronology, L. Renou and J. Filliozat, whose work is well thought of in Sanskrit circles, place the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa at 1000–800 B.C. (1947, I, 267). If the estimates of the Sanskrit (and of the Greek) scholars are at all reliable, we come to the desired conclusion, namely, that Greek geometry (especially the Theorem of Pythagoras) did not somehow make its way into Vedic geometry, as Greek geometry is only supposed to have started about 600 B.C.

There are some general considerations, aside from any special chronology, pointing in the same direction. There are reasons for thinking that many ancient secular activities, perhaps all (except those shared with the apes), arise from ritual. Thibaut gives examples (1875, 227); and others are mentioned in my "Ritual Origin of Geometry" (Seidenberg 1962, 490). The secularization of a ritual practice is easy to understand. Ritual often requires considerable social organization. If this organization breaks down, then the ritual ends, but parts can go on having a separate existence. In India geometry is still seen in a ritual setting; in Greece the ritual has fallen away, though even there philosophical (or theological) overtones remain.

5. THE KĀMYA ("OPTIONAL") SACRIFICES FOR SPECIAL DESIRES

The object of this section is to give a somewhat broader view of Vedic mathematics. For a reason that will become clear later, in the next section another chronological connection will be made, though I can do no better in this regard than what has already been done with the bird altar.

The Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.4.11 speaks of a number of altars to be employed for special desires. The Baudhāyana Śulvasūtra goes through the list seriatim, and except for the first three altars, which are somewhat more

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complicated to describe than the others, the Āpastamba Śulvasūtra does the same, introducing each altar by a citation from the Taittirīya Saṃhitā. From this alone it is plausible to suppose that the altars at the time of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā had the same shapes and sizes as later and that their constructions were essentially the same, but other evidence makes this still more plausible. See also BŚS 17.28–29, below, pages 666–671.

A perusal of Taittirīya Saṃhita 5.4.11 (cited in Seidenberg 1962, 507) shows that there are some Brāhmaṇa-like explanations there, but absolutely nothing on the sizes, and almost nothing on the shapes, of the altars. Nor should this have been expected: the place for such details is in the Śulvasūtras or in some other part of the Kalpasūtras, and we do in many cases find them there.

ĀpŚulvaS 12.3 speaks of the "modifications" of the basic 7 1/2-fold agni for the "special desires"; since in many cases explicitly (I believe in all uniformly) these altars have an initial area of 7 1/2 puruṣas, it is clear that the "modifications" refer to shape and not to area. Underlying these transformations is the view that the shape for some reason may be changed, but the area is to remain constant. (See also below, pages 113–118.)

The seven-(and-a-half)-fold bird altars, even the complicated ones involving bricks of many shapes, do not involve the Theorem of Pythagoras, though the eight-(and-a-half)-fold do. On the other hand, even the simple triangular altar as constructed in the Śulvasūtras involves the theorem. The triangle is obtained from a square whose area is fifteen square puruṣas (see Fig. 7). To construct the square, the Theorem of Pythagoras is applied. Since the shape of the triangle is not given beforehand, the problem of converting a given area into a given shape is not involved.

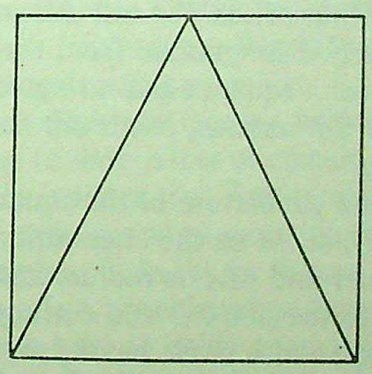

Figure 7—Construction of a triangle of area 7 1/2 square puruṣas

The trough mentioned in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, as described in the Śulvasūtras, is a figure having the shape of two juxtaposed rectangles (see Fig. 8). In the BŚulvaS the large rectangle is a square: "Its side is 3 puruṣas less one third" (cf. 3.219—224). The small rectangle is "one puruṣa less one third" by "half a puruṣa plus ten aṅgulis (= 1/12 of a puruṣa)." Thus its

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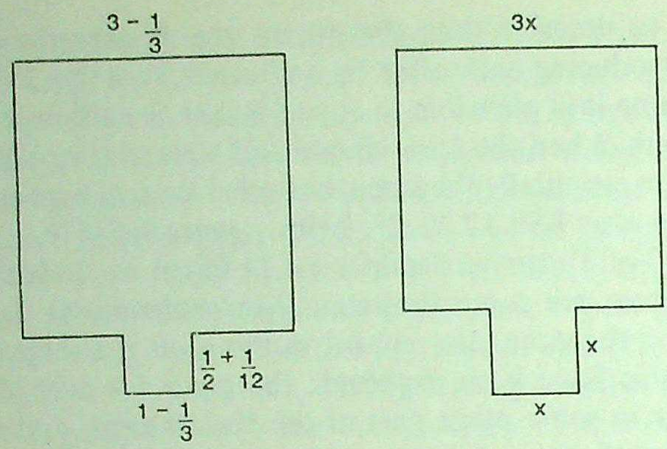

Figure 8—Trough according to Baudhāyana

Trough according to Āpastamba

area is 7 1/2 square puruṣas. Āpastamba's trough is different. ĀpŚulvaS 13.10 says that the handle is "one tenth of the whole area." From the description of the bricks one sees that the rectangles are squares. ĀpŚulvaS 13.10 continues: "Its subtraction . . . has been taught." This would appear to mean that one starts with a square of 7 1/2 square puruṣas, then divides this into two rectangles, one of which is one-tenth of the whole, then converts the smaller of these rectangles into a square, and so on. Note that the side of the large square is exactly three times that of the small; if the size were not understood to be specified, the altar could be described in this simpler way. The construction of the trough as described by Āpastamba is a problem in converting a polygon of given area into a polygon of given shape.

One of the shapes for an altar was a circle, and the problem of converting a square into a circle thus arises. We call this problem the *circulature of of square:* it is to be clearly distinguished from the problem of *squaring the circle,* which is to construct a square equal to a given circle. This latter problem is also treated in the Śulvasūtras, but it did not have, so far as I could tell, a sacred application.

In the Śulvasūtras the circulature of the square is done as follows (see Fig. 9i). In square *ABCD*, let *M* be the intersection of the diagonals. Draw the circle with *M* as center and *MA* as radius; and let *ME* be the radius of the circle perpendicular to the side *AD* and cutting *AD* at *G*. Let $GN = 1/3\ GE$. Then *MN* is the radius of a circle having an area equal to the square *ABCD*. (Cf. BŚulvaS 1.58; ĀpŚulvaS 3.2; KŚulvaS 3.13.)

This circulature of the square involves no arithmetic. One may imagine an ancient ritualist starting from the square, observing that the inscribed circle is too small, the circumscribed circle too large, and guessing that one should take $GN = 1/3\ GE$ (see Fig. 9). The line of thought, though approximative, is geometric. The solution comes to taking $d/s = (2 + \sqrt{2})/3$, where *d* is the required diameter and *s* is the side of the given square (see Fig. 9ii). For the reverse problem, that of squaring the circle, BŚulvaS. 1.59 says: "If

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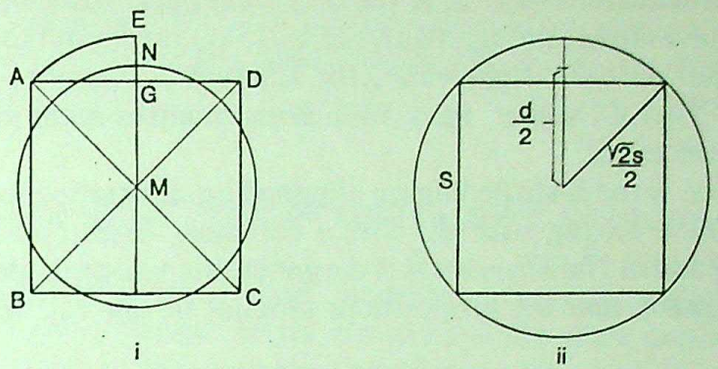

$$MN = MG + \frac{1}{3}(ME - MG)$$

$$\frac{d}{2} = \frac{s}{2} + \frac{1}{3}\left(\frac{\sqrt{2}s}{2} - \frac{s}{2}\right)$$

Figure 9—Circulature of the square

you wish to turn a circle into a square, divide the diameter into 8 parts, and again one of the 8 parts into 29 parts; of these 29 parts remove 28, and moreover the sixth part [of the one-part left] less the eighth part [of the sixth part]." The meaning is that the side of the required square $= 7/8 + 1/(8{\cdot}29) - 1/(8{\cdot}29{\cdot}6) + 1/(8{\cdot}29{\cdot}6{\cdot}8)$ of the diameter of the given circle.

The Śulvasūtras have the rational approximation $\sqrt{2} = 1 + 1/3 + 1/(3{\cdot}4) - 1/(3{\cdot}4{\cdot}34)$ (more precisely, the diagonal of a square $= 1 + 1/3 + 1/(3{\cdot}4) - 1/(3{\cdot}4{\cdot}34)$ of a side). Āpastamba uses it to construct a square, but he had exact ways of doing this, and I can see no advantage to using this approximation for the constuction. I think he—I mean his school—was losing the meaning of what was being done. Baudhāyana has the approximation but does not use it for constructing a square.

Āpastamba, here as elsewhere (see his prescription for the gārhapatya fire altar below), appears to show a loss of meaning. If loss of meaning means younger, then this would indicate that Āpastamba comes after Baudhāyana. This accords with the prevalent view amongst Sanskrit scholars.

The only bona fide place I can see for the use of the approximation is the squaring of the circle. In effect, the priests had to get $[3/(2 + \sqrt{2})]d$. Now actually I think they knew how to solve geometrically an equation $ax = b$ (as is done in *The Elements* I. 44): there is a sūtra on this, though it's corrupt (cf. BŚulvaS 1.53, ĀpŚulvaS 3.1). But even assuming they knew this, they apparently didn't think of it when trying to get $[3/(2 + \sqrt{2})]d$. A pure surd in the denominator would not have stopped them, but they did not know how to deal algebraically with the denominator $2 + \sqrt{2}$ (i.e., to rationalize it). So the $\sqrt{2}$ in $(2 + \sqrt{2})/3$ is approximated with a rational number, and the reciprocal is arithmetically transformed. This is the source of the expression for s/d mentioned just a moment ago.

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The approximation to $\sqrt{2}$ is the only clear approximation to a square root in the Śulvasūtras; though twice the 13/15 occurring in the squaring of the circle (BŚulvaS 1.60; ĀpŚulvaS 3.14; KŚulvaS 3.3) may be an approximation to $\sqrt{3}$ (cf. C. Müller, 1929, 183). Both examples occur in the context of squaring the circle.

A gnomon is the L-shaped figure obtained by subtracting from a square a smaller square having with the first a common vertex (see Fig. 10). In ĀpŚulvaS 3.9 and in *The Elements* II. 4 the gnomon is analyzed into two rectangles and a square, and the propositions amount to our rule $(a + b)^2 = a^2 + 2ab + b^2$.

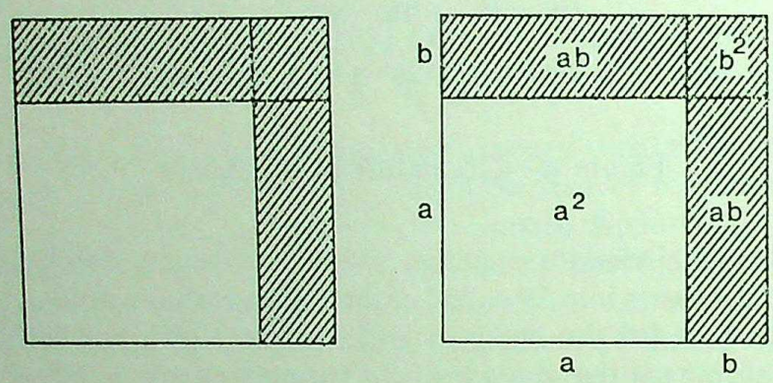

Figure 10—The gnomon

The Śulvasūtras have mainly a geometric, and not an arithmetic, character. They have, as mentioned, Theorem II.4 of *The Elements,* and they even explain that a square of side 1 1/2 puruṣas has area 2 1/4 square puruṣas, and a square of side 2 1/2 has area 6 1/4. But although they compute the area of the mahāvedi (and even explain their procedure!), they never have to apply Theorem II. 4 or ĀpŚulvaS 3.9; at least there's no visible application. The only way I can see it coming into any other part of the Śulvasūtras is in the finding of the approximation to $\sqrt{2}$. Thibaut (1875, 238–41) has already explained how, starting with $1 + 1/3 + 1/3{\cdot}4$, and using the analysis of the gnomon, one could get the closer approximation $1 + 1/3 + 1/3{\cdot}4 - 1/3{\cdot}4{\cdot}34$ (though he missed the point that the same method leads from $1 + 1/3$ to $1 + 1/3 + 1/3{\cdot}4$).

Thus ĀpŚulvaS 3.9 and $\sqrt{2} = 1 + 1/3 + 1/3{\cdot}4 - 1/3{\cdot}4{\cdot}34$ are both parts of squaring the circle, and all three are erudition, i.e., mathematics that finds no application in the ritual.

The circulature of the square is not a practical problem; the squaring of the circle is, eventually, but not the circulature of the square. The circulature of the square arises as a purely theological problem: equivalent altars must have the same area, the area is given via rectangles, and sometimes the altar is to be circular. The reverse problem is derivative. Thus we see in an utterly clear light the ritual origin of a practical problem.

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The Śulvasūtras deserve to be considered at greater length, and I have done this in "The Origin of Mathematics" (*Archive for History of Exact Sciences,* 18 [1978]).

6. THE PHILOSOPHY OF EQUIVALENCE THROUGH AREA

The philosophy, or theology, underlying the kāmya altars in the Śulvasūtras is that equivalent altars are to have the same area: with this requirement one gets the geometric problems, and without it one doesn't. Proof that this philosophy was known at the time of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā would make it quite plausible that the geometry of the kāmya altars as seen in the Śulvasūtras was also known at that time. Now the TS knows the kāmya altars, but it says nothing about their relative areas; this is the difficulty.

How far are we already from a proof? Since the Śulvasūtras refer to the TS for the kāmya altars and in TS 5.2.5.1ff. the shape and size of the basic bird altar can be recognized, the basic size of the kāmya altars was known. Furthermore, the TS knows at least one application of the Theorem of Pythagoras, the main theorem needed for the transformations of the kāmya altars. Thus the claim that the TS knows the philosophy has a great deal of plausibility to start with.

I will first try to show that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa knows the philosophy. Since the Brāhmaṇas can be considered as a kind of commentary on the Saṃhitās—or, more exactly, on the associated rituals—this will make it plausible that the Saṃhitās knew the philosophy, too.

The mathematics of the bird altar, especially that involved in its augmentation, is the same as that of the kāmya altars: in both one has to construct a figure similar to one given figure and equal in area to another. The object in showing that the ŚB knows the philosophy underlying the constructions of the kāmya altars is, however, not to show that it knows the mathematics of the Śulvasūtras, for we already know that; rather, the issue for the moment is simply to show that the ŚB, which does not speak of the variations in the kāmya altars, knows the philosophy of equivalence through area. Indeed, the fact that the ŚB knows the mathematics and that the bird altar looks like just a special case of the kāmya altars is another reason for thinking that the ŚB knows the philosophy.

Of the three fire altars, the gārhapatya, the āhavanīya, and the dakṣiṇāgni, the āhavanīya was a 1×1 square. The gārhapatya altar was, in one version, a circle; and the dakṣiṇāgni, a semicircle (see the "plan of the sacrificial ground," in S.B.E., 26, 475, or *Agni,* I, p. 55; see also KŚulvaS 7.37, in Khadilkar 1974, 46). According to Datta (1932, 21) and other authors (cf. Khadilkar 1974, 61f.), all three of these altars were to have equal areas, but the evidence for this assertion, and even for the equality in area

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of the gārhapatya and āhavanīya altars, which would be enough for my purpose, is scanty. KŚulvaS 7.37 states the āhavanīya to be a square 24 aṅgulis on a side (24 aṅgulis = 1/5 of a puruṣa = 1 aratni); the gārhapatya to be of radius 14; and the dakṣiṇāgni to be of radius 16. The next sutra (7.38) states the radius of the dakṣiṇāgni to be 19 1/2 and says that the dakṣiṇāgni is a "semicircular [figure] . . . of one aratni" (i.e., 1 square aratni). According to Kātyāyana's own circulature of the square (KŚulvaS 3.13), which is the same as in the BŚulvaS and ĀpŚulvaS, the circle (equal to a 24 × 24 square) should have a radius about 13 2/3 (i.e., $1/2 \times (2 + \sqrt{2})/3 \times 24$) and the dakṣiṇāgni should have a radius about 19 1/3 (i.e., $1/2 \times (2 + \sqrt{2})/3 \times 24 \times \sqrt{2}$), so the 14 and 19 1/2 are approximately right (the 9 1/2 in Khadilkar, p. 46, is a misprint for 19 1/2). Thus Kātyāyana explicitly makes the āhavanīya and dakṣiṇāgni to be of the same area, and there are indications that all three were to have the same area. Nevertheless, the evidence from Kātyāyana is not good enough: we need evidence from the ŚB or the TS.

The tenth chapter of the Mānava Śrautasūtra (translated by J. M. van Gelder in the *Śata-Piṭaka Series,* vol. 27), is the Śulvasūtra. Here, in 1.1.7 and 1.1.8, not only are the measurements 24, 13 2/3, and 19 1/2 given, but furthermore the constructions themselves are given. Thus we finally have an explicit reference for the equality in area of the āhavanīya, gārhapatya, and dakṣiṇāgni.

In the ŚB (7.1.1.37) the gārhapatya is said to "measure one vyāma" (a vyāma is the same as a puruṣa). Professor Staal has translated the passage for me as follows: "It [i.e., the gārhapatya] measures one vyāma, for man measures one vyāma, and man is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is Agni. Therefore he makes the womb equal in measure. It is circular for the womb is circular. And the gārhapatya is this world for this world is indeed circular."

The āhavanīya is square (cf. the "plan" in S.B.E., vol. 26, p. 475, or *Agni,* Volume I, inside cover). ŚB 10.2.3.1 says: "From the raised [site] of the gārhapatya he strides seven steps eastward. From there he measures off a fathom [vyāma] towards the east, and having, in the middle thereof, thrown up [the ground] for the āhavanīya, he sprinkles it with water." Thus the āhavanīya is a square one vyāma on a side..

From these two passages (7.1.1.37 and 10.2.3.1) I would like to conclude that the gārhapatya and āhavanīya have equal areas. But the question is whether ŚB 7.1.1.37 really is referring to area: Why could it not simply be saying that the gārhapatya is one vyāma in diameter? This is a difficulty, and I think one will not come, without interpretation, to an unambiguous meaning from such passages as ŚB 7.1.1.37 for the simple reason that the ritualists, unlike us, had no single word to distinguish square from linear measure. If this is so, we will forever remain one iota short of a strictly textual proof.

In the Baudhāyana Śulvasūtra we meet the same ambiguity. BŚulvaS 2.61 says: "It is the measure of a vyāyāma [a linear vyāyāma is 4/5 of a

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linear vyāma]; this is the tradition of the construction of the gārhapatya fire." BŚulvaS 2.62 says: "According to one opinion it has the form of a square." BŚulvaS 2.63 adds: "According to others it has the form of a circle." The commentator says (*The Pandit*, vol. 10, p. 145): "The Gārhapatya is either a square the side of which is one vyāyāma long or a circle of the same area," and Thibaut (1875, 232) agrees with him. Of course, however reliable, these are no more than interpretations of the text.

Eggeling, in his translation of ŚB 7.1.1.37, gives: "It [the gārhapatya hearth] measures a fathom [in diameter]"; but then in a footnote (p. 309) he adds: "Or rather, it is a circle corresponding in area to a square of one fathom; which gives a diameter somewhat exceeding in length a fathom." Now if he had said "or it is a circle, etc." he would simply have been calling attention to an ambiguity in the text; but when he says "or rather," I fail to follow him. Eggeling is for the most part reliable, but not when it comes to linear and square measure; he has confused the two in his handling of some vital points (see Seidenberg 1962, 508).

The Āpastamba Śulvasūtra also mentions the difference in opinion on the shape of the gārhapatya altar, though all agree that it should have the measure of a vyāyāma. In the ĀpŚulvaS, however, the circular gārhapatya is described as a circle of radius 1/2 of a vyāyāma. Thus we find just the opposite of what we expected to find! My conjecture is that Āpastamba has misunderstood the tradition. It is, of course, futile to quarrel with the text, but we find modern students confusing linear and square measure (cf. Seidenberg 1962, 508), and it could have been the same with Āpastamba, and with more reason, since he did not possess a good vocabulary for making the distinction.

The gārhapatya and āhavanīya altars are unquestionably being considered equivalent in some sense in the ŚB. The gārhapatya is the earth, the world of men, while the āhavanīya is the sky, the world of the gods (cf. ŚB 7.3.1.10). Then the two are identified through number: the idea of equivalence, or identification, through number is explicit in the following passage from the Aitareya Āraṇyaka 1.3.5.7 (cf. S.B.E., vol. 1, p. 182): "These verses, by repeating the first three times, become 25. The trunk is the twenty-fifth and Prajāpati is the twenty-fifth. He adorns that trunk as the twenty-fifth. Now this day consists of 25, and the Stoma hymn of that day consists of 25; it becomes the same through the same, therefore the two, the day and the hymn, are 25." But the idea is of frequent occurrence and is sufficiently clear in the ŚB. In particular, ŚB 7.1.1.36 says: "Moreover, there are twenty-one enclosing stones,—twelve months, five seasons, these three worlds and that Agni from yonder [sun] as the twenty-first: the Agni he thus establishes in yonder sun. And inasmuch as he puts on those [bricks] in this way, he thereby establishes those two [the sun and the fire] in each other, and accordingly those two are established in each other; for both of them he now makes out to be the twenty-first [twenty-one-fold?],

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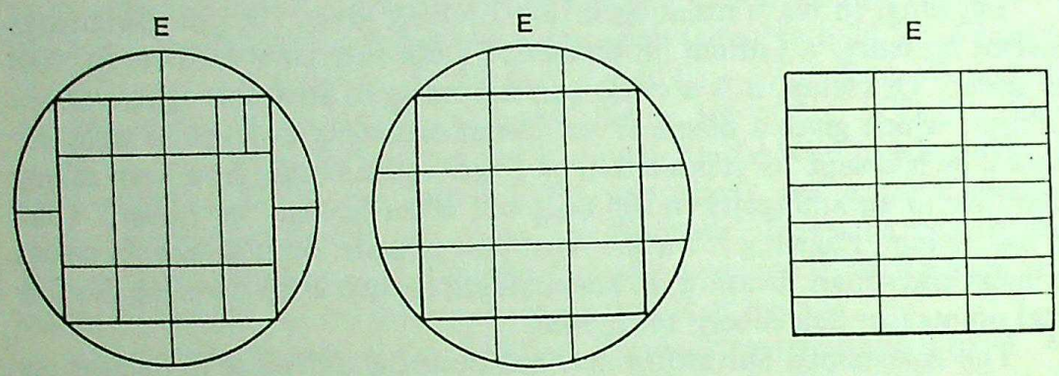
and both of them are now here, as the Āhavanīya and the Gārhapatya." One will note (Fig. 11) that the "new" gārhapatya (or āhavanīya) is like the "old" in having twenty-one bricks (for this terminology, see Volume I, pages 336–338). Thus the āhavanīya and the gārhapatya are being made equivalent through the number 21.



The Gārhapatya according to Eggeling | The Gārhapatya according to Baudhāyana and Āpastamba | The New Gārhapatya or Āhavanīya

Figure 11

The view being put forward here is that the Vedic ritualists of the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa already employed equivalence through area, and that the two altars are equivalent in that they have the same area. Now the gārhapatya measures 1 because Agni measures 1; and presumably the āhavanīya measures 1 for the same reason. Thus equivalence through a geometric measure is clear enough, even if some ambiguity as to the nature of the measure remains. Logically the ambiguity arises because a circle, like a square, is fixed by a single linear measurement. The ambiguity would not arise if one were comparing, say, an oblong with a square, since it takes *two* linear measurements to describe an oblong.

Because of the gap in the textual proof, I am persuaded to enter into a discussion of the motives underlying the invention of Vedic geometry and, in particular, of the Theorem of Pythagoras.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we find an application of the Theorem of Pythagoras. Since an application is an effect, not a cause, we cannot expect to find a motive in such applications, even if they are ritual. Rather, I will first seek a motive for squaring the oblong.

Ritual deals with equivalences. The reason for this, I think, is that a basic notion in ritual is the identification of the sacrificer with the sacrifice, and there are some rather clear and compelling reasons why this should be done only symbolically (or through ritual action) and not actually. However that may be, equivalences prevail in ritual, and this is so especially in Vedic

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ritual. We have already seen some examples, and it would be hard to open the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa at random without finding others.

The circle and the square are dual figures. We have seen that circle : square = gārhapatya : āhavanīya = earth : sky = human : divine. Similar relations hold for the oblong and square. The Pythagoreans had ten first principles consisting of ten pairs of opposites, e.g., odd-even, male-female, and so forth; one of the pairs is square-oblong. The Vedic Indians had this same duality: oblong bricks are human, square bricks divine (cf. *The Pandit,* 10, 169).

I assume a pervasive duality in ancient thought and will not try to explain this. The duality in thought is associated with a duality in social organization (it is, I think, a result of it), and gives rise to a duplication of the ritual scene—the circle and square express this duality. Such a duality can be widely documented (cf. Seidenberg 1981), but in any event, we already have a good example: the gārhapatya and āhavanīya. In some situations the circle may have been ousted by the oblong, giving rise to a duality between oblong and square; anyway, we have this duality. The oblong and square are to be made equivalent just as are the circle and square. Thus we have a *motive* for squaring the oblong. This is the first point.

Following Baudhāyana let us cut off a square from the oblong and try to rearrange the remainder around the square (see Fig. 5). As a first step in squaring the oblong, this is about as simple-minded as one can get. The only difficulty is that one does not get a square, but a square minus a smaller square, so the problem becomes: subtract a square from a square (so as to get a square). This gives us a motive for this problem (solved, as already mentioned, in the Śulvasūtras).

In trying to subtract a square from a square, one would place the smaller square into the larger and look at the difference. This could well lead one to the contemplation of something like Fig. 12i. This figure unquestionably

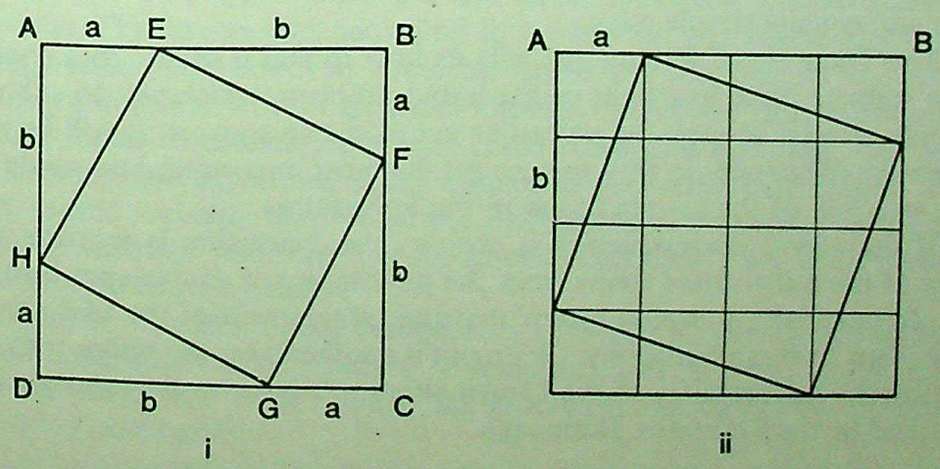

Figure 12—Subtracting a square from a square

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was contemplated in ancient times. The *Chou Pei,* an ancient Chinese work, has the version in Fig. 13, accompanied by the statement: "Make the breadth . . . 3, the length . . . 4. The king yu, that is, the way that joins the corners, is 5." The text continues: "Take the halves of the rectangles around the outside, there will be (left) a kuu."

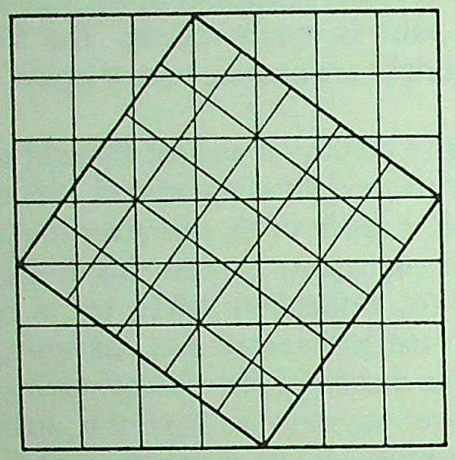

Figure 13—The "Figure of the Cord"

Once one contemplates Fig. 12i, one will soon come to the Theorem of Pythagoras. For example, if we let $a = 1$, $b = 3$ (see Fig. 12ii), then $AB = 4$, and the big square is 16. Now each triangle has area $1/2 \times 1 \times 3$, or $3/2$, and the four triangles together equal 6. So the smaller square is 10 (i.e., $16 - 6$). KŚulvaS 2.8 has this result, and one can get the result of the *Chou Pei* in the same manner. Moreover, to generalize further, call AE, a, and EB, b (see Fig. 12i). Then the big square is $(a + b)^2$, or $a^2 + 2ab + b^2$; each triangle is $ab/2$; the four together are $2ab$; so the remainder, c^2, is $(a^2 + 2ab + b^2)$ minus $2ab$, or $a^2 + b^2$. That is, $c^2 = a^2 + b^2$. This is the Theorem of Pythagoras. The same result can be obtained purely geometrically in a similar and equally simple way.

The Theorem of Pythagoras tells us how to add a square to a square, so we seem to have lost sight of the initial problem, which was to subtract a square from a square, but once one can add two squares, it will be easy to find the difference. In this way we get the most important, and surely the most striking, of the results found in the Śulvasūtras.

If the above reconstruction is correct, the conclusion is that the geometry of the Śulvasūtras stems from the philosophy of equivalence through area. In particular it would follow that the enlargement of the bird altar is subsequent to that philosophy. Or, to put it another way, the philosophy underlying the mathematics of the kāmya altars was prior to the enlargements described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

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7. COMPARISON OF VEDIC AND OLD BABYLONIAN MATHEMATICS

It is conceivable that a secular practice should enter ritual. Now the Old Babylonians of 1700 B.C. had a purely secular mathematics, and they also had the Theorem of Pythagoras, so the next question is whether the Vedic Indians got the Theorem from them.

There are two distinct traditions easily discernible in ancient mathematics: one is constructive or geometric, the other algebraic or computational. In the first, for example, the Theorem of Pythagoras says that the square built on the diagonal of a rectangle is the sum of the squares on the sides; it is expressed with a construction in view. In the second, the theorem says that the diagonal of a rectangle is the square root of the sum of the squares of its sides; it is expressed with a computation in view. The hallmark of the first tradition is the absence of numbers (except for small positive whole numbers). Anyone who has taken our usual high-school courses in mathematics will recognize the geometry courses as belonging to the first tradition, the algebra courses as belonging to the second.

Van der Waerden—and, in less detail, Neugebauer—explain the absence of number in Greek, or Pythagorean, geometry as follows. Originally the Old Babylonians had what we would call a naive approach to number and magnitude: they assigned numbers to lengths in the expected way. Their numbers are what we call *rational,* that is, they are the quotients of whole numbers. Now $\sqrt{2}$ is not, as we know, rational; but the Old Babylonians simply took a rational approximation (much as we do when we use 1.414 for $\sqrt{2}$). The Greeks on the other hand found that the diagonal of a unit square (to which we assign $\sqrt{2}$) and its side have no common measure, i.e., there is no segment going evenly into both the side and the diagonal. Defining number as (positive) whole number and adhering strictly to the definition, the Greeks could not get a logical grasp through number on the diagonal of a unit square. Now the Old Babylonians could solve quadratic equations. This knowledge, according to the theory, was taken over by the Pythagoreans, who, however, could not solve the equation $x^2 = 2$ in the domain of numbers, even if they had allowed themselves rational numbers or some logical equivalent. But they could solve that equation, and more general quadratic equations, in the domain of geometric magnitudes. Thus it was logical necessity that forced the Pythagoreans to go over to the geometric formulation (thus creating the so-called geometric algebra). Number was expunged from geometry.

Van der Waerden's (and Neugebauer's) theory is built on many acute observations, but it simply cannot be maintained in its present form, since, as we have seen, the Vedic Indians had geometric algebra before the advent of Greek mathematics.

Let us compare Old Babylonian and Vedic, or Vedic and Greek, mathematics. This is not the place to go into Babylonian mathematics, but what

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we have already mentioned will be ample, and the basic point is that the dominant aspect of Old Babylonian mathematics is its computational character. Consider, then, the Theorem of Pythagoras under two aspects corresponding to the two formulations given above: in aspect 1 the theorem is used to construct the side of a square equal to the sum or difference of two squares; in aspect 2 the theorem is used, say, to compute the diagonal of a rectangle. Aspect 2 comes in, for example, when one uses the (3,4,5) triangle to construct a right angle. The Śulvasūtras know both aspects and so does the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Taittirīya Saṃhitā at least knows aspect 2, which comes in when constructing a right angle with the Theorem; the discussion of the kāmya altars also made it plausible that it knew aspect 1. The *Elements* has only aspect 1, but the Greeks knew aspect 2, as well, since they had Pythagorean number triples. Now the Old Babylonians had aspect 2, but they would have had no use for aspect 1: they would simply square the lengths of the sides of the given squares, add, and take the square root.

Or consider the problem of converting a rectangle into a square. In India and Greece this is done geometrically, as explained. The Old Babylonians would have had no use for such a procedure: they would simply multiply the two sides and take the square root.

One could give further common elements of the Greek and Indian mathematics not shared by Old Babylonia—for example, the gnomon or the problem of squaring the circle. The Old Babylonians know the rule $(a + b)^2 = a^2 + 2ab + b^2$ (which is the arithmetic content of *The Elements* II. 4 and ĀpŚulvaS 3.9), but they do not have the gnomon (though it is reasonable to conjecture that they once did). The squaring of the circle is a true geometrical problem in Greece and in India; in Babylonia either it does not exist or is to be considered trivially solvable: the circle there has area $3r^2$ and the side of the required square is $\sqrt{3}\ r$.

Conclusion: the geometric algebra of Greece and of India have a common source different from Old Babylonia of 1700 B.C.

For a reason that will appear in a moment, let us consider Fig. 5, the figure for BŚulvaS 1.54. Let the given oblong have sides x and y, with x the longer side. Then the small square has side $(x-y)/2$ and the large, $(x+y)/2$; so we get the identity $xy = [(x+y)/2]^2 - [(x-y)/2]^2$. The Old Babylonians knew this identity, but did not have the corresponding geometrical figure.

Now let us consider some of the common elements in the Old Babylonian and Vedic mathematics. Becker and Hofmann (1951, 39–41) accept a date before 600 B.C. for the Theorem of Pythagoras in India. They therefore look to Babylonia for the source. But they need to get aspect 1, and Old Babylonia didn't have it. Could it be that India got aspect 2 from Old Babylonia and transformed it into aspect 1? For Greece we have a theory (namely, Neugebauer's and van der Waerden's) as to why this might have happened, but no one has ever suggested any such thing for India, and I don't see how it could have happened. Aspects 1 and 2 are but two aspects

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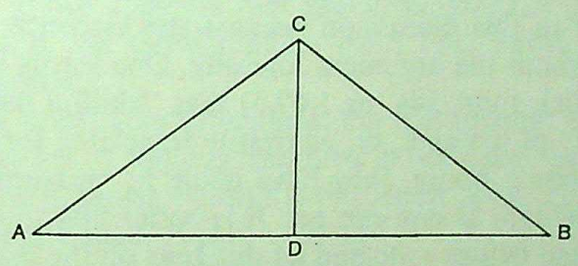
of the same thing, and the Śulvasūtras know this. The conclusion is that Old Babylonia got the Theorem of Pythagoras from India or that Old Babylonia and India got it from a third source. Now the Sanskrit scholars do not give a date for the geometrical rituals in question as early as 1700 B.C. Therefore I postulate a pre–Old Babylonian (i.e., pre-1700 B.C.) source for the kind of geometric rituals we see preserved in the Śulvasūtras, or at least for the *mathematics* involved in these rituals.

Old Babylonian and Vedic mathematics both appear to know the identity $xy = [(x+y)/2]^2 - [(x-y)/2]^2$; this identity is basic to the Old Babylonian treatment of quadratic equations, and its counterpart, *Elements* II.5–6, was used similarly by the Pythagoreans (see van der Waerden 1961, 188–124). In India it is not used for arithmetical purposes, but it is surely close to the surface in the construction from Baudhāyana mentioned a moment ago. Moreover, the Kātyāyana Śulvasūtra 6.5 gives the following construction for a square of n units. Take a line segement $AB = (n-1)$-units (see Fig. 14) and form an isosceles triangle ACB with $AC + CB = (n+1)$-units. Then the "arrow" DC is the side of the desired square. This even looks like an arithmetico-geometric application of the formula for $x = n$, $y = 1$. (Note the term "arrow," which was used in a similar, though not quite identical, way at Susa in the Old Babylonian period; see Seidenberg 1972, 181, n. 17.)



$$AB = n - 1$$
$$AC + CB = n + 1$$
$$\overline{DC}^2 = \left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)^2 - \left(\frac{n-1}{2}\right)^2 = n$$

Figure 14—Construction of a square of area n

Now this identity is a definite part of geometric algebra, so it follows that the postulated source knew this. Or, in other words, the Old Babylonians got this identity from a setup *like* that found in the Śulvasūtras, but, of course, from a pre-1700 B.C. source.

Conclusion: the geometrical construction of a square equal to a given rectangle taught in *The Elements* II.14, which is based on II.5 or 6 and on the Theorem of Pythagoras, must have been known to a pre-1700 source, on which the Pythagoreans, the Old Babylonians, and the Śulvasūtras depended.

The implication of these observations for Old Babylonian mathematics,

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and for mathematics in general, is elaborated in my paper "The Origin of Mathematics" mentioned above. The main idea is that the ritualists, because of their difficulties in trying to square the circle, in the course of which they learned how to take a square root, went over to arithmetic methods. There was a split: one side expanded the arithmetic methods, pushing aside the old geometric constructions; the other side insisted on maintaining the constructions. This explains, among other things, why aspect 1 is lacking in Old Babylonia. For us the important conclusion is that the mathematics we see in the Śulvasūtras already existed before 1700 B.C.

8. AGE OF THE VEDIC GEOMETRICAL KNOWLEDGE

The position we have now reached is that the geometry of the Pythagoreans and of the Vedic Indians have a common source, and that the mathematics of Old Babylonia is derivative. This suggests a source in the neighborhood of Old Babylonia somewhat before 1700 B.C., and hence that the Vedic Indians, who are supposed to have invaded India around 1500 B.C., brought the geometric rituals in with them. The place to look for evidence that the invading Aryan nomads had such rituals is the Ṛgveda, which is supposed to reflect the culture of these nomads. The Ṛgveda has not been mentioned earlier in this discussion because the evidence is scanty indeed and could not advance the argument logically. One learns in 1.67.10 (incorrectly given by Bürk 1901, 544, as 1.67.5) that "skillful men . . . measure out . . . the seat" of the agni, or, as freshly translated for me by Professor Staal: "Like experts a house, they have made it, measuring equally." But this is about as definite as one can get. It is better first to establish that the mathematics existed before 1700 and let this bear on the question of whether the invading nomads had the geometric rituals.

Aside from RV 1.67.10, there are some poetic references to measurements that it may be well to mention here. Thus RV 1.160.4 says that "the skillfulest among the skillful gods . . . measured out the two realms" of heaven and earth. RV 1.159.4 is similar and adds: "The enlightened seers are forever stretching a new string to the heaven in the sea." RV 3.38.3 says that "they made both [heaven and earth] equal in measure . . . " RV 6.8.2 says that Agni "measured out the air space"; and 10.121.5 is similar. (Cf. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda.*) For some other instances, especially RV 8.42.1; 8.41.10; 10.5.3; and 10.61.2, see Gonda (1959, 168), where remarks on the root *mā-*, often translated by verbs of "measuring off," are made. (See also RV 10.71.11.)

It has previously been mentioned that the altars were made of five layers of bricks, each layer being of 200 bricks. A large part of the Śulvasūtras is taken up in describing the shapes of the bricks and the positions in which they are to be placed. Now H. S. Converse, in her paper "The Agnicayana

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Rite: Indigenous Origin?" (1974, 81–95) has put forward the thesis that it *is* indigenous. One of her arguments is that the Ṛgveda has no word for brick! The conclusion is that the invading Aryans had no bricks and hence got their bricks from an indigenous source, namely, the Harappans (or the Indus River Valley Civilization). Hence, too, arises the thought that they may have gotten their geometry from the same source. This argument, that the invading nomads did not have bricks, will, however, have to come to terms with Professor Staal's observation that the Vedic Indians and the Iranians both had the same root, *iṣṭ-*, for brick (see Volume I, page 132).

It is generally held that the Harrapan civilization is a derivative of Babylonia, at least at its inception. The date of this inception is given by archeologists (e.g., Wheeler) as about 2500 B.C., and it was on the decline by 2000 B.C. Assuming that we have to go back to about 2200 for the geometry, and considering that the predecessors of the Old Babylonia of 1700 knew this geometry, the conclusion would be that Old Babylonia and Harappa shared their geometry; setting aside Greece and the Vedic Indians for a moment, there would be no way to decide between Babylonia and Harappa as the ultimate source.

A surmise is that the Greeks and the Vedic Indians got their geometry from a common source (and perhaps even that their common ancestors had it), whereas the above suggests that the Vedic Indians got *their* geometry from Harappa and the Greeks theirs from Old Babylonia, a somewhat conflicting conclusion.

Actually, we know very little about the Harappans: they made free use in their decorative art of squares inscribed in compass-drawn circles (or circles circumscribing squares), but this is the extent of our information on their geometry. (Cf. Childe 1946, 121).

An examination of the material on the bricks will show, however, that none of the theorems we have spoken about, except that of constructing a rectangle, is tied up with the bricks. The statement or implication that bricks of specified shapes can be assembled into a figure of specified shape does indeed involve some mathematics, but beyond that it is all only implicit in the Śulvasūtras; and even this implicit mathematics is for the most part contained in the other parts of the Śulvasūtras. Now the Ṛgveda often compares Agni to a bird, and in 1.58.5; 1.96.6, and 6.2.8, Agni is *called* a bird (cf. *Der Rig-Veda*). The vedi is explicitly mentioned, as in 1.164.35; 1.170.4; 5.31.12; 7.35.7; and 8.19.18. Thus 1.164.35 says: "The vedi is the outermost limit of the earth; this offering is the navel of the world." (The notion of the ritual scene as the earth is of widespread distribution, and in particular occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, for example, in 1.2.5.7.) So even assuming there were no bricks, we can still easily enough imagine the altar being outlined in the form of a bird and the whole being enclosed in a quadrilateral, perhaps a trapezoid. Once this figure is drawn (cf. Fig. 2) and the requirement placed that it be augmented by a square puruṣa while retaining the

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shape, most of the Vedic geometry comes into play, bricks or no bricks.

BŚulvaS 2.82 says: "After having constructed the agni consisting of 3000 bricks (i.e., the third time) the sacrificer is to construct the candaścit (i.e., the agni consisting as it were of mantras instead of iṣṭakās [i.e., bricks])." As Thibaut informs us, "The shape of the agni is drawn on the ground and then the whole ceremony of the agnicayana is gone through, but instead of placing bricks on the ground the sacrificer only touches the places on which they would be placed and mutters at the same time the appropriate mantras." Of course, here a simplification is being described, but it gives pretty much the image being projected.

The three fire altars (the gārhapatya, the āhavanīya, and the dakṣiṇāgni) are mentioned in RV 5.11.2, though not by name.

So it looks as though we are getting everything but the bricks in Ṛg-vedic times: the vedi, the bird-shaped agni, the three fires, and the "skillful men."

In view of these facts, it still looks to me as if the invading Aryans brought the geometrical rituals in with them, and I retain the impression that the Greeks and the Vedic Indians got their geometry from a common source, perhaps their common ancestors.

In an earlier paper (Seidenberg 1962) I cited RV 10.90, which says that "Puruṣa is thousand-headed, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed," and I added that "this means either that at the time of the Ṛgveda there already existed the thousand-brick altar; or, possibly, that the altar was, for some reason we do not know, conceived of as thousandfold, and this led to the thousand bricks." Now, of course, if there were no bricks, we have to take the second alternative. The question remains: What did the Ṛgveda mean by saying that Puruṣa is thousandfold? And what is the source of the "thousand"?

It is known that the early Hindus and Persians called themselves "Aryans," spoke closely related (so-called Indo-Iranian) languages, and shared cultural features not found elsewhere in the Indo-European family (cf. Staal in Volume I, p. 93). It is plausible to suppose, as has been done, that the Vedic Indians and the Iranians were once a single people. According to Professor Staal, "The Iranian fire ritual is in many respects similar to the Vedic. Fires were installed on three altars. The domestic altar is circular, the sacrificial, square." This suggests that the parent group already had the three fire altars, which in turn agrees with the evidence from the Ṛgveda (5.11.2) mentioned above. In the Persian Zend-Avesta (Vendidad, chap. 2) the earth, because it can no longer hold all "small and large cattle, men, dogs, birds, and red flaming fires," is increased after periods of three hundred, six hundred, and nine hundred years to a specified fraction more than it was before, with "instruments." If one considers myth to be a counterpart of rite, this suggests that Iranians once had geometrical rituals, and that the Vedic Aryans and the Iranians got their geometric rituals from their common an-

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cestors. This is in conformity with the surmise that the Vedic nomads brought the geometric rituals in with them.

Neugebauer (1962, 28f.) says: "For the Old Babylonian texts no prehistory can be given.. . . All that will be described in the subsequent sections is fully developed in the earliest texts known." No one can say with any confidence, or at any rate with reference to the evidence, that the Old Babylonian mathematics of 1700 B.C. was not known a thousand years earlier to the Sumerians. If it was, then by the arguments given the geometrical knowledge of the Śulvasūtras goes back that far, too.

Note. Professor van der Waerden has now put forward the thesis that mathematics was invented by the Indo-Europeans before their dispersal, between about 3500 and 2500 B.C. Cf. "Pre-Babylonian Mathematics", I and II, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences,* 23 (1980).

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RITUAL STRUCTURE

Frits Staal

THE NUMEROUS RITES OF THE Agnicayana do not follow each other haphazardly or at random; their succession has a structure. This structure is explained and made explicit by the śrauta sūtras, and it is the purpose of this essay to describe its most salient features.

The simplest structure that a sequence or succession of events or activities can have is a *linear structure*. This involves four relationships: "precedes," "follows," "immediately precedes," and "immediately follows." Let us adopt the convention that a ritual A consists of a sequence of rites $a_1, \ldots, a_n$, where $1, \ldots, n$ are natural numbers. These four relationships of succession may then be defined as follows:

a_1 precedes a_j if and only if $i < j$;
a_1 follows a_j if and only if $i > j$ (or a_j precedes a_1);
a_1 immediately precedes a_j if and only if a_1 precedes a_j, and if there is no k such that $i < k < j$;
a_1 immediately follows a_j if and only if a_j immediately precedes a_1.

From these definitions it is clear that the four relationships are not independent of each other. We can select any of the four as a basic relationship and define the three others in terms of it. All these relationships occur in the Agnicayana. For example:

the Consecration (dīkṣā) precedes the Introductory Offering (prāyaṇīyeṣṭi);
the Introductory Offering follows the Consecration;
the adhvaryu's *o śrāvaya* immediately precedes the agnīdh's *astu śrauṣaṭ*;
the agnīdh's *astu śrauṣaṭ* immediately follows the adhvaryu's *o śrāvaya*;

That such relationships occur may seem obvious. However, it is necessary to state it, for these simple relationships are presupposed by other, more complex relationships.

Some rites or recitations occur both at the beginning and again at the end of a ritual or rite. For example, at the beginning and end of each consecration of a layer of the Agni altar, the adhvaryu recites TS 5.7.9.1 a and TS 5.7.8.1 a. Let us refer to these recitations together as A. Let us refer to all the intervening recitations as B (these are different on each layer). Then, for each layer, the recitations exhibit the following structure:

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ABA

This is also the structure of the cyclical pattern "odana-interval-odana" described by Heesterman (above, pages 88–90).

In these cases we have an identical element at the beginning and at the end of a rite. There are more numerous cases where the activities at the beginning and end of a rite are related to each other but are not identical. Hubert and Mauss (1909) drew attention to some facts that are well known to ritualists, viz., that in the Agniṣṭoma the final bath (avabhṛtha) at the end corresponds to the consecration at the beginning, and the concluding offering (udayanīyeṣṭi) similarly corresponds to the introductory offering, the departure (udavasāna) to the entrance (adhyavasāna), the dissolution (sakhyavisarjana) to the alliance (tānūnaptra), and so forth. In all these cases, a large number of rites and rituals intervene between these initial and final rites. However, if we look at smaller units, we often find the same structure, and the intervening portion is correspondingly clarified. For example, within an iṣṭi the main oblation (pradhānahoma) is preceded by ājyabhāga oblations and followed by a sviṣṭakṛt oblation. The ājyabhāgas are in turn preceded by fore-offerings (prayāja), and the sviṣṭakṛt is in turn followed by after-offerings (anuyāja). In the Soma sacrifices each śastra recitation is preceded by puroruc and followed by ukthavīrya. The puroruc is in turn preceded by āhāva, and the ukthavīrya is followed by śastradoha. Similarly, there are recitations preceding and following each stotra chant. These examples can be extended almost indefinitely.

The main oblation of an iṣṭi and the śastra recitation each function as middle for two pairs of initial and final acts. The sequence in which the two initial rites or recitations occur is reversed or mirrored in the two final rites or recitations. This is the general structure that emerges when these initial and final patterns overlap or interfere with each other, and it can be applied to the larger units considered before. Let us represent five specific initial rites by $A_1, \ldots, A_5$. They occur in the following order at the beginning of the Agniṣṭoma or Agnicayana:

A_1 introductory procession
A_2 adhyavasāna
A_3 dīkṣā
A_4 prāyaṇīyeṣṭi
A_5 tānūnaptra

Now let us denote each corresponding final rite by the same symbol, adding an asterisk, as follows:

A_1^* return home
A_2^* udavasāna
A_3^* avabhṛtha

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A_4^* udayanīyeṣṭi
A_5^* sakhyavisarjana

The order in which these rites are gone through in the Agniṣṭoma is in fact the following:

$$A_1A_2A_3A_4A_5 \ . \ . \ . \ A_5^*A_3^*A_4^*A_2^*A_1^*$$

This suggests a tendency, not quite successful, to establish the regular "mirror-image" pattern, viz.:

$$A_1A_2A_3A_4A_5 \ . \ . \ . \ A_5^*A_4^*A_3^*A_2^*A_1^*$$

All these nesting or self-embedding structures can be represented by recursive rules of the following form:

$$(1) \qquad B \rightarrow ABA$$

This generates structures *AABAA*, *AAABAAA*, *AAAABAAAA*, . . . by applying the rule again and again to its own output.

The occurrence of such *recursive* rules, viz., rules that generate infinitely many structures by applying and reapplying finite mechanisms (in our case, one single operation) is significant, for it shows that the ritual can be extended indefinitely. We have drawn attention to this fact in the General Introduction (Vol. I, page 17), and the Indian theorists were clearly aware of it. The ritualists constructed rituals of indefinitely increasing complexity, the sattra rituals. These rituals are often purely theoretical, but this does not diminish their significance as both actual and possible rituals exhibit ritual structure. Hillebrandt did not take these theoretical rituals seriously: "Diejenigen Sattra's, welche länger als zwölf Jahre dauern, heissen mahāsattra's . . . und hier versteigt sich Mythus und Phantasie der Yājñika's zu den sechsunddreisigjährigen Opfern der Sāktya's, den hundertjährigen der Sādhya's, den tausendjährigen der Viśvasṛj" (Hillebrandt 1897, 158). The Indian grammarian Patañjali, on the other hand, took these rituals quite seriously, because he detected in them the same recursiveness that governs the structure of language. When discussing the infinity of language, which grammar must describe by finite means (cf. Staal 1969, 501–502 = 1976, 104–105), Patañjali refers to these sattra rituals: "There are indeed linguistic expressions which are never used. . . . Even though they are not used, they have of necessity to be laid down by rules, just like protracted sattras" (*santi vai śabdā aprayuktāḥ . . . yady apy aprayuktā avasyaṃ dīrghasattravallakṣaṇenānuvidheyāḥ; Mahābhāṣya,* Kielhorn, ed., I, 8,23; 9,15).

The indefinite complexity of the Vedic rituals is not due solely to the recursive rule we have just considered, but primarily to two others. The

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first of these may be called *inserting* or *embedding*. Its operation is observed most easily when different rituals are compared with each other. We have seen, for example, that the different Soma rituals differ from each other by the insertion of an increasing number of Soma sequences: the Agniṣṭoma is defined by twelve such sequences, the Ukthya by inserting another three, the Ṣoḍaśi by inserting one more, and the Atirātra by inserting another thirteen, bringing the total to twenty-nine. Similarly, the Agnicayana may be distinguished from the Agniṣṭoma by inserting numerous new ceremonies. In the course of the description of the Agnicayana, we have come across specific examples of such insertions or embeddings. Here are three:

(1) (See Table 4, page 311). The Sāmidhenī verses of the Animal Sacrifice differ from those of the Full and New Moon Ceremonies by embedding two additional verses, viz., RV 3.27.5–6. One of the embedded ceremonies that characterize the Agnicayana is the Animal Sacrifice for Vāyu. In this sacrifice, according to Baudhāyana, another eleven verses are embedded in the Sāmidhenī verses, bringing the total to twenty-four.

(2) (See Table 5, page 386). There are three rituals that are embedded in the Agniṣṭoma and help to transform it into the Agnicayana: Measurement of the Agnikṣetra; Construction of the New Domestic Altar; and Setting up of the Agnikṣetra.

(3) (See Episode 31, page 683). The Āśvina śastra is built from the Morning Litany (prātaranuvāka) by inserting and omitting numerous mantras and groups of mantras. This is one of the few cases in which omitting and inserting occur together. In general, omitting is merely the reverse of inserting: just as the Agnicayana can be thought of as arising from the Agniṣṭoma by inserting, the Agniṣṭoma can be thought of as arising from the Agnicayana by omitting.

All these insertions operate at different levels, and apply to large as well as small units. Insertions are made into other insertions, and here their recursive character becomes apparent. If we take a closer look at these insertions within insertions, we shall find the second recursive rule referred to before, which constitutes a second principle that contributes to the indefinite complexity of the Vedic ritual.

Let us start with the Animal Sacrifice for Vāyu. Call it *B*. It is inserted in the Agnicayana after the Ritual Preparation of the Ukhā Pots (*A*) and before the Election of the Priests (*C*). The ritual rule that effects this insertion may therefore be written as:

$$(2) \qquad AC \rightarrow ABC$$

Now let us consider the internal structure of the Animal Sacrifice (*B*). Confining our attention to the Sāmidhenī verses, which I shall call *E*, it consists of various rites preceding these verses, which may be lumped together and referred to as *D*, and various rites following them, together referred to as

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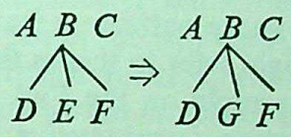
F. Thus the Animal Sacrifice *B* may be represented by *DEF*, or, if the same type of rule as in (2) is used:

$$(3) \qquad B \rightarrow DEF$$

In an Animal Sacrifice, there are thirteen Sāmidhenī verses, as we have seen; the *E* in (3), therefore, consists of thirteen such verses. We also know, however, that the Animal Sacrifice for Vāyu, which occurs in the Agnicayana, should contain (according to Baudhāyana) twenty-four Sāmidhenī verses. This group, which may be called *G*, arises from *E* by inserting another eleven mantras, i.e., by an insertion similar to the insertion represented by (2). It would not be appropriate, however, to express this insertion by a rule of the form:

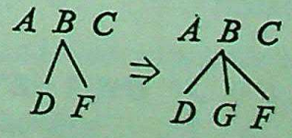
$$(4) \qquad E \rightarrow G$$

This would indicate that in *all* Animal Sacrifices there are twenty-four Sāmidhenī verses. We have to express that *E* is replaced by *G* only in the Animal Sacrifice that is embedded in the Agnicayana. In other words, we must restrict the context, or the configuration in which *E* occurs and which conditions its replacement by *G*. The simplest way to do this is by a rule of the form:

(5)


This rule is formulated with the help of a double arrow to distinguish it from the rules with single arrows such as (2)–(4). Rules of the form (5) may be called *transformations*, adopting the name they are given in linguistics.[1]

Transformational structures are typical of Vedic ritual, and it is easy to provide other examples. Let *A* denote ceremonies preceding the consecration, *B* the consecration, and *C* ceremonies following the consecration. The prototype of *B* in the Agniṣṭoma consists of a sequence of rites, beginning with the consecration iṣṭi (dīkṣanīyeṣṭi), that will be referred to as *D*. This is followed by the ceremonies with the antelope skin, the mekhalā rope, the turban, and so forth (*F*). In the Agnicayana, between *D* and *F* new rites are inserted relating to the ukhā pot, in which fire originates (*G*). In other words, a rule of the form (6) applies:

(6)


[1] In linguistics, rules of the form (2)–(4) are called phrase-structure rules.

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Actually, D itself is also transformed. It is replaced by a new rite called agnidīkṣanīyeṣṭi, or D^*. A transformation must apply that is of the form:

$$(7) \qquad \begin{array}{c} A\ B\ C \\ / \\ D \ldots \end{array} \Rightarrow \begin{array}{c} A\ B\ C \\ / \\ D^* \ldots \end{array}$$

Another example is the Carrying Forth of Agni (agnipraṇayana; B). It follows oblations to Viśvakarman on the domestic altar (A) and is followed by Adhvara oblations on the offering altar (C). The prototype of the Carrying Forth in the Agniṣṭoma consists of the transportation of the fire by the adhvaryu, recitations by him and by the hotā, and chants by the prastotā (D). Afterwards the fire is installed on the altar (F). In the Agnicayana, another recital is inserted, viz., the recitation by the second hotā or maitrāvaruṇa of the Song to the Irresistible Warrior. If this is referred to as G, the expression (5) expresses the structure again adequately, but it should be understood that DGF does not represent a simple sequence of three rites, but a combination in which some of the rites overlap or are simultaneous.

In the Final Bath (avabhṛtha) there is also the insertion of a new rite, characterized by the recitation of TS 4.6.2.6 r. This can be described by a structure of the form (6).

In these transformations the context is specified on the left and on the right; in other words, both the following and the preceding ceremonies are specified. Sometimes it is more natural to leave one side unspecified, or to regard it as empty. We might refer to this as the prefixing, suffixing, or mere "adding" of rites. For example, in the Full and New Moon Ceremonies the Formulas of Completion (samiṣṭayajus; A) consist of two mantras, TS 1.1.13.3 u-v. In the Animal Sacrifice, A follows the final oblations (C) and precedes the burying of the heart-spit (D). But in this sacrifice the two formulas A are replaced by three (A^*), or:

$$(8) \qquad C\ A\ D \rightarrow C\ A^*\ D$$

In the Agniṣṭoma the context is specified differently, as $C^* \ldots D^*$, and another nine formulas (B) are added:

$$(9) \qquad C^*\ A^*\ D^* \Rightarrow C^*\ \begin{array}{c} A^* \\ \diagup\ \diagdown \\ A^*\ B \end{array}\ D^*$$

In the Agnicayana in a context $C^{**} \ldots D^{**}$, another nineteen mantras (E) are added:

$$(10) \qquad C^{**}\ \begin{array}{c} A^* \\ \diagup\ \diagdown \\ A^*\ B \end{array}\ D^{**} \Rightarrow C^{**}\ \begin{array}{c} A^* \\ \diagup\ \diagdown\ \diagdown \\ A^*\ B\ E \end{array}\ D^{**}$$

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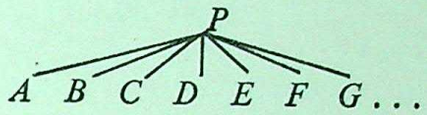
Such sequences of mantras can be extended indefinitely.

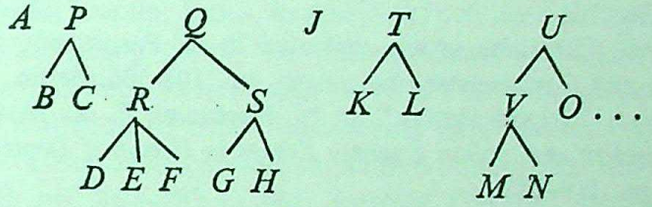
What is the significance of these structures? They show that an apparently empiricist and purely behaviorist description of the sequence of acts of the Agnicayana, *A,B,C,D*, . . . , as if they had a linear structure (11), is inadequate:

(11)



Underlying the sequence *A,B,C*,. . . there is in fact a hierarchical structure arrived at through the reiterated operation of embeddings and transformations, viz., something of the form:

(12)



In the description of the performance in Volume I we have implicitly accepted that it has a structure of the form (12). This idea underlies the subdivision into episodes and smaller units, described in varying detail, and the references to prototypes of the iṣṭi, the Agniṣṭoma, and other components. For example, we have not described rites such as *B* as merely "following" *A*, which corresponds to the structure expressed by (11). Rather, we have described *B* as the first rite of a ritual *P*, which corresponds to the structure expressed by (12). Thus, the agnidīkṣanīyeṣṭi is not described as merely following the rites described in Episode 3, but as constituting the first rite of Episode 4, the consecration (dīkṣā) (see volume I, pages 317–318).

The Indian ritualists have always stressed the hierarchical structure of the ritual, as have Caland and other Western scholars. As we have seen, the śrauta sūtras describe the main rituals in a particular order. This is connected with several facts. Higher rituals in the hierarchy, or later rituals in the list, are not only more complex, but also less common. A person is in general only eligible to perform a later ritual if he has already performed, or continues to perform, the earlier ones. All this has to be borne in mind when we note that Baudhāyana, for example, describes some of the rituals in the following order:

darśapūrṇamāsa, "Full and New Moon Ceremonies"
ādhāna, "Installation of the Fire"
paśubandha, "Animal Sacrifice"
cāturmāsya, "Seasonal Ceremonies"

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agniṣṭoma, protoype of the Soma ceremonies, etc.

The descriptions of the later rituals are not complete in themselves, but concentrate on modifications in the previous rites and insertions of new ones. The Agnicayana chapter of Baudhāyana in Part IV illustrates this procedure. The śrauta sūtras, therefore, express precisely the ritual structures we have considered.[1]

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[1] For a further discussion of the significance of these structures, see Staal 1979a and Staal 1979b.

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THE AGNICAYANA SECTION OF THE MAITRĀYAṆĪ-SAṂHITĀ WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MĀNAVA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA

N. Tsuji

THE AGNICAYANA [AC], as the pinnacle of Vedic ritual, occupies a special position among the śrauta sacrifices owing not only to its elaborateness but also to the fact that it contains many remarkable rites and ritual elements. Theoretically the Ac can be combined with any Soma ritual. The Ac was performed at Paññāl, Kerala, India, in April 1975 as an Atirātra Soma ritual, characterized by the piling up of the falcon-shaped fire altar. The Ac has been examined by many scholars. Weber was the first to describe it accurately according to the tradition of the Vājasaneyins (*Ind. Studien* 13 [1873], pp. 217–292; cf. also "Über Menschenopfer bei den Indern der vedischen Zeit," *ZDMG* 18 [1864], pp. 262–287 = *Ind. Streifen* 1 [1868], pp. 54–89). Next Eggeling's meritorious translation of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa [ŚB] VI-X (*SBE* 41 [1894] and 43 [1897]) along with his introduction, has provided a detailed account of the Ac that is available to scholars in general. In the Taittirīya tradition we not only have Keith's translation of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā [TS] IV (mantras) and V (brāhmaṇas) (*HOS* 19 [1914]; cf. Introduction in 18 [1914], p. CXXV–CXXXI), but also Caland's annotated translation of the Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra [Āp] XVI and XVII (Amsterdam, 1928), in which the whole range of the Yajurvedic literature has been cited for purposes of comparison. Of course, Caland has taken both the Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā [MS] and the Kāṭhakam [KS] into consideration, but in the belief that, despite van Gelder's translation of the Mānava-Śrautasūtra [Mn] VI (New Delhi, 1963), a description of the Ac in accordance with the Maitrāyaṇīya school would be useful for a synthetic study of this complicated ritual, I present here the Ac solely on the basis of the vidhi elements extracted from the brāhmaṇa section of MS III supplemented by Mn VI. In order to avoid unnecessary complexity I have referred only to the VārāhaŚS [Vr] and the ĀpastambaŚS [Āp]. The tradition of the Vārāhas being somewhat inferior to that of the Mānavas, a detailed comparison of both Śrautasūtras should be reserved for a special study. Further, a comparative study of the tradition of the Kaṭhas and that of the Maitrāyaṇīyas would be a desideratum in terms of the elucidation of the Ac according to the Carakas as a whole. On the other hand, the references of Caland's notes (from his translation of the Āp) are provided for the reader to enable him to locate parallel passages in other texts.

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For the sake of brevity I have had to rely on various devices. Though I am well aware of the importance of the relation between the meaning of a mantra and its context within the ritual act, I have decided to cite mantras merely by the page and line of the texts indicated at the beginning of each paragraph, without pratīka or translation. The reader is referred to van Gelder's full translation of all the mantras. Though far from completely satisfactory, this method does not cause much difficulty as far as the verses are concerned, and the boundary of prose formulas is made clear, whenever necessary, by citing a word or two. Moreover, I have made use of several kinds of parentheses: all the passages taken from the Mn are indicated by [ ] and the number of the sūtras is put in 〈 〉 while ( ) denotes the page and line (printed in bold type) of the MS containing the vidhi elements in question. Well-known ritual terms or words that defy exact rendering are often left untranslated. For the definition of such terms, I recommend Renou, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique* (Paris, 1954). Even given these restrictions, I have had to stop at the beginning of the fifth layer (citi), that is, approximately at the end of the first half of MS III. Since however, our special interest lies more in the piling up of the fire altar than in the Soma sacrifice proper, I hope that readers may derive a rough idea of the Ac according to the Maitrāyaṇīyas even from this crude torso.

ABBREVIATIONS

abhim.	abhimantraṇa, addressing to an object (in order to consecrate it)
Ac	Agnicayana
adhv.	adhvaryu
āhav.	āhavanīya fire
anum.	anumantraṇa, recitation of a mantra at the end of a sacrificial act
Āp	ĀpastambaŚS
Cal.	W. Caland
CH	W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906–7)
gārh.	gārhapatya fire
iṣṭ. (iṣṭs.)	iṣṭakā(s) "brick(s)"; for the so-called iṣṭs. not made of clay, cf. Āp XVI. 13, 10
m., (mm.)	mantra(s), including both verses (ṛc, pl. ṛcaḥ) and prose formulas (cf. y., yy.)
Mb	The brāhmaṇa section of the MS
Mm	The mantra section of the MS
Mn	MānavaŚS
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
prat.	pratīka
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
ŚS	Śrautasūtra
sū.	sūtra

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svayamāt.	svayamātṛṇṇā (śarkarā), the naturally perforated (pebble), "der von Natur durchlöcherte Kiesel"
v., (vv.)	verse(s)
Vr	VārāhaŚS
y. (yy.)	yajus (pl. yajūṃṣi), prose formula(s)
yaj.	yajamāna, sacrificer, Opferveranstalter

§1. Preparation of the ukhā pot (ukhāsaṃbharaṇa): Offerings to Savitṛ. Mb III. 1. 1: p. 1. 1–p. 2. 12: Mn VI. 1. 1. (1–3, generality),[1] 4–7; cf. Vr II. 1. 1. (1–3), 3 (the latter half), Āp XVI. 1. (1–3), 4–7 a beginning.

He (the adhv.) wipes first the juhū ladle and scoops ghṛta (ghee) eight times in it (Mb 1.c. **p.1.1–4**). With eight mm. relating to Savitṛ, that is, is, Mm II.7.1: p.73.8–p.74.9 (**p.1.5-14**)[2] he offers a single juhoti-libation (**p.2.9**) by means of the juhū (**p.1.3**): ⟨Mn 1.c., sū. 5⟩.——If he wishes that the sacrifice (yajña) be provided with sacrificial splendor (yajñayaśas), he should end his recitation with the ṛc (verse), that is, Mm 1.c. p.74.8–9: imaṃ me deva savitar ff. (**p.1.15–p.2.1**), but if he wishes that the sacrificer (yajamāna) be provided with sacrificial splendor he should end with the yajus, that is, Mm 1.c. p.74.7 (prat.) = I.11.1: p. 161.6–7 (**p.2.1–2,11**): ⟨6⟩.—— For a person whom he wishes to prosper he should offer one juhoti after having recited all eight mm. (**p.2.3–4.9**), but for a person whom he wishes to become worse he should perform offerings separately with each of the mm. (**p.2.4–5**).[3]——Then with Mm 1.c. p.74.10–11 (**p.2.5–6,8**) [he offers a juhoti of ghṛta scooped four times (caturgṛhīta)]: ⟨7⟩.

1. As for the time of the ukhāsaṃbharaṇa ⟨1⟩, cf. Āp 1.c., sū. 1, Vr 1.c., sū. 3 beg. —— 2. They are all verses (ṛcaḥ) except the seventh m.: deva savitaḥ prasava yajñam ff., though they are called here collectively yy. (**p.1.12**: aṣṭau vā etāni yajūṃṣi, see also **p.2.7,9**). A distinction, however, is made between a y., that is, the seventh m. (see above) and a ṛc, that is, the eighth m.: imaṃ me deva savitar ff. (**p.1.5–p.2.2**). ṣaḍ ṛgmāṇi bhavanti (**p.1.9–10**) seems to refer to the first six mm. that are all verses. —— 3. Not mentioned by Mn, but cf. Āp sū. 5.

§2. Ukhāsaṃbharaṇa cont.: A wooden spade is taken up. Mb III. 1. 2: p. 2. 13–p. 3. 8: Mn VI. 1. 1. 8; cf. Vr II. 1. 1. 4, Āp XVI. 1. 7.

With four Sāvitra-mm., that is, Mm II.7.1: p.74.12–18, he takes up a wooden spade (abhri) (**p.2.13**) made of bamboo (**p.2.9**, cf. **17.20**), which is spotted (kalmāṣa), hollow (suṣira)[1] (**p.2.18**), and double-edged (ubhayataḥkṣṇut) or single-edged (anyataratas) (**p.3.4–5**). The use of the arka-plant (**p.3.1**) or the udumbara-wood (**p.3.6**) is also allowed,[2] but after all any tree is allowable insofar as it bears fruit (phalagrahi) (**p.3.7–8**): ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 8⟩.

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——Its length is stated to be a fathom (vyāma), a cubit (aratni), a span (prādeśa) (**p.3.1,3**) or even unlimited (aparimita) (**p.3.7**).

1. Perhaps "or not hollow" is to be added as a joint (parvan) is spoken of (**p.2.19**), cf. Āp sū. 7.b: suṣira or asuṣira.——2. Many other kinds of plants are mentioned, Āp sū. 7.b including udumbara and arka.

§3. Ukhāsaṃbharaṇa cont.: Procession for obtaining the clay for the ukhā with a horse and an ass. Mb III. 1. 3: p. 3. 9–p. 4. 18: Mn VI. 1. 1. 9–13: cf. Vr II. 1. 1. 5–9, Āp XVI. 2. 1–7.

[Before the āhavanīya fire he performs an abhim. to a horse] with Mm II.7.2: p.74.19–p.75.2 (**p.3.12–13**), and [to an ass] with Mm l.c. p.75.3–4 (**p.3.14–15**):⟨Mn l.c. sū. 9⟩.——Making use of the ass he collects (the clay for the ukhā) (**p.3.15**) and the horse is led in front and the ass follows it (**p.3.17–18**): ⟨10, cf. below⟩.——If he wishes that pāpavasīyasam[1] would occur (to the yaj.) the ass should be led in front and the horse should follow it (**p.3.19–20**). With Mm l.c. p.75.5–6[2] they proceed (**p.3.21–p.4.2**): ⟨10⟩.——To a person whom he meets on the way he should say: agniṃ purīṣyam (the fire to be prepared from dust) aṅgirasvad achemaḥ Mm l.c. p.75.9, and thereby he deprives him of his vigor (vāja) (**p.4.12–14**)[3]: ⟨12⟩.——Where the sun rises, there he should destroy an anthill and say: agniṃ purīṣyam aṅgirasvad bharisyāmaḥ Mm l.c. p.75.9–10 (**p.4.14–15**)[4]: ⟨13⟩.

1. Cf. Āp sū. 4 (Cal.): "Wenn er wünscht, dass dem Opferveranstalter nicht lauter Gedeihen, sondern Gedeihen mit bösem Geschick vermischt, zufallen möge."—— 2. Together with Mm l.c. p.75.7–8, from pratūrāvan to sayujā saha, though Mb **p.4.4–10** cites only part of the mm. without giving the viniyoga (ritual use), while Mn ⟨11⟩ uses the next m.: agniṃ purīṣyam aṅgirasvad ābhara Mm l.c. p.75.8–9 (**p.4.11–12**) for a japa (a muttered prayer). —— 3. Cf. Cal. ad Āp sū. 6. —— 4. Cf. Cal. ad Āp sū. 7: "vor Sonnenaufgang" (ā sūryasyodetoḥ), but the passage of Mn cited above seems merely to prescribe that he should destroy an anthill found to the east.

§4. Ukhāsaṃbharaṇa cont.: An offering on the horse's footprint, the parilekhana of the spot and the digging of a pit. Mb III. 1. 4: p. 5. 1–19: Mn VI. 1. 1. 14–23, cf. Vr II. 1. 1. 10–17, Āp XVI. 2. 8–3. 2.

With Mm II.7.2: p.75.10 (prat.) = I.8.9: p.128.11–12 (**p.5.1**) [they move away from the anthill]: ⟨Mn l.c. su. 14⟩.—— [Having arrived at the spot where a pit (ākhāna) is to be dug, he performs a japa] with Mm l.c. p.75. 11–12 (**p.5.1.–2**): ⟨15⟩.——With Mm l.c. p.75.13–14 and 15–16 (**p.5.3–6**) [he makes the horse step on the spot]: ⟨16⟩.[1] [When the horse steps on it the yaj. should say] concerning a person whom he hates: overcome so and

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so (amum abhitiṣṭha) (not given in Mm II.7.2, but s. Mb l.c. **p.5.7**): ⟨17⟩, cf. Āp sū.2.10.——With Mm l.c. p.75.17–18 (**p. 5.7–8**) [he makes the horse step away from the spot]: ⟨18⟩, and with Mm l.c. p.75.19–p.76.2 (**p.5.8–9**) [he performs an abhim. to the horse][2]: ⟨19⟩. Then he offers a juhoti upon the horse's footprint with Mm l. c. p.76.3–4 and 5–6 (**p.5.12–13**]: ⟨20⟩.—— Then he draws the lines around the spot (parilikhati) with Mm l.c. p.76.7 (prat.) = I.1.9: p.5.7. (gāyatrī), 10–11 (triṣṭubh) and 8–9 (anuṣṭubh) (**p.5. 14–16**)[3]: ⟨21⟩.——With the Sāvitra-mm.[4] he takes up the abhri (**p.5.16**): ⟨22⟩, and digs the pit with two mm. Mm l.c. p.76.12–15 (**p.5.16,18**)

1. But the second m. dyaus to pṛṣṭham etc. is used for touching the horse by Vr sū. 13, cf. Āp sū. 2.9.——2. As for the horse's color, cf. below §15.IV, n.3. —— 3. Against the order of the mm. Mm l.c. p.76.7–11 where the anuṣṭubh-verse stands before the triṣṭubh-verse, cf. TS IV.1.2. t–w. —— 4. Cf. above on Mb III.1.2: **p.2.13**: ⟨Mn sū. 8⟩.

§5. The collecting of the dust (purīṣa) from the pit (ākhāna). Mb III. 1. 5: p. 6. 1–p. 7. 4: Mn VI. 1. 1. 24–33, cf. Vr II. 1. 1. 18–27, Āp XVI. 3. 3–9.

With Mm II.7.3: p.76.16–17 (**p.6.1–3**) [he unfolds a lotus leaf (puṣkaraparṇa)]: ⟨Mn l.c. sū. 24⟩, and [to the north of the pit] he spreads with Mm l.c. p.76.18–19 [and p.77.1–2] a skin of the black antelope (kṛṣṇājina) with its hairy side turned upward,[1] and [thereupon] the puṣkaraparṇa (**p.6.4–6.8**) on which the clay is to be laid (**p.6.7,9**): ⟨25⟩.—— [The purīṣa ('dust, Schutt') is strewn upon the puṣkaraparṇa lying on the kṛṣṇājina] with Mm l.c. p.77.3 (**p.6.13–14**)[2] and with the [three] gāyatrī-verses Mm l.c. p. 77.4–5, 6–7 and 8–9 for a brāhmaṇa, with the triṣṭubh-verses Mm l.c. p. 77.10–12, 13–14, and 15–16 (bṛhatī!)[3] for a rājanya and with the jagatī-verses Mm l.c. p.77.17–18, 19 (prat.) = I.5.1: p.66.4–5[4] and p.78.1–3 for a vaiśya (**p.6.9–12**): ⟨26⟩. But if he wishes that some one may prosper, then he should lay the purīṣa for him with the gāyatrī- and triṣṭubh-verses (**p.6.12–13**): ⟨27⟩. —— The pit is sprinkled with Mm l.c. p.78.5–6 and 7–8 (**p.6.19–22, p.7. 1–2**):⟨29⟩. —— The viniyoga of Mm l.c. p.78.9–10 (**p.7.4–5**) can not be determined from the context, [but according to Mn l.c. sū. 30 and 31 the purīṣa is addressed with the first half of the verse, and the kṛṣṇājina containing the purīṣa is tied with the latter half by means of a cord of muñja-grass or arka-plant, cf. Vr sū. 25, Āp sū. 7]. —— With two mm. Mm l.c. p.78. 11–12 and 13–14 the kṛṣṇājina is lifted up (**p.7.7–8**): ⟨32⟩, and with Mm l.c. p.78.15–17 (**p.7.9–12**) [he performs a japa]: ⟨33⟩.[5]

1. Mb contains no particular precept except lomataḥ saṃbharati (**p. 6.8**). But Mn l.c. sū. 25 gives a much more detailed description: prāggrīva and uttaraloma for the kṛṣṇāj. and upariṣṭānnābhi and prāgdvāra for the puṣkarap. (cf. Mn VI.1.7.1: just the opposite

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position, see below §16 beg., cf. Āp sū. 3. —— 2. As the y. : purīṣyo 'si, etc. Mm 1. c. p. 77.3 is mentioned before the gāyatrī-verses, etc., it seems to be recited before those verses, so Mn 1.c. sū. 26 and Āp sū. 4 (Cal.), but the statement of Mb: tisṛbhiḥ saṃbharati (**p.6.16**) combined with yajusturīyam (**p.6.17**) seems to suggest that the y. should follow those verses, so Vr sū. 22: yajuruttarābhir gāyatrībhiḥ and 23: sarvatra yajuḥ. Moreover, the gāyatrī- and triṣṭubh-verses are to be recited together for a special wish ⟨27⟩, and Vr sū. 23 states: aṣṭabhiś ca saṃbharet, that is, three gāyatrīs plus a yajus and three triṣṭubhs plus a yajus. —— 3. Cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 4. —— 4. The viniyoga of this m.: ayaṃ to yonir ṛtviyo etc. is not indicated unless by a vague allusion such as yonir vā eṣo 'gner yat puṣkaraparṇam, (**p.6.2,10**). But according to Mn 1.c. sū. 28 the m. is used for touching the strewn purīṣa, cf. Vr sū. 24. —— 5. Instead of japati, Vr sū. 27 and Āp sū. 9 have harati.

§6 The carrying of the bundle of purīṣa placed on the back of the ass to the sacrificial ground and its treatment. Mb III. 1. 6: p. 7. 15 – p. 8. 15: Mn VI. 1. 1. 34–2. 4, cf. Vr II. 1. 1. 28–35, Āp XVI. 3. 10–4. 2.

With Mm II.7.4: p.79.1–2 he puts (the bundle containing the purīṣa) on the back of the ass (gardabha) (**p.7.15**): ⟨Mn 1.c. sū 34⟩, and with Mm 1.c. p.79.3–4 (**p.7.17–18**) [he performs an abhim. to the purīṣa]: ⟨35⟩. [With the horse in front they go back (to the sacrificial ground)]: ⟨36⟩. With Mm 1.c. p.79.5–6 and 7–8 (**p.7.18–p.8.12**) [he performs abhim.'s one after another to the horse, to the ass and to the purīṣa]: ⟨37⟩. With Mm 1.c. p.79.9 (y.) (**p.8.3**) [he performs an abhim. to a man whom he meets on the way][1]: ⟨38⟩. —— [Having prepared a quadrangular mound of earth (khara) to the south of the āhavanīya-fire[2] and enclosed it: ⟨39⟩, he strews darbha-grass on it and places the bundle containing the purīṣa upon it] with Mm II.7.5: p.79.10–11 and 12–13 (**p.8.5–7**): ⟨40⟩. [According to Mn 1.c. sū. 41 the horse and the ass are given to the adhv.]. —— The cord of the bundle is untied with two mm. Mm 1.c. p.79.14–15 (**p.8.8–9**) and probably II.12.3: p.147.1–2: vi te muñcāmi raśanām, etc. (in accordance with Vr sū. 32): ⟨2.1⟩. —— He pours water [filtered through leaves and bark] on the purīṣa with three mm. Mm 1.c. p.79.16–17, 18–19, and p.80.1–2 (**p.8.10–11**): ⟨2.2⟩, and with Mm 1.c. p.80.3–4 and 5–6 (**p.8.12–13**) he mixes it with five substances (**p.8.15**) [: hairs of a goat (ajaloma) and of the kṛṣṇāj., and the following three reduced to powders, that is, śarkarā (pebbles), veṇvaṅgāra (charcoal made from bamboo) and armakapāla (potsherds from ruins, Abfälle einer Trümmelstätte)[3]]: ⟨2.3⟩ —— [Then, with Mm 1.c. p.80.7–8, 9–10, and 11–12 he performs an abhim. to the mixed lump and hands it to the patnī]: ⟨2.4⟩.

1. Cf. above Mb III.1.3.: **p.4.12–14**: Mn VI.1.1.12; Āp XVI.2.6 and 3.13. —— 2. But cf. Āp sū. 3.14: uttareṇa vihāram "nördlich vom Opferplatz' (Cal).——3. Cf. Vr sū. 34, Āp sū. 4.1.

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§7. Ukhāsaṃbharaṇa up to the fumigation. Mb III. 1. 7: p. 8. 16–p. 9. 16: Mn VI. 1. 2. 5–14, cf. Vr II. 1. 1. 36–41, Āp XVI. 4. 3–5. 7

With makhasya śiro 'si (y.) Mm II.7.6: p.80.13 (**p.8.16**) (he touches the lump]: ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 5⟩. [While the patnī prepares the quadrangular ukhā] with three elevations (tryuddhi) (**p.9.2**)[1] [in the middle]: ⟨6.7⟩, [yaj. performs the anum's: vasavas tvā . . . yajamānāya Mm 1.c. p.80.13–15 (**p.8.17**) [when the first uddhi is made]; [rudrās tvā . . . yajamānāya ib. 15–17 when the second uddhi is made; ādityās tvā . . . yajamānāya ib. 17–p.81.1 when the third uddhi is made; and viśve tvā devā . . . yajamānāya ib. p.81.1–3 while it is smeared] ending each time with the y.: dhruvāsi, etc. Mm 1.c. p.80.14–15, cf. 16–17 and 18–p.81.1 with var. (**p.8.19**, cf. **20:** yajuṣā karoti): ⟨8⟩.——[with adityā rāsnāsi Mm 1.c. p.81.3–4 the patnī makes a girdle (rāsnā) two aṅgulas below the opening[2]:⟨9⟩, and with aditiṣ ṭe bilaṃ gṛhṇātu ib. 4 she makes an opening in the girdle: ⟨10⟩.] The ukhā should be provided with eight, four, or two nipples (stana)[3] (**p.9.3–5**) (in the quarters)[4]: ⟨11⟩. The ukhā is of a vyāma, an aratni, or a prādeśa in size (**p.9.6–8**)[5]——[After having smeared the ukhā by means of a stalk of sugarcane, she sets it down with Mm 1.c. p.81.5–6[6]: ⟨12⟩.]——[From the rest of the lump the aṣāḍhā-iṣṭakā is made[7]: ⟨13⟩.]——With seven yy. Mm 1.c. p.81.7–10 up to dhūpayatv aṅgirasvat he fumigates the ukhā (**p.9.9, 10–11, 13–14**) [with the fire taken from the gārh.-fire] by means of horse-dung (aśvaśaka) (**p.9.14,16**) [on the khara (see above Mn VI.1. 1.39–40)[8]: ⟨14⟩].

1. On uddhi 'Erhöhung' Aufsatz', being virtually equal to "Ring," s. Cal. on Āp V.22.6. As for the number of the uddhis, cf. Āp sū. 4.7. ——2. So also Āp sū. 4.11.b, but cf. Vr sū. 37: uttame tṛtīye. —— 3. As for the number of the stanas "Erhöhungen in der Gestalt von Brustwarzen," cf. Āp. sū. 5.2 (Cal.); Vr sū. 38 has only stanau. —— 4. More exactly Vr sū 38: aśrīnāṃ rāsnāyāś ca samavāye, similarly Āp sū.5.2. —— 5. Mn does not give these measures except for a vague reference: āmnātaṃ pramāṇaṃ prathayitvā ⟨7⟩. —— 6. Cf. sikatāsu Vr sū. 39, Āp sū. 5.3. —— 7. See below Mb III.2.7: p.25.15–p.26.1: §17, cf. also Vr sū. 40, Āp sū. 5.4. —— 8. Cf. gārhapatye Vr sū. 41, Āp sū. 5.7.

§8. The baking of the ukhā. Mb III. 1. 8: p. 9. 17–p. 11. 7: Mn VI. 1. 2. 15–22, cf. Vr II. 1. 1. 42–48, Āp XVI. 5. 8–6. 1.

[Before the gārh.] he digs a pit (avaṭa, āpāka Mn, or garta Vr] with Mm II.7.6: p.81.9–10 up to khanatv avaṭa (**p.9.18–19**)[1]: ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 15⟩, and places the ukhā in it with Mm 1.c. p.81.10–11 up to dadhātūkhe (**p.10.1–2**) [and the aṣāḍhā-iṣṭ.[2] too]: ⟨16⟩. —— [After having surrounded the baking place (pacana) with shavings (kupina)[3] and wetted it] he bakes the ukhā with Mm 1.c. p.81.11–16 (**p.10.4–11**)[4] [by means of the fire taken from the gārh.]: ⟨17⟩.——With Mm 1.c. p.81.17–18 (**p.10.14–15**) [he attends the enkindled ukhā]: ⟨18⟩, and with Mm 1.c. p.81.19–20: devas tvā savitodvapatu . . . .

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svaṅguriḥ he takes it out of the pit (**p.10.15–16**): ⟨19⟩. Then he stands up with Mm 1.c. p.81.21–p.82.2: uttiṣṭha bṛhatī bhava etc. (**p.10.17–18**)[5]: ⟨20⟩.——[Bringing it round in front of the āhav. he puts it on the khara (see above Mn VI.1.2.14)] with Mm 1.c. p.82. 2: mitraitāṃ ta ukhāṃ paridadāmy abhittyā, eṣā mā bhedi he assigns it to Mitra (**p.10.18–p.11.2**); ⟨21⟩. But if the ukhā breaks before it is assigned to Mitra, another one should be prepared anew (**p.11.2**).——With [four yy.] Mm 1.c. p.82.3–6 beginning with vasavas tvāchṛndantu etc. he fills it with goat-milk (**p.11.2–7**): ⟨22⟩.

1. Hereafter the ritual acts can be easily inferred from the mm. themselves.——2. Cf. above Mn VI.1.2.13.; Āp sū. 5.9 and 12.—— 3. Cf. Āp sū. 5.8: lohitapacanīyaiḥ saṃbhāraiḥ ("mit rotbrennenden Substanzen" Cal.) pracchādya.—— 4. I.e., dhiṣaṇā tvā . . . abhīnddhām (read so also **p.10.4 end**) ukhe (p.81.11–12), gnās tvā. . . śrapayantv ukhe (ib. 12–13), varutrī tvā . . . pacatām ukhe (ib. 13–14), janayas tvā . . . pacantūkhe (ib. 14–16); cf. Mb 1.c. **p. 10.13**: tasmād etāni paktimanti (read so) yajūṃṣi tair evaitāṃ pacati, but in reality there are only two yy. which contain the verb-forms from pac-, so adds Mb ib.: dvābhyāṃ pacati. —— 5. Read pṛthivy āśā (= Mm 1.c. p.82.1) for pṛthivyām āśā on **p.10.17**.

§8 bis. Mn VI. 1. 2. 23–26 having no corresponding passage in Mb. Cf. Vr II. 1. 1. 48–2. 1, Āp XVI, 6. 2–7 (Cal.).

[He brings a head of a vaiśya or a rājanyabandhu (perhaps "an ignoble kṣatriya") killed by the lightening or by an arrow: ⟨23⟩, and places on the cut (cheda) of the body an anthill pierced sevenfold and seven beans (māṣa) with the m.: ayaṃ yo asya yasya ta idaṃ śirah, etc.[1]: ⟨24⟩. He then takes the head in his hand with the m.: idaṃ asmākaṃ bhuje bhagāya bhūyāsam[2]: ⟨25⟩, and singing the Yama-gāthās: yo'sya kauṣṭhyajagataḥ etc. he brings the head near and smears it with clay (mṛd): ⟨26⟩.][3]

1. Cf. ayaṃ yo 'si yasya ta idaṃ śira etena tvam atra śīrṣaṇvān edhi KS XXXVIII.12: p.113.14, Vr sū. 1.52 (without atra), Āp sū. 3.—— 2. Better bhūyāt as KS 1.c. p.113.15, Vr 1.c., Āp sū. 6. —— 3. It is rather strange that Mb does not mention here this remarkable rite, but cf. KS XX.8: p.27.1–6, for the mm. XXXVIII. 12: p.113. 8–15; KapS XXXI.10: p.157.13–19.

§9. The Dīkṣāhutis: the kindling of the ukhya-fire and the putting of various samidhs in it. Mb III. 1. 9: p. 11. 8–p. 13. 4: Mn VI. 1. 3. 20–31, cf. Vr II. 1. 2. 17–30, Āp XVI. 8. 13–10. 7.

[After having offered five juhotis, that is, the usual Dīkṣāhutis with ākūtyai prayuje agne svāhā, etc. Mm I.2.2: **p.10.11–14** (cf. Mn I.1. 2.1, CH §16)] he performs six juhotis with the "ādhītayajūṃṣi" separately (nānā):

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ākūtam agniṃ prayujaṃ svāhā, etc. Mm II.7.7: p.82.7–9 (**p.11.8–9**): ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 20⟩.——But if he wishes that some one may become deaf (badhira) he should perform only one offering after having recited the yy. continuously (**p.11.10–11**).[1]——Then he offers [a pūrṇāhuti] as the seventh juhoti with an anuṣṭubh-verse (**p.11.13**), that is, Mm 1.c. p.82.10–12 ending with svāhā: ⟨20 end⟩.——[The ritual proceeds up to the muṣṭikaraṇa, CH 17.g]: ⟨21⟩. ——He heats the ukhā [on abundant coals of the āhav.] with two mm. Mm 1.c. p.82.13–14 and 15–17 (**p.11.14–17**): ⟨22⟩, [and he puts muñja-grass or some other quickly inflammable material (kṣiprāgni) in the heated ukhā so that the fire may be produced by heating: ⟨23–24⟩.] —— [At this point the āhav. is to be extinguished[2]: ⟨25⟩.] ——Heating is the way of producing fire for a person desirous of prosperity (bhūtikāma) (**p.11.17–18**) [unless special wishes come into play]: ⟨26⟩. For a person who has attained prosperity (gataśrī) the fire should be produced by drilling (**p.11.19**); for a person desirous of food it should be taken from a roasting pan (bhrāṣṭra) (**p.11.20**); [for a person disirous of priestly glory (brahmavarcasa), from lightening when it flames on the top of a tree]; for a person whose dominion he wishes to be victorious by prasena (?)[3] from a forest fire (pradāva) (**p.11. 21–p.12.1**); ⟨27⟩. He may bring the fire from anywhere else for a person to whom he wishes that an injurious rival be born (**p.12.2–3**)[4].—— [Having inflamed the ukhya-fire he adds samidhs (firewood):] he puts a stick of krumuka[5] smeared with ghṛta (ghee) with Mm 1.c. p.83.1–2 (**p.12.4–5**), a stick of udumbara with Mm ib. 3–4 (**p.12.6–7**), a stick of vikaṅkata with Mm ib. 5–6 (**p.12.8–9**), a stick of śamī[6] with Mm ib. 7–8 (**p.12.9–10**): ⟨28⟩.[7] [In Mn sū. 28 end the use of a stick of udumbara not hewn by an axe (aparaśuvṛkṇa) or of a tilvaka-stick with five mm. Mm ib. 9–18 is recommended for the purpose of an abhicāra, and further an aśvattha-stick is said to be put on the fire with Mm 1.c. p.83.19–p.84.1. But again according to Mn sū. 29 a stick of śamī not hewn by an axe or a tilvaka-stick is to be put on the fire with Mm 1.c. p.84.2–3 for an abhicāra-practice and the yaj. should meditate on a person whom he hates.] On the other hand Mb referring partly to the mm. Mm 1.c. p.83.9–18 (**p.12.12–15**, cf. above Mn sū. 28) mentions the abhicāra-use of a tilvaka-stick (**p.12.17–18**) and contains the same phrase yaṃ dviṣyāt taṃ tarhi manasā dhyāyet "he should then meditate on a person whom he hates" (**p.12.18–19**) as cited by Mn sū. 29 end, while Mm 1.c. p.84.2–3 (cf. above Mn sū. 29) is quoted merely by prat. without any indication of the viniyoga (**p.12.20**). —— Mb **p.12.21** warns that one should not utter an unpleasant matter to a performer of the Ac (agnicit) nor to a knower of the Ac (agnivid).[8] —— Lastly Mb refers to Mm 1.c. p.84.6–7: saṃśitaṃ me brahma, etc. (**p.12.21–22**) and to Mm ib. 8–9: brahma kṣatraṃ sayujā, etc. (**p.13.3–4**, cf. also **p.13.1–2**) without giving the viniyoga. [According to Mn, he, going to put an udumbara-stick, makes the yaj. recite two mm. Mm 1.c. p.84.4–5 and 6–7: ⟨30⟩, and he puts the samidh on the ukhya-fire with Mm ib. 8–9: ⟨31⟩.]

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1. This abhicāra is not mentioned by Mn, but cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 8.14. —— 2. So also Āp sū. 9.10 —— 3. "By extension" v. Gelder, cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 9.8.a. —— 4. Not found in Mn, but cf. Āp sū. 9.7. —— 5. For the meaning, cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 9.6. —— On the various kinds of wood mentioned in the following, cf. Vr sū. 22–28, Āp sū. 9.6–10.5. —— 6. Mn sū. 28 adds aparaśuvṛkṇa "not hewn by an axe," suggested by Mb **p.12.10–12**. —— 7. From here the agreement between Mb and Mn is not complete. —— 8. Not found in Mn, but cf. Āp sū. 10.6 (Cal.).

§10. The five animals for Agni and Prajāpati; a goat for Vāyu niyutvat as their substitute.[1] Mb III. 1. 10: p. 13. 5–p. 14. 4: Mn VI. 1. 3. 1–19, cf. Vr II. 1. 2. 2–16, Āp XVI. 7. 1–12.

The [potent] paśus for Agni [that is, a horse, a bull, a ram (vṛṣṇi) and a he-goat (basta)] are immolated to fulfill the yaj.'s wish[2] (p. **13.5**) [as well as a potent goat (aja)[3] for Prajāpati]: ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 1⟩ —— After the paryagnikaraṇa they (i.e., persons in charge) release (the four paśus for Agni (**p.13.6–7**) and complete the sacrifice with one, that is, the goat for Prajāpati (**p.13.7**): ⟨8⟩. The yājyānuvākyās for it are in the triṣṭubh-meter (**p. 13.8**),[4] and a dvādaśakapāla-puroḍāśa for Agni vaiśvānara is offered (**p.13.9**): ⟨9⟩.[5]——[The heads of the released paśus are cut off and placed down: ⟨10⟩, and their bodies and tongues are thrown into a pool from which he wishes to collect the clay for preparing the iṣṭakās: ⟨11⟩.] —— But instead of all these five paśus, he who is desirous of vigor (tejaskāma) may immolate a white, [potent and tūpara] goat for Vāyu niyutvat[6] (**p.13.11–12**, cf. also sarveṣāṃ vā eṣa paśūnāṃ rūpāṇi prati, ib. **14–15**); ⟨12⟩. —— A dvādaśakapāla-paśupuroḍāśa for Prajāpati is offered (**p.13.16**); ⟨15⟩. [Having laid the tongue on the avadānas (cooked flesh pieces) he should put down the head of the paśu: ⟨16⟩.] ——Then he offers [as the Dīkṣanīyeṣṭi, cf. CH §15] an ekādaśakap.-puroḍ. for Agni and Viṣṇu (**p.13.17**), a caru in ghṛta for Aditi (**p.13. 18**) and a dvādaśakap.-puroḍ for Agni vaiśvānara (**p.14.2**): ⟨18⟩.

1. On account of the ritual sequence, it seems better to place this paragraph before §9. —— 2. For the expression agnibhyaḥ kāmāya (Mb) and a° kāmebhyaḥ (Mn), cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 2: a° kāmāya "den Agnis, dem Kāma." —— 3. tūpara "hornless" according to Vr sū. 3, Āp sū. 1. —— 4. Similarly Āp sū. 10: for the āgneya-paśus. —— 5. Both Mb and Mn (cf. sū. 7–9) are succinct on the prājāpatyapaśu, cf. Vr sū. 4–12, Āp sū. 2–11. —— 6. Cf. Y. Ikari: Notes on the vāyavyapásu (BŚS X. 9–11), *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 48 (Tokyo, 1976), p. (87)–(95).

§11. The yaj. makes the four Viṣṇu-steps with the ukhya-fire. Mb III. 2.

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1: p. 14. 5–p. 16. 8: Mn VI. 1. 4. 1–17, cf. Vr II. 1. 3. 1–17, Āp XVI. 10. 8–18.

With Mm II.7.8: p.84.10–11 the yaj.[1] puts on a golden plate (rukma) (**p.14.5**) with twenty-one knobs (nirbādha) (**p.14.6–7, 9–10**): ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 1⟩, facing downward (adhastāt, i.e, inward) first and then facing upward (i.e., outward) (**p.14.10–11**)[2]: ⟨2⟩. —— [A chair (āsandī) is put down, the feet of which measure a span (prādeśa) high,[3] the rest being the same as described in Mn II.1.4.34. A sling (śikya, "Tragband") made of muñja-grass with six[4] or twelve strands is placed on the āsandī: ⟨3–6⟩.] ——With Mm 1.c. p.84.12–13 (**p.14.11–15**) [he takes up[5] the ukhya, that is, the fire in the ukhā, in fact, the ukhā containing the fire, and places it on the śikya]: ⟨7⟩. With Mm 1.c. p.84.14–15 (**p.14.15–p.15.3**) [he puts the noose of the śikya (śikyapāśa) round his neck, and wears the kṛṣṇājina with the same m. as used in sū. 7]: ⟨8⟩.[6] ——The viniyoga of the two yy. Mm 1.c. p.84.16–p 85.2. (**p.15.4–5**) and p.85.2–3 (**p.15.6**) is not clearly indicated. [According to Mn, however, the former is used as a japa: ⟨9⟩, while the latter is employed for yaj.'s raising up of the ukhya-fire and holding it over his navel[7]: ⟨10⟩.] —— [Then the yaj. makes the four viṣṇukramas[8] with Mm 1.c. p.85.3–4, 4–5, 5–6, and 6–7 (yy.) toward the east: ⟨10⟩.] —— [The viniyoga of Mm 1.c. p.85.8–9 is not given, but Mn uses it as the yaj's japa: ⟨11⟩.[9]] —— With four mm. Mm 1.c. p.85.10 (prat.) = I.7.1: p.109.12–p.110.2 the yaj. turns round to the right (pradakṣiṇam) (**p.15.14–18**): ⟨12⟩, and [turning round he performs a japa] with Mm 1.c. p.85.11–12 (**p.15.18**): ⟨13⟩.[10] —— With Mm 1.c. p.85.13 (prat.) = I.2.18: p.28.8–9 (**p.15.19**) [he loosens the śikyapāśa: ⟨14⟩, and with Mm ib. 14–15 (**p.15.20**) [he performs an abhim. to the ukhya-fire]: ⟨15⟩.——With Mm ib. 16 (prat.) = II.6.12: p.71. 14–15 (**p.16.1**) he places the ukhya-fire on the āsandī (**p.16.4–6**): ⟨16⟩. Lastly with three mm. Mm. 1.c. p.85.17–18, p.86.1–2 and 3–4 he performs the upasthāna (the rendering of a worship while standing) of the ukhya-fire (**p.16.6–7**): ⟨17⟩.

1. Cf. Vr sū. 17, Āp sū.9.——2. Mn sū. 2 prescribes only that the rukma is to be borne with its knobs up, but cf. Āp sū.9 (Cal.). —— 3. For the size of the āsandī, cf. Vr sū. 4, Āp sū. 16. —— 4. As for six strands, cf. Mb 1.c.: **p.15.10**: ṣaḍudyāvaṃ śikyaṃ bhavati. —— 5. udyamya: agniṃ udyacchate Mb 1.c. **p.14.15.** —— 6. So also Vr sū. 7, Āp sū. 11. —— 7. Cf. uparinābhi Mb 1.c. **p.15.11.** —— 8. Cf. athaite kramāḥ Mb 1.c. **p.15.7**, s. also **9–10**; prakrāmati Mb ib. **13.** —— 9. Cf. Vr sū. 10, Āp sū. 13. —— 10. So also Vr sū. 12.

§12. I. The Vātsapra-sūkta. Mb III. 2. 2: p. 16. 9–p. 17. 2: Mn VI. 1. 4. 18, cf. also 23, 25 and 40, cf. Vr II. 1. 3. 20, Āp XVI. 11. 6–9 (Cal.).

With the Vātsapra-hymn[1] consisting of twelve triṣṭubh-verses = Mm II.7.9: p.86.5–p.87.8 the yaj. performs the upasthāna of the ukhya-fire (**p.16.9,13,14**). He makes the Viṣṇukramas (above § 11) and worships the

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ukhya-fire with the Vātsapra-hymn each alternate day (**p.16.14–15,16**), but on the day on which he is going to begin the piling of the fire-altar (agniciti) he should perform both of them (**p.17.1**)[2]: ⟨Mn 1.c.⟩.

1. On its origin, cf. Mb 1.c. **p.16.9–13**: the legend of Vatsaprī Bhālandana. —— 2. Cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 9.

§12. II. When the yaj. makes a journey. Mb III. 2. 2.: p. 17. 2–8: Mn VI. 1. 4. 27–30[1], cf. Vr II. 1. 3. 25–30, Āp XVI. 12. 4–7.

[When the yaj. stays out or makes a journey he should take up the ukhya-fire] with Mm II.7.10: p.87.9–10 (**p.17.2–3**): ⟨27⟩, [and with Mm II.6.12: p.71.14–15 (as above Mn VI.1.4.16) and II.7.8: p.85.17–p.86.4 (as above Mn ib. 17) he puts it on a wagon (anas), while he (also) places (the other two fires) on it after having strewn them in two receptacles (pātryoḥ): ⟨28⟩.] —— Then he starts with Mm II.7.10: p.87.11–12 (**p.17.5**)[2]: ⟨29⟩.——When the axle creaks he should perform a anum. with Mm II.7.8: p.85.8–9 (as above Mn VI.1.4.11) (**p.17.6, cf. 6–8**).

1. Mn ib. 21–26 skipped over as the passage does not directly relate to the Ac. —— 2. Read prayāpayati instead of pravāpayati (**p.17. 5**), cf. prayāti Mn VI.1.4.29, prayāpayati Vr sū. 29, Cal. on Āp sū. 6.

§12. III. The adding of a samidh to the ukhya-fire. Mb III. 2. 2.: p. 17. 8–11[1]: Mn VI. 1. 4. 20, cf. Vr II. 1. 3. 21–24, Āp XVI. 12. 8–10.

[When he is going to drink the fasting milk (vratayiṣyan, cf. CH § 22) he kindles the ukhya-fire with Mm II.7.12: p.91.9–10 and adds the first[2] samidh smeared with ghṛta[3] to it] with Mm II.7.10: p.87.14–15 (in gāyatrī) for a brāhmaṇa, with Mm 1.c. p.87.16–p.88.1. (in triṣṭubh) for a rājanya and with a double gāyatrī, i.e., a verse in jagatī, for a vaiśya (**p.17.8–10**): ⟨20⟩.

1. While Mb mentions first a provision for the yaj.'s journey (above § 12. II) and then prescribes the adding of a samidh (III), similarly Āp, Mn, and Vr treat III before II. —— 2. Mn 1.c. presupposes the adding of further samidhs, cf. Mn ib. **21** and **22**, s. also Vr sū. 22. —— 3. According to Vr sū. 24 not smeared with ghṛta (anakta).

§12. IV. The treatment of excessive ashes. Mb III. 2. 2.: p. 17. 11–17: Mn VI. 1. 4. 31–35, cf. Vr II. 1. 3. 31–36, Āp XVI. 12. 11–13. 4.

When the ashes fill up the ukhā he should throw them in the water (**p.17.11**): ⟨31 beg., 33⟩.[1] Or he should place them on cowdung (purīṣa)[2] for a person desirous of cattle (**p.17.12**) : ⟨31 the latter half⟩. Or he should mix them with (the clay for) the iṣṭakās (**p.17.13**): ⟨31 the first half.⟩[3] ——

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[Coming back from the waterside and having put the ukhā in its proper place] with Mm II.7.10: p.88.14 (prat.) = I.7.1: p.109. 17–18 (**p.17.14**) and I.7.1: p.110.1–2, he performs the upasthāna of the ukhya-fire with two mm. Mm II. 7. 10: p.88.15,16, and 17–p.89.1 (**p.17.15–17**): ⟨35⟩.[4]

1. According to Mn sū. 33 with three mm. Mm II.7.10: p.88.3–5, 6–7, and 8–9. But judging from the position of this sū. the Mānavas seem to allow this way of disposing of excessive ashes primarily to a person who wanders about [yāyāvara, cf. sū. 32, Vr sū. 33, see also Āp sū. 12.11,12; 13.2,4 (Cal.)]. —— Moreover, Mn sū. 34 prescribes that he should throw back two handfuls of ashes into the ukhā with two mm. Mm 1.c.: p.88.10–11 and 12–13, cf. Vr sū. 35, Āp sū. 12. 12. —— 2. Read purīṣe instead of purīṣam in Mb **p.17.12** and Mn sū. 31, cf. Vr sū. 32, Cal. on Āp sū. 13.3. —— 3. Cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 13.2. —— 4. Mn sū. 36–40 (general precepts) are skipped over, cf. Vr II. 1.4.1–4, Āp sū. 13.5–12.

§13. The piling (citi) of the śālāmukhīya-fire. Mb III. 2. 3: p. 18. 1–p. 19. 18: Mn VI. 1. 5. 1–13, cf. Vr II. 1. 4. 5–20, Āp XVI. 14. 1–15. 7.

With Mm II.7.11: p.89.2–5 (**p.18.1,3–4**) [he chooses the place for the śālāmukhīya-fire, that is, the new gārh.].[1] He digs the ground a vyāma long (**p.18.6–7**) and sprinkles the place with water (**p.18.8**) [the area marked should be circular or quadrangular. And then he surrounds the place with twenty-one pebbles (śarkarā) with Mm 1.c. p.90.4: citaḥ stha . . . śrayadhvam][2]: ⟨Mn 1.c sū. 1⟩. —— With Mm 1.c. : p.89.6: agner bhasmāsy, agneḥ purīṣam asi "Thou art the ashes of Agni, thou art the dust of Agni" he strews gravel (sikatā) on the place (**p.18.10–11**) and saline earth (ūṣa) thereupon (cf. **p.18.2** ff., esp. **17,19**) [with Mm 1.c. p.89.6–7: saṃjñānam asi, etc]: ⟨2⟩. —— [Here inserts Mn sū. 3 a japa by the adhv. or the yaj. with Mm I.6.1: p.86.5–6 and p.85.18–p.86.1.][3] —— [After having pushed asunder the saline earth and gravel] he places [in the middle of the place] four iṣṭs. turned eastward (**p.18 end–p.19.1**) [with Mm II.7.11: p.89. 8–10, 11–12, 13–14, and 15–16], and in front of them two others turned in the same direction (that is, turned eastward) (**p.19.4**)[4] [with Mm 1.c. p. 90.1–2 and 3 (prat.) = I.5.1: p.66.4–5] and behind them two others turned to the same direction (**p.19.5**) [with Mm 1.c. p. 90.3–4]: ⟨4⟩; thus these central iṣṭs. are eight in number (**p.19.5**).[5] —— [At each piling he should add: tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīde "By this deity sit thou firm in the way of the Aṅgiras's" Mm 1.c. p. 90. 3 and 4: ⟨5⟩.[6]] —— [In order to fill up the layer thirteen lokaṃpṛṇās "the space-filling bricks" are placed with Mm II.8.1: p.106.3–4 beginning with lokaṃ pṛṇa, etc., and tā asya, etc., ib. 5–6: ⟨6⟩[7]; thus the total number of the iṣṭs. together with eight central ones (see above) amounts to twenty-one as alluded to in Mb 1.c. **p.19.6–7**.] —— [Further Mn sū. 7 prescribes the putting down of a piece of gold (hiraṇyaśakala) on each layer

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(cityāṃ cityām), and ib. 8 the covering of the layer with the purīṣa "dust" from the cātvāla-place with Mm II.13.11: p.161.14–17.] —— The gārh. -citi is accomplished in three layers (**p.19.8**) or five layers (**p.19.9**); [more precisely Mn sū. 9: five or three layers or one layer are prescribed for a person who performs the Ac for the first, the second, or the third time, respectively, cf. Vr sū. 17, Āp sū. 15.3–4]. —— With four mm. Mm II.7.11: p. 90.5–6, 7–8, 9–10, 11 (prat.) = I.2.7: p. 16.8–9 (**p.19.10,15**) [he places the ukhya-fire on the new gārh. (cf. **p.19.11 ff**)]: ⟨10⟩. —— With Mm 1.c. p. 90.12–14 (**p.19.17–18**) [he loosens the ukhā (from the śikya)]: ⟨11⟩. —— [He should not look at the empty ukhā: ⟨12⟩, and he should put it down after having filled it with gravel (sikatā), sour milk (dadhi), ghṛta or honey (madhu):⟨13⟩.]

1. Vr sū. 6 states explicitly: āhavanīyadeśe gārhapatyaṃ cinoti "He piles the gārh. in the (old) āhav. -place". —— 2. Cf. Vr sū. 7–8, Āp sū. 14.1 (Cal.). —— 3. Cf. Vr sū. 7. —— 4. So also Vr sū. 13, cf. however Āp sū. 14.6: samīcī or tiraścī "turned eastward or northward," see Cal. —— 5. Cf. the diagram given by Eggeling, SBE XLI, p.302. —— 6. Cf. Āp sū. 14.10. —— 7. See also Mb. III.2.8: **p.28. 12–p.29.2**, where these two verses are explained.

§14. I. The Nirṛti-bricks. Mb III. 2. 4: p. 19. 19–p. 20. 16: Mn VI. 1. 5. 14–24, cf. Vr II. 1. 4. 21–30, Āp XVI. 15. 8–16. 5.

[With Mm II.7.12: p.91.4–5 he takes the śikya: ⟨Mn 1.c. sū 14⟩.] In the direction of Nirṛti (Goddess of destruction), that is, southwestward (**p.19. 20–21**): ⟨15⟩, they (the adhv., yaj., and brahman-priest) bring three black iṣṭs. for Nirṛti baked by chaff-fire (tuṣapakva), and he places them on soil barren by nature (svakṛtā iriṇe), each one more remote from himself (parāc) (**p. 19.19–21**) [with three mm. Mm 1.c. p.90.15–16, 17–18, and 19 (prat.) = II.2.1: p.15.14–15] : ⟨16⟩, [but without adding the formula tayā devatayā, etc. (see above Mn 1. c. sū. 5): ⟨17⟩, cf. also Vr sū. 24, Āp sū. 15.10 (Cal.)]. —— With Mm 1.c. p.91.2–3 he throws the net (jāla)[1] over the iṣṭs. (**p.20.5**): ⟨18⟩. [Moreover, according to Mn sū. 19 he throws the string of the golden plate (rukmasūtra) after the net and makes the others step with the chair (āsandī) toward the iṣṭs., cf. Vr sū. 26, Āp sū. 16.1 beg.] With Mm 1.c. : p. 91.4–5 ending with svāhā Mm ib. 6, pouring water [from a jar] around the iṣṭs., he goes round them (**p.20.7–9**) [thrice from right to left (prasavyam), and after having placed down the jar he goes back thrice round them without pouring]: ⟨20⟩. Having uttered bhūtyai namaḥ "homage to prosperity" Mm 1.c. p.91.6, he turns back (**p.20.10**): ⟨21⟩, and they come back without looking behind (**p.20.10–11**): ⟨23⟩. —— They perform the purificatory bath (mārjana) at a place away from the cowshed (parogoṣṭham) (**p.20.11**) [with three mm. cited in full by Mn 1.c.]: ⟨22⟩.[3] —— With Mm 1.c. p.91.7–8 he performs the upasthāna of the gārh. (**p.20.13,14**): ⟨24⟩. —— [Lastly Vr sū.

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30 prescribes the kindling of the āhav. by the yaj. with Mm 1.c. p.91.9–10, while Āp sū. 16.5 mentions the upasthāna of the āhav. or the gārh., see Cal.]

1. śikyajāla = śikyapāśa is meant, see Cal. on Āp sū. 16.1, the word nirṛtipāśa occurs Mb **p.20.5–6**. —— 2. The same m. as above Mn sū. 14, but given here in full with pariṣad instead of parṣad. —— 3. Vr sū. 27 and Āp sū. 16.3 employ the first m. only.

§14. II. The measurement of the agni-ground (agnikṣetra) on which later the uttaravedi will be piled and the ploughing of the furrows on it. Mb III. 2. 4: p. 20. 16 – p. 21. 10: Mn VI. 1. 5. 25–43, cf. Vr II. 1. 4. 31–5. 7, Āp XVI. 17. 1–19. 10.

[The Soma-ritual proceeds from the prāyaṇīyeṣṭi (cf. CH §26) to the moring upasad-rite (cf. CH §52) and the cutting down of a sacrificial post (yūpaccheda, cf. Mn I.8.1.3) and further to the erection of the pole for the back line (pṛṣṭhyāśaṅku, cf. Mn II.2.1.51–52). Now one sets about the measurement of the agnikṣetra in the bird-form: ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 25–29⟩. As for the ritual situation, cf. also Āp XVI.21.1–2 (Cal.).] —— Mb III.2.4 does not contain the viniyoga of the mm. in Mm II.7.12 and the use of these mm. by Mn 1.c. does not always agree with their order in Mm 1.c. —— After the gārh. -citi (above §13)[1] the next important act is the preparation of the agnikṣetra for the uttaravedi.[2] —— The measure used is a bamboo stalk equal to the height of the yaj. with uplifted arms, technically a "puruṣa" (**p.20.16–17**): ⟨Mn. 1.c. sū. 30⟩. The area of the agnikṣetra is fixed at seven square puruṣas (**p.20.21–p.21.1**), [four square puruṣas for the body (ātman)], one square puruṣa each for the wings (pakṣa) and the tail (puccha)][3]: ⟨31⟩, and an aratni is added to each of the wings (**p.21.2**) [and a prādeśa[4] to the tail, while the head (śiras) measures one quarter of a square puruṣa]: ⟨32 and 33 beg.⟩. —— [Having put a piece of gold on a bundle of darbha-grass placed in the middle of the measured ground, he performs a juhoti upon it with Mm II. 12. 3: p. 146. 2–4: sajūr uṣā, etc. : ⟨34⟩.] —— [With Mm II.8.14: p.117.15: prajāpatiṣ ṭvā, etc., ending with the usual formula tayā devatayā, etc., he touches the middle of the measured ground[5]: ⟨34⟩.] —— [Then in the south of the (right) wing he ties the yoke-straps (yugavaratra) to the plough (sīra) with Mm II.7.12: p.92. 9–10[6]: ⟨35⟩, and the yaj. performs an anum. with three mm. Mm 1.c. p.91. 11–12, 13–14, and 15–16: ⟨36⟩.] He ploughs with six (**p.21.2–3**) [or twelve] yoked oxen[7]: ⟨37⟩. [With Mm 1.c. p.92.11–12 he performs an anum. for the plough when lifted up and with Mm ib. 15–16 for the oxen: ⟨38⟩.] —— [With each of the five mm. Mm 1.c. p.91.17–18, p.92.1–2, 3–4, 5–6, 7–8, and with ib. p.92.13–14 as the sixth, he ploughs two furrows (sītā) each time: ⟨39⟩. Walking from the southern side of the (right) wing he ploughs a furrow through the middle (toward the north), from the northern end of the (left) wing, turning to the right (pradakṣiṇam),[8] he ploughs a furrow running southward to the east (i.e., in front) of the first

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one and then a furrow running northward to the west of (i.e., behind) the first one: ⟨40⟩.] —— In this way he ploughs three furrows each time (**p. 21.4–5**). [He ploughs a furrow from (the corner of) the southern buttock (śroṇi) to (that of) the northern shoulder (aṃsa), from (the middle of the western side of) the tail to (the eastern side of) the head, and from (the corner of) the northern buttock to (that of) the southern shoulder: ⟨41⟩.] Thus the total number of the furrows amounts to twelve (**p.21.5**).[9] ——The agnikṣetra is divided into two kinds (dvigna, **p.21.7**, cf. also **8**), that is, the ploughed part and the unploughed one. —— [with Mm 1.c. p.92. 17–18] the oxen are set free to this direction (**p.21.8–9**) [that is, to the southeast][10]: ⟨42⟩.—— [The oxen as well as the plough are given to the adhv.[11]: ⟨43⟩.]

1. Cf. Mb **p.20.15**: gārhapatyo 'gre cīyate "The gārh. is piled in the first place." —— 2. Cf., e.g., Bürk ZDMG 55 (1901), p.546, Eggeling SBE XLI, p.419. —— 3. Cf. Vr sū. 4.32–34, Āp sū. 17.9–14 (Cal.). —— 4. Or a vitasti, Vr sū. 4.36, Āp sū. 17.14. —— 5. Vr sū. 4.37 inverts the order: the touching of the ground before the juhoti. —— 6. Vr sū. 5.1 uses different mm. —— 7. So also Vr sū. 4.38, cf. Āp sū. 18.5: with six, twelve, or twenty-one oxen. —— 8. Mb **p.21. 3–4** (read adhyāvartan kṛṣati, or rather strike kṛṣati): "For this is the way of turning (āvṛt) of the gods" seems to refer to this way of turning around. —— 9. On the way of making furrows, cf. Vr sū. 5.4–6, Āp sū. 19.4–7. As for the method of the Vājasaneyins, see ŚB VII. 2.2.7–20 referred to by Āp sū. 19.9 —— 10. To the east, Vr sū. 5. 6, cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 19.8: to the north or the east. —— 11. Similarly, Vr sū. 5.7, Āp sū. 19.8.

§15. I. The strewing of corn. Mb III. 2.5: p. 21. 11–19: Mn VI. 1. 6. 1–3, cf. Vr II. 1. 5. 8–12, Āp XVI. 19. 11– 20. 4.

He strews all kinds of corn (annasyānnasya) on the ploughed part (kṛṣṭe) of the agnikṣetra with fourteen verses Mm II.7.13: p.93.1–p.94.10 (**p.21. 11–13**)[1]: ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 1⟩.[2] —— He should not eat that kind of corn he can not strew.[3] But when procured he should add it to the firewood (idhma) that first comes to his hand, or he should rather meditate on it in his mind (**p.21.16–17**).[4] —— If all kinds of corn cannot be found, he should strew barley (yava) mixed with honey (madhu) (**p.21.17–18**): ⟨2⟩.[5] [And with Mm 1.c. p.94.11–18 he performs the upasthāna of the agnikṣetra: ⟨3⟩.]

1. On these mm., cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 19.11. —— 2. According to Mn sū.1 all kinds of plants wild or cultivated mixed with sarpis (= ghṛta) are strewn all over the agnikṣetra (sarvam agniṃ vapati), while according to Vr sū. 8, all kinds of corn (sarvānnāni) as well as barley (yava) mixed with honey (madhu) are strewn on the ploughed part. —— Seven cultivated and seven wild plants are enumer-

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ated, and the former are said to be strewn on the ploughed part and the latter on the unploughed part, Āp sū. 19.13–14 (Cal.). —— 3. Read yasyānnasya na vapati instead of y° nivapati Mb **p. 21.16**, cf. Vr sū. 5.9: yasya na vapet tan manasā dhyāyet. —— 4. Cf. Āp sū. 20.2–3. —— 5. For the Mānavas this is probably the normal way of amending the absence of desired kinds of corn, cf. Āp sū. 20.1.

§15. II. The throwing back of clods, etc. Mb III. 2. 5: p. 21. 19– p. 22. 6: Mn VI. 1. 6. 4–8, cf. Vr II. 1. 5. 13–17, Āp XVI. 20. 5–8, and 9 beg.

[From the quarters[1] outside the vedi he throws back clods (loṣṭa) of earth (thrown out previously) into the middle of the agnikṣetra with four mm. Mm II.7.14: p.95.1–9: ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 4⟩.] —— If he wishes that a certain community (janatā) be hungry, he should take (the clods) from that direction (where they live) with Mm 1.c. p.95.8–9 (**p.22.1–3**)[2]: ⟨5⟩. —— With Mm 1.c. p.95.10–11 he touches (**p.22.3**) [every furrow][3]: ⟨6⟩. —— [Here mentions Mn sū. 7 the preparation of the cātvāla (a hole from which earth for the uttaravedi is taken) by a pair of oxen (goyuga).] —— Then he prepares the place of the uttaravedi where the āhav.-hearth will be made later (**p.22.4–6**). [According to Mn sū. 8, this occupies ten square pada in the middle of the agnikṣetra, and the rite proceeds up to the vyāghāraṇa, that is, the sprinkling of the nābhi ("navel") with ghṛta,[4] cf. Mn II.2.1.54, I.7.3.31.]

1. Faintly alluded to by the word digbhyaḥ in Mb **p.21.19–p.22.1.** —— 2. Cf. Vr sū. 15, Āp sū. 6. —— 3. Mn sū. 6: sītāṃ sītām abhimṛśati, somewhat differently Vr sū. 16: loṣṭān kṛṣṭāṃś cābhimṛśati, cf. also Āp sū. 7 (Cal.). —— 4. Cf. Āp sū. 9 beg.

§15. III. The strewing of gravel (sikatā). Mb III. 2. 5: p. 22. 6 – 14: Mn VI. 1. 6. 9 – 11, cf. Vr II. 1. 5. 18 – 21, Āp XVI. 20. 9 – 14.

[After having surrounded the āhav.-place (agni)[1] with pebbles (śarkarā) to the right (pradakṣiṇam) with Mm II.7.11: p.90.4 (as above Mn VI.1.5.1): ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 9⟩], he strews gravel all over (the agnikṣetra) with [six mm.] Mm II.7.14: p.95.12–p.96.5 (**p.22.6–7**)[2]: ⟨10⟩. —— With two vv. to Soma Mm 1.c. p.96.6–7, 8–10 he pushes the gravel asunder (vyūhati) (**p.22.12–13, 13–14**) [to the head (śiras), to the junctions (apyaya) of the body with the wings (pakṣa), to the middle of the āhav.-place (agni) and to the svayamātṛṇṇā-place][3]: ⟨11⟩.

1. The word agni is used in various meanings. Here it means probably āhavanīyaciter āyatanam as Āp sū. 9 expressly states, in short the āhav.-place, that is, the place destined for the āhav.-hearth. Cf. also Vr sū. 18: agnir uttaravediḥ. On the other hand, uttarav. is used in the meaning of the uttarav.-place by a sort of

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anticipation, or in a narrower sense it stands for the āhav.-place. —— 2. Designated as a sūkta to Agni vaiśvānara (**p.22.8**). —— 3. The corresponding passage of Vr sū. 19–21 differs considerably from the above description, while Āp prescribes the strewing of gravel before and after the surrounding with pebbles (cf. sū. 9 and 12) and contains much more detailed statements. —— N.B. Mn sū. 12 defines the northern junction of the tail (uttara pucchāpyaya) as the passage for approaching the agnikṣetra, cf. Āp sū. 21.3.

§ **15. IV.** The entry of a horse. Mb III. 2. 5: p. 22. 14–p. 23. 2: Mn VI. 1. 6. 13–20, cf. Vr II. 1. 5. 22–6. 10 (partly not clear and the agreement with Mn l.c. is not complete), Āp XVI. 21. 1–22. 1.

[Before the śālāmukhīya, that is, the new gārh. (above §13) upon a red bull hide with the neck turned eastward and the hairy side upward, he brings together the iṣṭs. for the first layer: ⟨Mn l.c. sū. 13⟩.] —— [He utters an order (saṃpraiṣa) to the hotṛ-priest for the latter's recitation (anuvacana) with the words: "(Recite) for the Agni's (pl.) that are to be laid" in a low voice (upāṃśu), "and are being brought forward 'nubrūhi" loudly (uccaiḥ)[1]: ⟨14⟩.]——[When the hotṛ has recited the first v. once (sakṛt),[2] they bring near (the iṣṭs.) with the hide (above Mn sū. 13], and they lead a horse[3] in front (**p.22.17**)]: ⟨15⟩. [He puts down the hide behind the (right) buttock: ⟨16⟩.] —— [In the middle of the uttaravedi] they make the horse step (ākramayanti, **p.22.18**, cf. also **p.23.2**) [with the right foot on the svayamāt.-place with Mm I.5.3: p.69.13–15 and make it proceed eastward (**p. 22.19**) stepping round the place without turning away]: ⟨17⟩. —— Then having led the horse westward (**p.22.19–20**) [and having filled twelve jars (here designated kumbheṣṭakās) with water, he places them with twelve mm. Mm II.13.1: p.151.3–p.153.3 on the middlemost furrows, two by two, i.e., kumbha and kumbhī, on each cardinal point and four in the middle][4]: ⟨18⟩. ——[With the three āpohiṣṭhīya-vv. Mm l.c. p.153.5 (prat.) = II.7.5: p. 79.16–p.80.2 (cf. above Mn VI.1.2.2) he performs a japa looking at the jars: ⟨19⟩.] —— [He places a caru of wild rice (nīvāra) boiled in milk to the southeast of the svayamāt. with Mm l.c. p.153.5–6[5]: ⟨20⟩.]

1. cityagnibhyaḥ prāṇīyamāṇebhyo 'nubrūhi. —— The hotṛ's anuvacana seems to be alluded to in Mb **p.22.14–16**. —— 2. But according to Āp sū. 21.4 (Cal.) after the first v. has been recited thrice. —— 3. Nothing is said here of the horse's color, but a white one is used according to Āp sū. 21.5 and 11 (Cal.). Cf. however Mb **p.23.1**: kṛṣṇo vai bhūtvāgnir aśvaṃ prāviśat "Agni, becoming black, entered a horse" (cf. above §4, n.2), s. also TS V.2.6.5, seems to refer to a black one, cf. further below Mn VI.1.8.16. —— 4. The rite of placing the jars is not mentioned either by Mb nor by Āp in this connection, but cf. Vr sū. 5.22–23, though not clear. —— 5. Cf. Vr sū. 5.24.

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§16. The placing of a lotus leaf, etc., and the placing of various iṣṭakās. Mb III. 2. 6: p.23.3–p. 25. 10: Mn VI. 1. 7. 1–18, cf. Vr II. 1. 6. 11–30, Āp XVI. 22 2–24. 6.

With Mm II.13.2: p.153.6–8 (yy.) (**p.23.3,5**) he places [on the horse's footprint] a lotus leaf (puṣkaraparṇa) [with its open part turned westward (pratyagdvāra)] and with its navel turned downward (adhastānnābhi)[1] (**p.23.5–6**): ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 1⟩. —— With Mm II.7.15: p.96.11–12 he places on it the rukma (s. above Mn VI.1.4.1) (**p.23.8–9**) [with its noose (pāśa) turned westward and its knobs turned upward (upariṣṭānnirbādha)[2]]: ⟨2⟩. —— [On the rukma] he places a golden figure of a man (puruṣa-hiraṇyaya) (**p.23.12–13**) [with its head turned eastward and its back turned downward (uttāna) with two mm. Mm 1.c. p.96.13–14 and 15–16], and he touches it with Mm 1.c. p.97.17 (prat.) = II.5.10: p.61.14–15 (**p.23.15**): ⟨3⟩. —— Then he merely recites (anudiśati)[3] three mm. containing the word sarpa "serpent" (sarpanāmāni) Mm 1.c. p.97.1–2, 3–4, and 5–6 (**p.23.16–17**)] performing the upasthāna of the serpents[4]]: ⟨4⟩. —— He besprinkles the golden man with ghṛta (vyāghārayati) with five "rākṣasa-destroying" (rākṣoghna) mm. of Vāmadeva Mm 1.c. p.97.7–16 (**p.23.18, p.24.1–2**) [like the uttaranābhi][5]: ⟨5⟩. —— Then he places two sacrificial ladles (sruc): one made of kārṣmarya-wood filled with ghṛta to the south (of the golden man) with a gāyatrī-v., i.e., Mm 1.c. p.97.17–18 (**p.24.3–7**) [and with a y. Mm 1.c. p.98.1], and the other made of udumbara-wood filled with sour milk (dadhi) to the north (of the golden man with a triṣṭubh-v., i.e., Mm 1.c. p.98.2–3 (**p.24.8–9**; see also **p.24.10–12** concerning both ladles) [and with a y. Mm ib. 4] : ⟨6⟩. —— Then he places the first svayamāt., after having made the horse sniff at it (**p.24.13–15**)[6]: ⟨7⟩. —— If his rival (bhrātṛvya) excels the yaj., the latter should push the svayamāt. slightly to the east with bhūr asi "thou art bhūḥ"; if the bhrātṛvya follows him (anu), the latter should push it to the west with bhūmir asi "thou art bhūmi"; if the bhrātṛvya is equal to him, the latter should push it horizontally with aditir asi, bhūmir asi "thou art Aditi, thou art bhūmi" (**p.24.15–17**); cf. Vr sū. 19 (referring to the Mb-passage, Āp sū. 23.7). —— [Mn sū. 8–13 prescribes how to place the svayamāt. on the golden man, the mm. employed being Mm II.7.15: p.98. 4–6 (from dhruvāsi to pṛthivīṃ dṛṃha), II.8.14: p.117.15–19 (from prajāpatiṣ ṭvā to śaṃtamena), II.10.6: p.139.8–9, and TS V.6.8.1 (the yaj.'s japa).] —— [Remarkable is the participation of an ignorant (avidvas) brāhmaṇa: ⟨9⟩; cf. Vr sū. 17, Cal. on Āp sū. 23.1.] —— [Lastly a boon is given to this man: ⟨13⟩; cf. Vr. sū. 22, Āp sū. 23.3] —— [With Mm II.7.15: p.98.6–7 (from tejo 'si to pṛthivyā mā pāhi) a piece of gold (here designated hiraṇyeṣṭakā)[7] is placed to the east of the svayamāt.; with Mm II.8. 14: p.117.7–9 (from udapurā nāmāsi to dhruvā sīda) an iṣṭ. marked by a circle (maṇḍalā) to the west; with Mm II.7.15: p.98.11–13 the kulāyinī iṣṭ. to the south]; with Mm ib. 14–15 [and ib. 16–17] a dūrveṣṭ., that is, a clod mixed with dūrvā-grass (loṣṭa dūrvāmiśra) (**p.24.20, p.25.2**) [to the north, so as the dūrvā-grass reaches the svayamāt.] : ⟨14⟩. —— Then the [golden-headed] vāmabhṛt-iṣṭ. [with

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two kāca's, that is, hiraṇyaśakalas[8] on its shoulders is placed to the east] with two mm.[9] [that is, Mm II.7.16: p.98.18–19 and p.99.1–2] : ⟨15⟩. —— The two retaḥsic-iṣṭs. (**p.25.6**) are placed [with Mm 1.c. p.99.3 ff. (i.e., the first one with virāḍ jyotir adhārayat "the ruler held the light" and Mm 1.c., p.99.3end–5, from bhūr asi to dhruvā sīda)] : ⟨16⟩. —— If a person who has a son performs the Ac, he should place one of the retaḥsic-iṣṭs. on the first layer [with the y. as cited above] and the other one on the last layer [with the y. Mm 1.c. p.99.3: svarāḍ jyotir adhārayat and ib. 5–7, from sūr asi suvanasya to dhruvā sīda]; but if a person who has no son performs it, he should place both iṣṭs. on the first layer (**p.25.9–10**)[10]: ⟨17⟩. —— [With Mm 1.c. p.99.3: samrāḍ jyotir adhārayat[11] he places the (iṣṭ.) jyotiṣo dhṛti to the east of the retaḥsic-iṣṭs. : ⟨18⟩.]

1. So also Vr sū. 12; nābhi = daṇḍa Cal. on Āp sū. 22.2, cf. above §5,n.1 —— 2. So also Āp sū. 22.3; on the contrary Vr sū. 12 seems to read adhastānnirbādha (if rightly emended), but cf. Vr II. 1.3.1. —— 3. Cf. Vr sū. 15, Cal. on Āp sū. 22.4.a. —— 4. Cf. below Mn VI.1.8.3. —— 5. Cf. Mn I.7.3.31, Vr sū. 13 (: the vyāghāraṇa of the rukma), Āp sū. 22.4.a (Cal.) : uttaranābhivat referring to VII. 5.4). —— 6. Mn sū. 7 prescribes simply an abhim. with bhūḥ and passes over the abhicāra-practice mentioned below. —— 7. Cf. Vr sū. 17. —— A general rule is valid here: cityāṃ cityāṃ hiraṇyaśakalam upāsyati "Upon each layer he throws down a piece of gold", Mb **p.23.11–12** = Vr sū. II.1.8.8 (with apyasyati). —— 8. Cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 24.2 —— 9. Mb **p.25.3** has dviryajuḥ: dvābhyām Mn sū. 15. —— 10. Cf. Āp sū. 24.4; differently Vr sū. 29, but sū. 30 refers to the Mb-passage cited above. —— 11. As the Taittīriyakas place three retaḥsic-iṣṭs., the m. cited here belongs to the third one, cf. Āp sū. 24.3, s. also Vr. sū. 28.

§17. The placing of various iṣṭakās, a tortoise, the heads, etc. Mb III. 2. 7: p. 25. 11–p. 27. 10: Mn VI. 1. 7. 19–29, cf. Vr II. 1. 6. 31–7. 6, 11, 12, Āp XVI. 24. 7–27. 6.

[With Mm II.7.16: p.99.7–10 (from bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā sādayatu to dhruvā sīda)] the (first) viśvajyotis-iṣṭ. is placed (**p.25.11**)[1]: ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 9⟩. —— [With Mm IV.9.14: p.134.10–11 (y.) the gharma-iṣṭ. is placed to the east of the viśvajyotis[2]: ⟨20⟩.] —— [With Mm II.7.16: p.99.16–17 the aṣāḍhā-iṣṭ. (cf. above Mn VI.1.2.13 and 16) is placed] with its characteristic three lines turned upward, and a person who is dear to him will prosper (**p.25. 12, 15–16**) : ⟨21⟩; cf. Āp sū. 24.12–13 (Cal.). —— Further it is said in Mb that this iṣṭ. should be made with the remainder of the clay used for the ukhā (**p.25.15–p.26.1**, cf. above §7,n.7).——Then a [spotted] tortoise (kūr-ma) is placed alive (**p.26.1,2**) with its head turned westward (**p.26.4**) [in front of the svayamāt. with Mm 1.c. p.100.3–5 (y.),[3] after having been smeared

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with sour milk mixed with honey with three mm. Mm l.c. p.99.18–19, 20–21, and p.100.1–2][4]: ⟨22⟩. —— A mortar (ulūkhala), one prādeśa in size and made of udumbara-wood (**p.26.7,9**), [after an abhim. performed with a v. given in full by Mn sū. 23 and Vr sū. 7.1 and the pounding of rice therein, is placed with two mm. Mm l.c. p.100.10 (prat.) = I.2.9: p.18.17–18[5] and p.100.11–12 to the southeast of the svayamāt., while the pestle (musala) is placed with Mm I.2.9: p.19.12–13] : ⟨23 and 24⟩. —— Then the ukhā (**p.26.10**), after having been filled with gravel (sikatā), sour milk, ghṛta, and honey[6] (**p.26.13,15,16**), is placed as far to the northeast of the svayamāt. (as the mortar and pestle is to the southeast) with Mm l.c. p.100.13 (prat.) = I.7.8: p.54.12–13 and p.100.14–p.101.7]: ⟨25⟩.——On this occasion Mb warns that one should not look at the empty ukhā (**p.26.12–13**).[7] —— [After having "yoked the fire" with two mm. Mm. I.7.17: p.101.8–9 and 10–11, he fills with Mm ib. 12–13] the openings (chidrāṇi) of the heads [with sour milk mixed wit honey] and places hiraṇyaśakalas in them (**p.26.18**) [beginning with the right ear with y.: ṛce tvā Mm. l.c. p. 101.14 and ending with the cut of the head (vikartana) with y.: sahasradā asi sahasrāya Mm ib. 16.]: ⟨26⟩, cf. Vr sū. 7.5–8, Āp sū. 27.1–6. —— [With Mm l.c. p.101.17–p.102.1 he puts the human head (puruṣaśīrṣa) turned westward and with its cut turned downward in the ukhā: ⟨27⟩.][8] —— The human head is placed in the middle and around it the other heads (**p.27.1–2**) in close adherence (samīcīnāni) to the former for whom he wishes to be rich in cattle (**p.27.2–3**), but they should be placed apart (viṣūcīnāni) from one another for one whom he wishes to be without cattle (**p.27.4–6**), cf. Āp sū. 27.8 [They are placed closely leaning on the ukhā with their ear-apertures and jaws, that is, the horse's head to the east, the bull's head to the west, the ram's head to the south and he-goat's head to the north, each with a special m. Mm l.c. p.102.2–3, 4–5,6–7, and 8–9: ⟨28⟩.] —— The performer of the Ac should not go between [the heads and the svayamāt.], otherwise he would lose his life (**p.27.8–9**). [If he does do, he should perform a japa with Mm II.13.11: p.162.1–2[9]: ⟨32⟩.] —— Lastly with the utsarga-formulas,[10] that is, Mm I.7.17: p. 102.10–p.103.5 he should perform the upasthāna (**p.27.9**) [to each of the heads in the same order as they have been placed]: ⟨29⟩.

1. athaitā viśvajyotiṣaḥ pl., as there are three viśvaj.; for the second one, see below Mn VI.2.1.17 with viśvakarmā tvā sādayatu, etc. Mm l.c. p.99.10–12, for the third one, see below Mn VI.2.2.8 with parameṣṭhī tvā sādayatu, etc. Mm l.c. p.99.12–16. —— 2. Not mentioned here by Mb; but cf. Vr sū. 6.25, Āp sū. 24.14. —— 3. The viniyoga of two mm. Mm l.c. p.100.6–7 and 8–9 is not indicated, but they too seem to be employed here, cf. Vr sū. 6.36, Āp sū. 25.2.a and c. —— 4. At least the second v. is alluded to by Mb **p. 26.5** with the word dyāvāpṛthivīyayā.——5. This m. seems to be referred to by Mb **p.26.9** with vaiṣṇavyā. —— 6. Or "ghṛta or honey,"

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cf. Vr sū. 7.2: madhunā ghṛtena vā. —— 7. Cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 26.6 and 7. —— 8. Vr sū. 7.6 has uttānam and paścādavakartanataḥ, cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 27.7. —— 9. Cf. Vr sū.7.14 and Cal. on Āp sū. 27.13. —— 10. Cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 27.13.

§18. The offerings into the eye-sockets of the human head, etc.; the placing of various iṣṭakās. Mb III. 2. 8: p. 27. 11–p. 29. 2: Mn VI. 1. 7. 30–8, 6, Vr II. 1. 7. 7–21, Āp XVI. 27. 7–28. 4, 32. 1–2.

With Mm I.3.37: p.43.8–10 he performs two juhotis on the human head, which he has placed (**p.27.12**), [first in the right eye-socket] with the first half of the v., [then in the left one] with the other half of it (**p.27.4, 15–16**) : ⟨Mn l.c. sū. 7.30⟩. —— Mn sū. 7.31 prescribes how to proceed when there is only the head of a goat (ajaśiras) instead of the five heads, cf. Mn VI.1.3.12; and Mn sū. 7.32, concerning the passage in the agnikṣetra, has been already mentioned above §17 towards the end. —— The puruṣa-citi, that is, the piling of the iṣṭs. in the form of a human figure (puruṣasya pratimā) is not prescribed by Mb in this context, but see III.5.1: **p.58.1–6** where the use of thirty-six iṣṭs. is mentioned. [According to Mn sū. 8.1–2 it is piled in the northern shoulder (aṃsa) of the agnikṣetra with twelve rounds (paryāya) Mm II. 13.4: p.168.7–15, each ending with tena chandasā, tena brahmaṇā, tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda "With this metre, with this holy prayer, with this deity, sit thou firm in the way of the Angiras's." The iṣṭs. are placed three by three (tisras tisraḥ) with each paryāya, that is, each paryāya is employed thrice.] Cf. Vr sū. 7.7–10, Āp sū. 28.1–3 (Cal.). —— [Here Mn sū. 8.3 prescribes the rite of the sarpanāmāni, that is, the piling of a serpent head in the northern part, apart (from the other heads) or only the anudeśana (see above Mn VI. 1.7.4: §16) to it.] Cf. Vr sū. 7.15, Āp sū. 27.22–23. —— The apasyā-iṣṭs. are placed (**p.27.17, p.28.2**) [five by five with the paryāyas Mm II.7. 18: p.103.6–11 up to pāthasi sādayāmi, in each of the quarters, while he steps from the east to the right (pradakṣiṇam), and the last five iṣṭs., that is.] the chandasyās by name are placed in the north (**p.28.4 end–5,6**) [with the fourth paryāya Mm l.c. p.103.11–14 up to chandasā sādayāmi]: ⟨4⟩. Cf. Vr sū. 7.16–17, Cal. on Āp sū. 28.4. —— The prāṇabhṛt-iṣṭs. are placed ten by ten obliquely (akṣṇayā) (**p.28.6 end–7, 7 end–8, 9**) [with five paryāyas Mm II.7.19: p.103.15–p.104.15 in the order: the spring (vasanta), summer (grīṣma), rains (varṣāṇi), autumn (śarad) and winter (hemanta), each paryāya ending with gṛhṇāmi prajābhyaḥ "I grasp for offspring"; "obliquely placed," that is, from the right shoulder (aṃsa) to the left buttock (śroṇi), from the right buttock to the left shoulder, and lastly in the middle]: ⟨5⟩. Cf. Vr sū. 7.18–19, Āp sū. 32.1–2. —— The saṃyat-iṣṭs. are placed (**p.28.10,11**) [with five paryāyas Mm II.7.20: p.104. 16–p.106.2, each ending with devahūtau "in the invocation of the gods" in the order: the east, south, west, north, and the zenith (ūrdhva) just as in the case of the prāṇabhṛt-iṣṭs. above] : ⟨6⟩. Cf. Vr sū. 7.20–21. —— Mb

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p.28.12–p.29.2 contains the explanation of two vv. : lokaṃ pṛṇa, chidraṃ pṛṇa "fill the space, fill the hole" Mm II.8.1: p.106.3–4 and tā asya sūdadohasaḥ "the (cows) abundantly streaming milk for him" Mm ib. 5–6, see above §13, n.7. —— Mn VI.1.8.7–16 prescribes the placing of various iṣṭs. as well as the rites connected with them that take place at each piling (citi). In the following I give only a summary of the contents.

1. The ṛtavyā-iṣṭs. They are placed on the avakā-plants with Mm II. 18.12: p.116.3–16 consisting of six paryāyas in the order: the spring, summer, rains, autumn, winter and cool season (śiśira), beginning with madhuś ca mādhavaś ca vāsantikā ṛtū "Madhu and Mādhava are two months of spring." Two iṣṭs. are placed at each citi, four at the middlemost citi and each paryāya ends with indram iva devā abhisaṃviśantu "May they attend on them as the gods on Indra," and the usual formula tayā devatayā . . . dhruvā sīdantām is each time added at the end: ⟨7–8⟩. Cf. Vr sū. II.1.6.33–34, Āp sū. XVI.24.9; XVII.1.7; 2.1,10; 4.5 —— 2. The saṃyānī-iṣṭs. With Mm II.8.13: p.116.17–p.117.3 up to antarikṣe sīda, two iṣṭs. are placed at each citi: ⟨9⟩. Cf. Āp sū. XVI.24.8; XVII.1.6,18; 2.9;4.6,7. —— 3. The ṛṣabha-iṣṭs. With tvām agne vṛṣabham . . . asthūri nau (sic) . . . = TS V.7.2.a (with ṇo instead of nau), the second half = Mm IV.14.15: p.240.2 (with no). The iṣṭs. marked with various signs (cf. Mn sū. VI. 1.4.39) are used: ⟨10⟩. Cf. Vr sū. II.1.8.7, Āp sū. XVI.33.7–34.2 (Cal. refers to Mb III.4.7: **p.54.6**); XVII. 1.10; 2.7,13; 9.3. —— 4. The lokaṃpṛṇās are used for filling up the vacant space at the end of each citi, cf. e.g. below Mn sū. VI.2.1.7: ⟨11⟩. Cf. Vr sū. II.1.8.7 (by the way sū. 8 contains a general rule, see above §16,n.7), Āp sū. XVI.33.7. —— 5. The touching of the svayamāt.-place with Mm II.13.11: p. 162.3–5 and the juhoti upon it with Mm II. 13.12: p.162.6–7 up to kakṣasya adding yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma etc. Mm ib. 7–9 at each time: ⟨12–14⟩. Cf. Vr sū. II.1.8.12–14 (agnihomas), see also sū. 16–18: the touching of the layer which marks the end of each citi, Āp sū. XVI. 35.2–4. —— 6. The anum. for the citihoma at each citi, with a v. at each citi, but with two vv. at the last citi, using Mm II.13.13: p.162. 10–p.163.6: ⟨15⟩. Cf. Vr sū. II.1.8.15 (citihomas), Āp sū. XVI.35.1. —— 7. The touching of a dark or brown (śyāva) horse and the covering of the citi with dust (purīṣa) taken from the cātvāla-hole with Mm II.13.11: p.161.14–17 (at the end of each citi): ⟨16⟩. Cf. Vr sū. II.1.8.9: aśvaṃ śyāvam ālabhate, ib. 10 (the use of the purīṣa), Āp sū. XVI. 34.5–6: uttarataḥ kṛṣṇo 'śvas tiṣṭhati, śyāvo vā. —— On the horse's color, cf. also above §15.IV, n.3. On the other hand, Vr sū. II. 2.1.1 (at the beginning of the second citi) remarks: aśvaṃ śvetam ālabhan citīr upadadhāti "Touching a white horse he piles the citis."

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§19. I. The second citi. Mb III. 2. 9: p. 29. 3–17: Mn VI. 2. 1. 1 (marking the end of the first citi), 2–8, cf. Vr II. 2. 1. 1–6, Ap XVII. 1. 1–10.

[On the following day after the pravargya and the upasad-rite of the forenoon] the five āśvinī-iṣṭs. are placed (**p.29.4–5**) [with Mm II.8.1: p.106. 7–p.107.8 in the quarters and the middle] : ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 2⟩ —— Then follows the placing of the [five] ṛtavyā-iṣṭs. (**p.29.6–7**)[1] [with Mm 1.c. p.107.9–14 (yy.), sajūr devair vayunādhaiḥ, etc. (ib. 13–14) being added each time]: ⟨3⟩. —— Then follows the placing of the [five] vāyavyā-iṣṭs. (**p.29.8–9**) [with Mm II.8.2: p.107.15–16 up to ślokyā]: ⟨4⟩. —— Then follows the placing of the [five] apasyā-iṣṭs. (**p.29.9–10**)[2] [with Mm 1.c. p.107.16–17 up to vṛṣṭim eraya] : ⟨5⟩ —— Then follows the placing [of the vayasyā-iṣṭs.] of which four are laid on the eastern side and five by five on [the junctions (apyaya) of] the other sides (**p.29.11,12–13**) [with Mm 1.c. p.107.17–p.108.5, from kṣatram onward, 19 yy. in all][3]: ⟨6⟩. —— [Mn sū. 7 and 8 mark the end of the second citi.]

1. Cf. Vr sū. 3–4 having pañca-pañca "five by five". For the iṣṭs. of the same name, see above Mn VI.1.8.7–8 (§18). —— 2. Cf. above Mn VI.1.8.4, perhaps here also "five by five." —— 3. The designation mūrdhanvatībhiḥ sādayati Mb **p.29.12** is probably a generalization from one of the yy. mūrdhā vayaḥ Mm 1.c. p.107.18. Cf. Cal. on Āp sū. 8.a and b.

§19. II. The third citi. Mb III. 2. 9: p. 29. 14–p. 30. 14: Mn VI. 2. 1. 9–22, cf. Vr II. 2. 1. 7–15, Āp XVII. 1. 11–2. 7.

[On the following day after the pravargya and the upasad-rite of the forenoon begins the third citi ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 9⟩.] —— [The rite of the placing of the second svayamāt. ⟨10–15⟩ is similar to that of the first, see above Mn VI.1.7.7–13,] though Mb **p.29.14–15** mentions only the first half of the v. Mm II.8.3: p.108.6–7, cf. ⟨11⟩. —— [To be noticed is, however, that there does not appear an ignorant brāhmaṇa, nor does the giving of a boon (varadāna) take place[1]: ⟨13⟩.] —— [Here is undertaken the placing of a piece of gold (hiraṇyaśakala) to the east with Mm II.7.15: p.98.7–9 up to mā pāhi as well as of an iṣṭ. marked with a circle to the west with Mm II.8.14: p.117.9–12 up to dhruvā sīda, in the same way as above Mn VI.1.7.14: ⟨16⟩, and further the placing of the viśvajyotis-iṣṭ. with Mm II.7.16: p.99.10 up to dhruvā sīda, in the same way as above Mn VI.1.7. 19: ⟨17⟩.] ——The five diśyā-iṣṭs. are placed (**p.29.17,18–19**) [in the quarters and the middle with Mm II.8.3: p.108.8–9 up to ūrdhvā dik]: ⟨18⟩. —— Ten iṣṭs. are placed on [the junction of] the eastern side (**p.29.20**) [with Mm 1.c. p.108. 9–11 from āyur me pāhi to jyotir me yacha][2] and twelve by twelve [on the junctions of the other sides] amounting to thirty-six iṣṭs. (**p.30.5, cf.6–8**) [with Mm 1.c. p.108.11–19 from mā chandaḥ to viśve devā devatā][3]: ⟨19⟩.

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——The [seven] ādityadhāman-iṣṭs. [= ° dhāmnī-iṣṭs.] are placed [in the east] with mūrdhāsi rāṭ [etc. up to kṣemāya tvā Mm l.c. p.108.19–p.109.1][4] and the [seven] aṅgirodhāman-iṣṭs [= ° dhāmnī-iṣṭs.] with yantrī rāṭ, etc. [up to poṣāya tvā Mm l.c. p.109.1–2] (**p.30.8,9–10**), and both sets of iṣṭs.[5] are laid in a symmetrical position (samāvabhājaḥ sādayati) (**p.30.11**): ⟨20⟩. For a person whom he hates he should place them obliquely (**p.30.12–13**)[6]. —— [Mn sū. 21 and 22 mark the end of the third citi.]

1. But cf. Āp sū. 12: aviduṣā brāhmaṇena saha "together with an ignorant brāhmaṇa." —— By the way insert tvā between viśvakarmā and sādayantu Mm II.8.14: p.118.1, cf. Mn sū. 12. —— 2. Called prāṇabhṛtaḥ by Āp sū. 2.3. For the iṣṭs. of the same name, cf. above Mn sū. VI.1.8.5. —— 3. The first three yy.: mā chandaḥ, sū. pramā chandaḥ and pratimā chandaḥ are mentioned Mb **p.30.3.** Called bṛhatīḥ by Āp sū. 2.4, cf. the word bṛhatī occurring in Mb **p.30.6. and 7.** —— 4. Referred to with mūrdhanvatībhiḥ sādayati by Mb **p.30.13;** for the expression, cf. above §19.I, n.2. —— 5. Called vālakhilyāḥ by Āp sū. 5. —— 6. This abhicāra is not mentioned in Mn, but cf. Vr sū. 14, Āp sū. 2.6.a (Cal.).

§20. I. The fourth citi. Mb III. 2. 10: p. 30. 15–p. 31. 9: Mn VI. 2. 1. 23–28, cf. Vr II. 2. 1. 16–18, Āp XVII. 2. 8–13.

[After the pravargya and the upasad-rite of the forenoon, the akṣṇayāstomīyā-iṣṭs. are placed with yy. contained in Mm II.8.4: p.109.3–8]: the trivṛdvatī (: y. no.1) in the east (**p.30.15**), the saptadaśavatī (: y. no.3) in the south (**p.30.16**), the pañcadaśavatī (: y. no.2) in the north (**p.30.18–19**), ekaviṃśavatī (: y. no.7) in the west (**p.30.19–20, p.31.2**)[1], [and the pañcaviṃśavatī (: y. no.11) in the middle. The remaining fifteen iṣṭs. are laid three by three in the same places] : ⟨Mn l.c. sū. 23⟩. Cf. Vr sū. 17 with the same order as above, Āp sū. 9 with the order: east, south, west, and north. —— With the mm. agner bhāgo 'si . . . trivṛtstomāḥ, etc., the spṛt-iṣṭs. are placed (**p.31.4–5**). [According to Mn sū. 24 ten yy. contained in Mm II.8.5: p.109.9–p.110.5 are employed in the following way: one iṣṭ. in the east with agner bhāgo 'si, etc., one in the south with indrasya bhāgo 'si, etc., one in the north with nṛcakṣasāṃ bhāgo 'si, etc., one in the west with mitrasya bhāgo 'si, etc., and lastly one in the middle with adityā bhāgo 'si, etc., while the remaining five iṣṭs. are laid in the same places.][2] —— With the mm. ekayāstuvata prajā adhīyanta, etc., the iṣṭs. called sṛṣṭayaḥ are placed (**p. 31.7–8**). [According to Mn sū. 25, seventeen sṛṣṭi-iṣṭs. are laid in the middle with the yy. Mm II.8.6: p. 110.6–p.111.2.] Cf. Vr sū. 17, Āp sū. 11. —— [Further, the fifteen vyuṣṭi-iṣṭs. are placed three by three in the quarters and the middle with Mm II.13.10: p.159.14–p.161.13: ⟨26⟩.] Cf. Vr sū. 17, Āp sū. 12. —— [Mn sū. 27 and 28 mark the end of the fourth citi.]

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1. Mb **p.30.20–p.31.2** prescribes again the placing of the trivṛdvatī (: y. no.1) in the east, the pañcadaśavatī (: y. no.2) in the south, the saptadaśavatī (: y. no.3) in the north and ekaviṃśavatī (: y. no. 7) in the west. But it is not clear how to harmonize this statement with the previous one. —— 2. The spṛtaḥ are not separated from the akṣṇayāstomīyāḥ (above Mn sū. 23) in Āp sū. 9 while Vr does not speak of the spṛt-iṣṭs.

§20. II. The fifth citi (beginning). Mb III. 2. 10: p. 31. 9–20: Mn VI. 2. 2. 1–2, cf. Vr II. 2. 1. 19–21, Āp XVII. 3. 1–4.

[After the pravargya and the upasad-rite of the forenoon, the asapatnā-iṣṭs. are placed with the mm. contained in Mm II.8.7: p. 111.3–11:] with agne jātān, etc., in the east (**p.31.9–10**), with praty ajātān, etc., in the west (**p.31.11**),[1] with catuścatvāriṃśī, etc., in the south (**p.31.12–13**), with ṣoḍaśī stomā ojo, etc., in the north (**p.31.13–14**), with agneḥ purīṣam, etc., in the middle (**p.31.16**) [behind the svayamāt.]: ⟨Mn 1.c. sū. 1⟩. Cf. Vr sū. 20, Āp. sū. 2–3. —— The [forty] virāj-iṣṭs. are placed (**p.31.18**) [ten by ten on the junctions with Mm 1.c. p.111.12–p.112.4]: ⟨2⟩. Cf. Vr sū. 21 (without mentioning the name), Āp sū. 4.

1. We expect to have sahasā jātān, etc. = Mm. 1.c. p.111.5.–7 instead of praty ajātān, etc. = Mm ib. 3, i.e., the second pāda of the first v.; correctly cited by Mn sū. 1.

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THE ATIRĀTRA ACCORDING TO THE KAUṢĪTAKI BRĀHMAṆA

E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma

THE TWO BRĀHMAṆAS Aitareya (AB) and Kauṣītaki (KB) which belong to the Ṛgveda mainly deal with the *hautra*, or the verses to be recited by the hotā, in various rituals. Both of them were referred to by Yāska (Nirukta, 7.17, 8.4, 8.22, 12.8, 12.14, etc.) and Pāṇini (Aṣṭādhyāyī, 5.1.62). Another Brāhmaṇa, Paiṅgya, believed to belong to the Ṛgveda, is not available now except for some scattered references and quotations. One may agree with the view expressed by Keith that AB or most of it was chronologically prior to KB, the former being less systematic and scientific in the arrangement of topics and in dealing with the rituals. Udaya, the commentator on KB, points out the main difference between the two Brāhmaṇas, and quotes a passage from Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, a commentator on AB, to support his statement. He states that while AB focuses its attention on the ritual called Prāyaṇīyātirātra (a part of the Gavāmayana sattra), and begins with the ceremony of consecration, KB covers the entire field of śrauta rites in the order of their performance (*anuṣṭhāna-krama*), not in the order of their mention (*pāṭhā-krama*) in the Yajurveda. Accordingly, KB begins with the installation of fires (Agnyādhāna), deals with the various iṣṭis, and finally elaborates the different types of Soma rituals, including the sattras (see the introductory part of his commentary, as well as the verses at the beginning of his commentary on KB, Chap. XXII). KB does not, however, deal with certain rituals, like Aśvamedha and Rājasūya, to which importance is given in AB.

The Kauṣītakins are in a minority compared to the Aitareyins. The Kauṣītaki śākhā is now available in Kerala, Gujarat, and to a more limited extent in Maharashtra. The Aitareyins follow the Śrautasūtras of Āśvalāyana, the Kauṣītakins those of Śāṅkhāyana. There have been some controversies and doubts as to the identity of the śākhās of the Kauṣītakins and Śāṅkhāyanas. The texts of the Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka, and Śrautasūtras belonging to these schools as preserved traditionally in the South and North vary somewhat. However, it seems likely that the śākhās do not differ, the variations being due to the influence of other śākhās in the respective regions. For instance, the Śāṅkhāyana tradition of the North shows affinity with the Vājasaneyins and Maitrāyaṇīs, whereas the Kauṣītaki tradition of the South has affiliations with the Taittirīya and Jaiminīya śākhās. This is not the proper place to discuss this problem, but an interesting fact may be mentioned here. There is a tradition that the Nambudiris, the brahmins of

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Kerala, came down to the South from or through Gujarat, trekking along the west coast. If this was the case, the Kauṣītaki or Śāṅkhāyana śākhā might have migrated from the North to the South and acquired its variations through the influence of the South, as indicated above. The śākhā has been known in Kerala solely by the name Kauṣītaki for the past four or five centuries. The author of the Śrautasūtras of this śākhā is unanimously accepted as one Suyajña, whose name figures in the list of Ṛṣis for whom the Jaiminīyas perform the *tarpaṇa*. Even in Kerala the Kauṣītakins are fewer in number as compared to the Aitareyins. In their rituals they both follow Baudhāyana for the Ādhvaryava and Jaiminīya for the Audgātra.

The Atirātra combined with Agnicayana is a Soma ritual. KB deals with the Soma rituals in twelve chapters, beginning from the consecration of the Yajamāna and ending with the Āśvina recital. Here follows a summary of the rites described in these chapters:

Chapter VII.	Consecration of the Yajamāna; the iṣṭis of Dīkṣaṇīyā, Prāyaṇīya; the purchase of the Soma creepers.
Chapter VIII.	The Ātithya-iṣṭi; Pravargya and Upasads.
Chapter IX.	Bringing forth the fire; setting up the oblation-receptacles; bringing forth the fire and Soma.
Chapter X.	The victim for Agni and Soma; the nature of the sacrificial post; the rites belonging to it and the killing of the victim and the oblations.
Chapter XI.	The morning litany (*prātaranuvāka*); the verses to be used and their order of recitation.
Chapter XII.	The oblation of *vapā*.
Chapter XIII.	Entering of the *sadas* by the priests; the fivefold oblations (*haviṣpaṅkti*); the cups for the twin deities; Prasthita yāga of the Soma; partaking in its eating; calling of the Acchāvāka; and the Seasonal cups (*ṛtugraha*).
Chapter XIV.	Morning pressing; the Ājya and Praüga śastras.
Chapter XV.	Midday pressing; the Marutvatīya and Niṣkevalya śastras.
Chapter XVI.	Third pressing; the Vaiśvadeva and Āgnimāruta śastras; Ukthya śastras.
Chapter XVII.	Ṣoḷaśī śastra[1] and the Atirātra rites.
Chapter XVIII.	Āśvina śastra and the conclusion of Atirātra.

In order to provide first-hand information on the recitals (śastras) con-

[1] *Editor's Note:* The KB text uses throughout the form "ṣoḷaśī," which has been retained here, though the form "ṣoḍaśī" has been used in other parts of this book.

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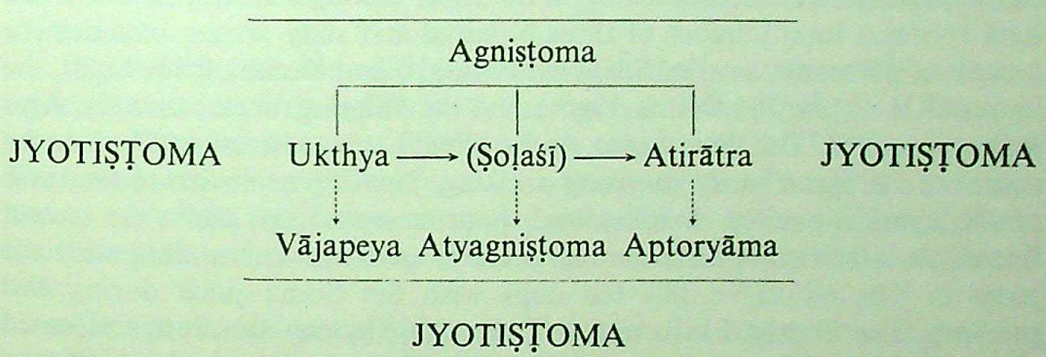
nected with the Atirātra, as envisaged by the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, four chapters (XIV to XVII) and the first four sections of Chapter XVIII will be translated in Part IV (pages 676–699). In the remainder of the present article I shall survey the explanations given in the Brāhmaṇa.

The primary source of all Soma rituals is known by the name Jyotiṣṭoma: *jyotis* means light. There are four stomas or clumps of chants and recitals. They are the Tripartite (*trivṛt*), the Fifteen (*pañcadaśa*), the Seventeen (*saptadaśa*), and the Twenty-One (*ekaviṃśa*). The numbers here refer to the *ṛk* verses, on which the chants are based. These four chants, sung by the Sāmavedins and followed by the recitals of the *ṛk* verses by the hotā, light up the heavenly world for the yajamāna. Hence they are known collectively by the name Jyotiṣṭoma. The Jyotiṣṭoma branches off into seven types of rituals, the differences being based on the modes of their conclusion, which are known by the name *saṃsthās*. There are seven saṃsthās: Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḷaśī, Atirātra, Vājapeya and Aptoryāma. The relationship between these may be pictured as follows:



The seven saṃsthās are said to be the "splendors" (*vibhūtis*) of the Jyotiṣṭoma. The Agniṣṭoma is the source of all other saṃsthās. It gives birth directly to three other saṃsthās (Ukthya, Ṣoḷaśī and Atirātra), all of which are both sources as well as derivatives: they are derived from the Agniṣṭoma, but are the sources of Vājapeya, Atyagniṣṭoma, and Aptoryāma, respectively, which three are only derivatives (*vikṛti*). This explanation parallels Sāṃkhya theory, according to which one primary source (*mūlaprakṛti*), seven "sources cum derivatives" (*prakṛti-vikṛtis*), and sixteen "sole derivatives" constitute the essentials (*tattvas*). The ritual that concludes with twelve chants followed by twelve recitals is the Agniṣṭoma. Three more chants and recitals added to these make the Ukthya, and by adding one more to these fifteen we get the Ṣoḷaśī conclusion. The Atyagniṣṭoma consists of thirteen chants and an equal number of recitals (Agniṣṭoma plus Ṣoḷaśī minus Ukthya becomes Atyagniṣṭoma). When thirteen chants as well recitals are added to the Ṣoḷaśī we get the Atirātra, which consists of twenty-nine chants followed by

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an equal number of recitals. Vājapeya results by adding one more chant and recital to the Ṣoḷaśī. The Aptoryāma has four chants and four recitals more than the Atirātra. So the total number of chants and recitals in the Aptoryāma is thirty-three. KB does not deal with the Atyagniṣṭoma, Vājapeya, and Aptoryāma, as they are "sole derivatives."

The Agniṣṭoma is described as commencing with the Ājya śastra and ending with the Āgnimāruta, involving twelve chants and twelve recitals, each recital being preceded by a chant. As there are three pressings of the Soma creeper for a Soma ritual, these chants and recitals are distributed among those three. The morning pressing has two chants and two recitals, the Ājya and the Praüga. The midday pressing has five chants and five recitals: the hotā recites the two main śastras, the Marutvatīya and the Niṣkevalya, and his associates, maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṃsī, and acchāvāka, each recite one śastra. All of these are preceded by chants. In the third pressing, too, besides the main śastras (the Vaiśvadeva and the Āgnimāruta) recited by the hotā, the associates also recite one śastra each. All these recitals are preceded by the related chants, and thus there are five chants and five recitals here as well. The total Agniṣṭoma thus consists of twelve chants and twelve recitals. The first of these, the Ājya śastra, in which the hotā recites a total number of three hundred and sixty verses, includes the recitals of the mantras called Silent Muttering, Silent Recital, Prior Light, the hymn (RV. 3.13), the Śastra Vigor, and the Offering Verse; thus the Ājya śastra is sixfold. The Prior Light, or the Nivids, are to be uttered before the recital of the hymn in the morning pressing. The first hemistich of the verse of the hymn is recited dividing each quarter separately, while the second hemistich is recited by combining the two quarters and ending with the *praṇava*. The adhvaryu fills ten cups with the Soma juice during this pressing. The first and last verses of a recital (hymn) are always repeated thrice. In many places, as prescribed by the Śrautasūtras, the hotā utters a "call-out" (*śoṃsāvo*, etc.) to which the adhvaryu responds (*pratigṛṇāti*) in the form "śoṃsāmo daivo," etc. These "call-outs" and "encouragements" vary in their form in the different pressings. The second śastra, called the Praüga, is recited during the morning pressing and consists of twenty-one verses (RV 1.2 and 3).

The first śastra for the midday pressing is the Marutvatīya, which consists of 2 triplets, 2 mingled verses recited by repeating the quarters, 3 isolated verses (RV 3.20.4; 1.91.2; 1.64.6), the hymn (RV 10.73), and the Nivids placed in the middle of the hymn. This śastra involves 6 meters, the anuṣṭubh gāyatrī, bṛhatī, uṣṇih, triṣṭubh, and jagatī. The second recital, called the Niṣkevalya, is considered to be the exclusive property of Indra. It consists of 2 mingled verses (recited by repeating the quarters), the triplet (RV 1.19.9–11), 2 verses (RV 10.74.6; 8.3.1), the hymn consisting of 15 verses (RV 1.32), and the concluding verse (RV 3.47.4). There are two different methods regarding the performance of this śastra: some chanters make

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the basis of their chants the Rathantara sāman, while others use the Bṛhad. The initial strophes therefore vary, according to this difference in the basis of the chants. The Bahiṣpavamāna, which is chanted during the midday pressing, consists of 190 ṛks in all.

In the third pressing, the main śastras are the Vaiśvadeva and the Āgnimāruta, which are recited by the hotā. Prior to the recital of the Vaiśvadeva śastra, cups for the Ādityas and Savitṛ are filled. There are also rites related to the Manes. The śastra itself consists of four hymns (RV 4.54; 1.59; 1.111; 1.89) and four isolated verses (RV 1.4.1; 10.123.1; 10.63.10; 4.50.6) with sixteen call-outs in between. In the third pressing the concluding verse of the recitals is invariably RV 1.89.10. After this śastra there are two oblations, one with melted butter and the other with Soma juice. A cup for the deities with their wives (*pātnīvata*) is also offered here. The last main śastra of the Agniṣṭoma is the Āgnimāruta, which consists of twenty-one call-outs in between and the complete hymns of RV 3.3; 1.87; 1.143, besides twenty-eight verses scattered in various hymns. KB mentions three views regarding the main deity of the Soma ritual ascribed to Madhuka, Gauśra, and Kauṣītaki, the first holds Soma to be the main deity, the second Indra, and the third Agni and Indra together. With these twelve śastras the Agniṣṭoma ends.

The Ukthya śastras are three in number and are recited by the three associates, one each: together with the śastras of the Agniṣṭoma, the total number of śastras becomes fifteen, which constitutes the Ukthya saṃsthā. The Ṣoḷaśī is the sixteenth śastra, as the name indicates. The verses in various meters recited in this śastra are to be reckoned as in anuṣṭubh meter and there are, in total, forty anuṣṭubhs. There are only three call-outs in this śastra.

After the recital of the Ṣoḷaśī, the Atirātra rites begin. Here the recitals are to be performed by the hotā and his associates, in turns, and consequently these are called "the night recitals in rotation" (*rātri-paryāya-śastras*). The adhvaryu and the brahman have their fixed duties during these recitals. The hotā and his associates also have to wake up during the night and keep the fires lighted.

After this comes the Āśvina śastra, where one thousand verses are to be recited so as to make one thousand bṛhatīs. This śastra chiefly consists of the verses used for the Prātaranuvāka with a few omissions and commissions that are listed in ŚŚS 9.20 and explained in the bhāṣya on it.

The Brāhmaṇas are mainly explanations of the ritual procedure in its details. Some explanations appear to be rather strange and even naive, but in actual fact they are not so. There is sound logic behind them, although to understand and appreciate it, the basic thinking of the vedic writers must be kept in mind. The composers of the Brāhmaṇas view the universe, the act of ritual (yajña), and the performer of the ritual as one and the same. Therefore these explanations are to be understood at three different levels

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as applicable to the physical universe, the metaphysical concepts, and the theological beliefs. These levels are termed *ādhibhautika, ādhyātmika* and *ādhidaivika*, respectively. In all cases of explanations, however, these three levels may not all be clearly discernible: some explanations are given on the basis of one level of understanding, while the others are based on the other levels. Take the example of the three pressings in a Soma ritual. They are not only equated with the three worlds, but also with three meters (gāyatrī, triṣṭubh, and jagatī, respectively) as well as three deities (Agni, Indra, and Savitṛ, respectively). Again the three deities are expanded to thirty-three and equated with the virāj meter, which consists of thirty-three syllables. The term virāj, which means to "shine splendidly," is explained by equating virāj with prosperity and richness in food. It might be helpful to cite a few examples of this nature found in the portion of KB given here in English translation.

Nivids are the short mantras uttered in between the verses of a recital. They are equated with the sun (based on the etymology of the term *nivids*, "one who reveals forth" *nivedayan*), and the prescription of reciting them at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the three pressings, respectively, finds a parallel in the course of the sun through the sky. In addition, they are said to symbolize food that is placed in the middle of the body. Therefore they form the nourishment of the ritual, just as food nourishes the body. The transposing of the quarters of different verses in the recitals is not only explained by the simile of intertwining the cords of a chariot for firmness, but also as connected with the operation of the three vital breaths, *prāṇa, apāṇa* and *vyāna*, which function in unison.

The most interesting aspect of these explanations is the comparison of the ritual to a human being, whereby the limbs and functions of the living are equated with parts of the ritual hall and the performance of the ritual. In connection with the paryāya śastras recited in the Atirātra, the intimate connection of the priests with one another as well as with the ritual is explained in this way (see the translation, XVII 5 and 6, pp. 694–695). When understood as based on the three levels mentioned above, the explanations of the Brāhmaṇas could be seen as a result of an integrated insight on the part of the composers.

There are only a few mythological legends referred to in the portion of KB presented here. They are: (1) the killing of Vṛtra by Indra, which is to be understood, following Yāska, as the release of water from the clouds after breaking them; (2) the legend of the Ṛbhus, who were first human beings, and afterwards attained divine stature by their good deeds and were admitted to the Soma ritual along with other gods; and (3) the bringing of Soma by Gāyatrī from the heaven where it was protected by the Gandharvas.

I would like to draw attention to two interesting statements occurring in the portion of KB presented here. The first is socially significant: it is indicated that the brahmins and the kṣatriyas do not have a fixed place of

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residence, while the vaiśyas enjoy such a facility. The second is philosophical and poetical: it is said that the whole universe is nothing but "oil and light." Philosophically this may give expression to the interdependence of the inert and the spirit, which makes it possible for the universe to exist. At the same time, the image and sentiment evoked by the words "oil" and "light" heighten the esthetic experience derived from this statement.

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RITUAL PREPARATION OF THE MAHĀVĪRA AND UKHĀ POTS

Yasuke Ikari

THE PRELIMINARY RITES OF the Agnicayana begin almost a year before the construction of the great five-layered Agni altar of brick, which is the very core of the Agnicayana rite. Within this series of preliminary rites, a special clay artifact called the ukhā plays a central part. Sacred fire is kept in it and the sacrificer, throughout the period of his consecration, repeatedly uses it to perform the rites of viṣṇukrama and vātsapra. Finally, just before the construction of the altar begins, the ukhā is buried, with a human head in it, under the altar ground.

After the formal opening with the Savitṛ oblation, which aims at securing the success of the entire Agnicayana rite, the ceremony begins with the ritual preparation of this ukhā vessel.[1] The process of procuring its materials, and kneading, baking, and fumigating them, are described in detail by the ritual texts.[2] These documents refer to this process of preparing the ukhā vessel as Ukhāsaṃbharaṇa (Us). While this description furnishes us valuable cultural data on aspects of pottery technology in ancient India[3], we have another source, from the ritual documents, on a very similar type of clay artifact, the mahāvīra or pravargya of the Pravargya rite.

The Pravargya rite[4] is, within the structure of śrauta rituals, as we learn from the extant Vedic literature, one of the introductory rites of the Agniṣṭoma, the basic type of all the Soma rituals. It essentially consists in the offering of hot milk to the Aśvins, in which the clay vessel called mahāvīra/pravargya plays a very important role. The rite may be divided into five

[1] This is what the black YV tradition has. In the white YV tradition the animal sacrifice comes first, and the ceremony of Us follows.

[2] BŚS 10.1–8; ĀpŚS 16.1–6.1; MānŚS 6.1.1.1–1.2.22; HirŚS 11.1. 1–67; VārŚS 2.1.1–48; VaikhŚS 18.1–2; KŚS 16.2.1–4.26; VŚS Nos.47, 48, 56, 57 (*Acta Orientalia* 4), Nos. 103a–b, 104–107 (*Acta Orientalia* 6); MS 3.1.1–8; KS 19.1–7; KapS 29.7–30.5; TS 5.1.1–7; ŚB 6.3–5.

[3] Cf. C. G. Kashikar, "Pottery in the Vedic literature," *Indian Journal of History of Science* 4.1–2 (1970), pp. 15–26; W. Rau, *Töpferei und Tongeschirr im vedischen Indien* (Wiesbaden, 1972).

[4] Cf. R. Garbe's description in ZDMG 34 (1880), pp. 319f. (based upon ĀpŚS only); J.A.B. van Buitenen, *The Pravargya* (Poona, 1968; description and study based upon all the extant Vedic literature). On the other studies, see pts. 1–7 of van Buitenen's study. Also cf. C. G. Kashikar, "Apropos of the Pravargya," *CASS Studies* 1 (1972), pp. 1–10; and "The Avāntaradīkṣā of Pravargya," BDCRI 25.3–4 (1976), pp. 66–72.

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sections: preparation of the mahāvīra vessel, heating of the vessel over the fire, milking of a cow and a goat, offering of the two kinds of milk and disposal of paraphernalia.

In the following, attention will be focused on the first section, that is, the preparation of the special type of clay artifact, the rite usually called Pravargyasaṃbharaṇa (Ps). In fact, the description of Ps in the śrautasūtras shows many striking parallels with that of Us. Investigation of the śrautasūtras of the Yajurveda further reveals the existence of many word-to-word parallel passages between these two rites as given in each sūtra. The existence of so many closely parallel passages may lead us to the impression that either of the two might have borrowed its own description from the other. I shall attempt to make a closer investigation of this point by examining the prescriptions on Us and Ps from the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra, the oldest extant śrautasūtra belonging to the Yajurveda tradition.

The following is a summary of Us:

A. Preparations (BŚS X.1: 1.1–19): Before the formal opening, the collection and arrangement of the materials for making the clay artifact and whatever is connected with it.
B. Formal opening (*Ibid.*, X.1–2: 1.19–2.2): Butter oblation to Savitṛ.
C. Ritual procession to the site of clay and procuring of it.
   a. (*Ibid.*, X.2: 2.2–15): Procession from śālā to the east with a horse and an ass in front; dialogue with a vaiśya man guarding an anthill; the arrival at the site.
   b. (*Ibid.*, X.2–4: 2.15–3.20): Digging clay; wrapping it with a lotus leaf and an antelope skin.
   c. (*Ibid.*, X.4: 3.20–4.7): Returning the same way as they came with the clay on back of the ass; dialogue with the vaiśya man; placing the clay on the site where molding of the artifact is taking place.
D. The molding (*Ibid.*, X.5–6: 4.18–6.9): Molding of three ukhā vessels, drying them and fumigating them by means of horse dung.
E. The baking (*Ibid.*, X. 6–8: 6.9–7.18): Baking of the molded vessels in a pit dug in the ground.
F. Rites of reparation (*Ibid.*, X. 8: 7.18–8.5): In case the vessels might be broken during the preparation procedures, they are repaired or made again according to the prescribed manner.

The corresponding portions of Ps to the above procedures of Us:

A. BŚS IX.1: 265.1–266.2

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B. *Ibid.*, IX.1–2: 266.2–7
C. a. *Ibid.*, IX.2: 266.7–13
b. *Ibid.*, IX.2: 266.13–267.16
c. *Ibid.*, IX.3: 267.18–268.4
D. *Ibid.*, IX.3: 268.4–269.4
E. *Ibid.*, IX.3–4: 269.4–270.11
F. *Ibid.*, IX.4: 270.11–19.

Although the prescriptions of both rites exhibit many striking parallels in every corresponding procedure, there are some divergences between them. In A, Us prepares clay alone, while Ps adds four more kinds of materials to the clay: earth dug out by wild boar, an anthill, earth on which a bunch of ūtīka or ādāra grass is placed, and a pot of goat milk. Ps has pūrvaśānti before B.[5] And just before the formal opening of B, every door of the śālā is shut and the sacrificer's wife (patnī) is sent to the patnīśālā and is shut off from the ritual scene. Whenever water is used in Us, hot water is prescribed instead in the corresponding place of Ps through the rite.[6] In C, Ps does not accompany any animal in the procession.[7] Further, no one is waiting on the way to the site of clay, so no dialogue takes place on the way to and from the site. Therefore, in contrast with the simple setting of Ps, Us is rather complex and even dramatic.[8] In D, E, and F, the ritual performances are almost the same. Such close parallels between these two rites cannot be due to chance, and we may safely assume that there must be intentional borrowing between Ps and Us of BŚS.

In my opinion, Us presupposed Ps, borrowed from the latter, and adapted it to the new context of the Agnicayana rite. In the following I shall point out some parallel passages that will support this hypothesis.

First, mention should be made of the function of a hut, in which the clay artifacts (pravargya/mahāvīra in Ps; ukhā in Us) are molded.

A round mound of earth is made to the east of the northern section of

[5] Van Buitenen, pp. 55, 63.
[6] On the significance of this rule, see van Buitenen, p. 30.
[7] But Ps sections of the new Taittirīya Śrautasūtras prescribe the accompaniment of some animals: for instance, a he-goat and a horse (ĀpŚS 15.1.4); these two plus a bull (BhārŚS 11.1.9). Considering the facts that the corresponding brāhmaṇa portions do not mention them, and that no mantra referring to them is found in the mantra portions, this practice seems to have been introduced into the rite somewhat later, possibly under the influence of the parallel sections of the Agnicayana rite. In addition, some Pravargya sūtras of ĀpŚS presuppose those of the Agnicayana (15.1.4; 3.13; 19.1), while a sūtra of the latter rite (16.24.15) clearly presupposes the former. The same situation can also be pointed out in the other younger sūtras. At the time of these new Taittirīya sūtras at least, the similarity and correspondence between Ps and Us must have been well recognized.
[8] On the interpretation of section C of the Agnicayana, see J. C. Heesterman, WZKSO 11 (1967), pp. 35–41.

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the śālā, it is enclosed on all sides, and a door is made to the north (Ps: BŚS IX.1: 265.13–16, Us: *Ibid.*, X.1: 1.11–14; exactly the same prescription in both texts).[9] The purpose of this enclosure in Ps seems to be to exclude the sacrificer's wife and other nonqualified people from the ritual process of the preparation of the clay artifacts. Before the formal opening with the Savitṛ oblation, all the doors of the śālā are closed and the sacrificer's wife is brought into her own quarters (patnīśālā), which adjoin the śālā to the west and are screened off.[10] Also, before the start of the rite of mahāvīra heating, the Vṛṣalas[11] are driven out of the śālā, and the ritual priests and sacrificer's wife are called inside. Then the doors of the śālā are closed and the wife is confined to her own quarters again.[12] These prescriptions are clearly connected with one of the restrictions peculiar to the mystical rite of the Pravargya: women and śūdras are entirely excluded from the Pravargya rite.[13] The sacrificer's wife is confined to her quarters in order that she not see the mahāvīra vessel. This is explicitly stated in the following sūtra passage: "[After the mahāvīra vessels are baked, they are soaked with water]. And when their hissing stops, then he [*scil.*, the adhvaryu priest] sets them down on the basket, covers them with the black antelope skin, and hangs them up in the sling in the northern part of the śālā in such a way that the sacrificer's wife does not see [them]."[14] The enclosure around the molding site of the mahāvīra vessels is explained by the mystical character of the Pravargya rite: the enclosure is made with the intention of preventing disqualified persons from seeing the mahāvīra vessels that are being born inside of it.

In the Pravargya rite, it is thus necessary, owing to the mystical character of the rite itself, to exclude those who are not entitled to participate in the ritual performance. In the Angicayana sūtra, however, we are not given any clear reason why there is such an enclosure around the molding site of the ukhā vessel. Although the prescriptions of Us are closely parallel with those of Ps, the above rules concerning the exclusion of women and śūdras are entirely dispensed with. In other words, Ps and Us share exactly the same

[9] For the comparison with the descriptions of other śrautasūtras, see van Buitenen, p. 13f. But from Baudhāyana's prescription the location of the hut is not inside the śālā but outside of it: *uttaraṃ śālākhaṇḍam agreṇa* means "to the east of the northern section of the śālā," since nothing must intervene between the sun and the pravargya/mahāvīra artifact.

[10] BŚS 9.1: 265.20–21.

[11] Vṛṣalas are not Aryans and are referred to often in contrast with the latter. They seem to have been treated as the śūdras; cf. BĀU 6.4.13, GobhGS 3.5.34, and BGS 2.3.6.22.

[12] BŚS 9.5: 272.13–17.

[13] Cf. BhārŚS 11.2.17, ĀpŚS 15.2.9 et al. On this and other restrictions peculiar to the Pravargya rite, see van Buitenen, pp. 29f., 40f.

[14] BŚS 9.4: 270.16–19. On treatment of the sacrificer's wife at the disposal of paraphernalia, cf. van Buitenen, p.124 n.2.

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series of sūtras that prescribe the installment of special ceremonial area, in which the most important clay artifacts are to be prepared. But, while we may understand its raison d'être in Ps from the taboo peculiar to Ps, we are at a loss as to why the special ceremonial area is made in Us. Probably Us introduced these prescriptions from Ps, while omitting the rules concerning the mystical elements of the Pravargya rite.

To add one more instance from the paraphernalia: after the vessel is baked, milk is poured over it. On this occasion, two kinds of milk are used, a cow's and a she-goat's.[15] These two play an important role in the entire Pravargya rite, since both are used as indispensable oblations at the most important ceremony of this ritual, the offering to the Aśvins.[16] In a sense, the use of these two kinds of milk announces the main milk offerings made with the mahāvīra vessel itself. On the other hand, they do not have any necessary connection with the following ceremonies in the Agnicayana rite.

I shall next take up a parallel Ps passage from the main ceremony. The scene is that of the molding of the clay vessels in the prescribed manner.

> Clay is kneaded and made into a ball, and is pressed with the thumbs. A third is cut off and it is then divided into three small balls. A professional potter kneads these balls into three parts of the vessel: the bottom, the middle, and the upper part. Two more vessels are made in the same manner. The vessels thus made are one prādeśa high, wide at the bottom and contracted in the middle. In order to be used as a receptacle of the milk offering, they are made hollow two-thirds from the top. A girdle of clay surrounds the vessel three or four aṅgulas from the top.[17]

[15] *athâinaṃ* (scil. *pravargyaṃ*) [*athâināṃ* (scil. *ukhāṃ*) Us] *saṃdaṃśena parigṛhya sate "vadhāya chāgapayasâcchṛṇatti" ". ." iti. antarataś ca bāhyataś ca svācchṛṇaṃ kṛtvā gopayasâbhiviṣyandayati."* (BŚS 9.4: 270.4–10; an almost identical passage is found in Us 10.7–8: 7.12–16, except for the mantra portion.)

[16] See van Buitenen, pp. 95f.

[17] Ps:

1. *piṇḍaṃ karoti "makhasya śiro 'sî" ti.*
2. *"yajñasya pade stha" ity aṅguṣṭhābhyām upanigṛhṇāti.*
3. *atha tṛtīyaṃ mṛdo 'pacchidya trīn piṇḍān karoti.*
4. *teṣām ekaṃ kartre prayacchati "gāyatro 'sî" ti. tenâsya madhyaṃ karoti "traiṣṭubhena tvā chandasā karomî" ti.*
5. *atiśiṣṭāyai mṛdo 'rdhaṃ prayacchati "traiṣṭubho 'sî" ti. tenâsya madhyaṃ karoti "traiṣṭubhena tvā chandasā karomî" ti.*
6. *sarvām antato mṛdaṃ prayacchati "jāgato 'sî" ti. tenâsya bilaṃ karoti "jāgatena tvā chandasā karomî" ti.*
7. *taṃ prādeśamātraṃ pṛthubudhnaṃ madhye lagnaṃ karoti.*
8. *athâsya veṇukāṇḍena dvibhāgam avavidhyati. tad asya pinvanaṃ.*
9. *athâsya tryaṅgule vā caturaṅgule vā rāsnāṃ paryasyati "makhasya rāsnâsî" ti.*
10. *athâsya bilaṃ gṛhṇāti "aditis te bilaṃ gṛhṇātu pāṅktena chandasê" ti.* (BŚS 9.3: 268.6–16)

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The process of ukhā molding is almost the same, except that its shape is characterized by eight (or nine) corners, which have nipple-shaped protuberances on them.[18]

Comparing the prescriptions of Ps and Us, we find that the former is more detailed than the latter. For instance, one-third of the entire amount of clay is divided into three small balls, and the vessel is made with these balls, but no explicit statement is given in Us as to which part of the vessel is molded from which ball. On the other hand, Ps clearly prescribes the actions of the potter: the bottom part (*budhna*) is made from the first ball, the middle (*madhya*) from the second, and the opening (*bila*) from the third.[19] By comparison, it is strange that Us omits the portion concerning the actions of the potter, while those of the adhvaryu priests during the preparation procedures are exactly the same in both texts. As the result of this omission, the shape of the ukhā vessel in Us is to some extent unintelligible.[20]

What is the reason behind this omission by the sūtrakāra of Us, an omission that prevents the clear understanding of ritual process, which must be the real purpose of the śrautasūtra texts? In my opinion, it has something to do with the development of ritual thought during the period of the compilation of the śrautasūtras. The above omission on the part of Us seems to have been made with the intention of eliminating, from the surface of the ritual description, the existence of the professional potter who is not entitled to be counted among the officiating priests. In both Ps and Us, where the preparation of clay artifacts is the focus of the procedure, the participation of a skillful potter is absolutely required. That is why both

[18] Us:

1. *piṇḍaṃ karoti "makhasya śiro 'sî"* ti.
2. *"yajñasya pade stha" ity aṅguṣṭhābhyām upanigṛhṇāti.*
3. *atha tṛtīyaṃ mṛdo 'pacchidya trīn piṇḍān karoti.*
4. *teṣām ekam ukhākṛte prayacchati "saṃsṛṣṭāṃ vasubhī rudrair . . ." iti. anumantrayate "vasavas tvā kṛṇvantu gāyatreṇa chandasā . . ." iti.*
5. *atiśiṣṭāyai mṛdo 'rdhaṃ prayacchati "sinīvalī śukapardā . . ." iti. anumantrayate "rudrās tvā kṛṇvantu traiṣṭubhena chandasā . . ." iti.*
6. *sarvām antato mṛdaṃ prayacchaty "ukhāṃ karotu śaktyā . . ." iti. anumantrayata "ādityās tvā kṛṇvantu jāgatena chandasā . . ., vaiśvānarāḥ kṛṇvantv ānuṣṭubhena chandasā . . ." iti . . .*
7. *tāṃ prādeśamātrīm ūrdhvām aparimitāṃ tiraścīṃ karoti.*
8. —
9. *athâsyai tryaṅgule vā caturaṅgule vā rāsnāṃ paryasyaty "adityai rāsnâsî" ti. athâsyā anudiśam aṣṭāv aśrīr unnayati. rāsnāsandhiṣu câśrīsandhiṣu câṣṭau stanān karoti. 'navāśrīm abhicarataḥ kuryād* (TS 5.1.6.4) *iti brāhmaṇam. astanāṃ navamīṃ karoti.*
10. *athâsyai bilaṃ gṛhṇāty "aditis te bilaṃ gṛhṇātu pāṅktena chandasā . . ." iti.* (BŚS 10.5: 5.5–20)

[19] Compare prescription 4–6 given in nn. 15, 16.

[20] Further compare prescriptions 7 of Ps and Us given above. The latter is rather more abstract and obscure than the former.

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Ps and Us list him in the paraphernalia at the beginning of the descriptions. In the later śrautasūtras of the Yajurveda, however, the potter tends to be eliminated, not simply from the surface of the prescriptive passages but from the rite itself. In the sūtras that were composed after Baudhāyana, the the adhvaryu priest is prescribed to prepare the pravargya artifacts all by himself in Ps, while in Us the molder of the ukhā is the adhvaryu or the ritual wife or the sacrificer.[21] Thus, in Us the preparation of the artifacts is left to the charge of the formal participants in the rite. From a practical point of view, however, it would require some sort of special technique to mold and bake these unique clay implements, which will be repeatedly used and actually play a very important role in the following ritual processes. It would not be possible for a nonspecialist to prepare them without training in the skill of pottery. This is implied by the sūtras of Baudhāyana: "A skillful maker (kuśala-kartṛ)" in Ps and "a skillful maker of ukhā (kuśala-ukhākṛt)" in Us. The elimination of the potter in these later sūtras[22] may be due to a tendency toward the "purification" of the ritual world in the development of the śrauta ritual, that is, a tendency to confine access to the ritual activities to the officiating priests and the sacrificer (and his wife), who are the formal major participants in the śrauta rite.[23] This is one of the general trends found in the śrauta rituals when we compare the prescriptions of the early sūtras with those of the later ones.

Now in our case there occurs a paradox: the potter is required to be there at the site, since the preparation of the clay artifacts is the focus of the procedures of Ps and Us; on the other hand, considered from the point of view of the ritual world that is the exclusive concern of the priests and the sacrificer, the potter essentially remains an outsider who is, if possible, to be kept in the background. In the course of ritual development after BŚS, the śrautasūtras of the Yajurveda seem to have solved this problem by making the actual process of preparation of the clay vessel into a mere

[21] For Ps texts, see van Buitenen, Index I–8 (p. 151, correction: KŚS 26.1.15–18). Us: adhvaryu priest or mahiṣī (ĀpŚS 16.4.5, HirŚS 11.1.48, VaikhŚS 18.1), patnī (MānŚS 6.1.2.6, VārŚS 2.1.1.36), the sacrificer (KŚS 16.3.23).

[22] Before the clay artifact is baked, a pit is dug in the ground to be used as the pottery kiln. In the Baudhāyana Sūtra, the adhvaryu entrusts the act of digging to someone, *athôttareṇa śālām urubilam ivâvaṭaṃ khanayati* . . . (9.3: 269.4–5 = 10.6: 6.9–10), maybe a potter or his assistant. On the other hand, all of the later sūtras of YV prescribe that the adhvaryu himself dig the pit (cf. ĀpŚS 15.3.20, 16.5.8, MānŚS 4.1.22, 6.1.2.15 et al.)

[23] Further, another important difference is noticed between the above quoted passages of Ps and Us. In Ps the adhvaryu recites all of the mantras by himself, while some mantras are recited by the sacrificer in Us (as is indicated by the word *anumantrayate*). And a dialogue between the procession party and the vaiśya man is given in Us of the Baudhāyana sūtra. On this point, all of the later sūtras eliminate the actual presence of the vaiśya man and, instead of the dialogue, the adhvaryu alone recites his mantra; the dialogue is superseded by a monologue! This is an another example of the elimination of people other than the formal participants in the śrauta rite.

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formality. In other words, the clay vessel is already there at the start of the rite, having been made by a potter and brought beforehand. The "molder" of the vessel, whether it is the adhvaryu priest or the sacrificer's wife, only pretends to make it during the actual performance of the rite.[24] What is important for the ritual party, then, is the exact performance of the recitation of mantras to accompany the occasion. The elimination of prescriptions concerning the potter's action in Us can thus be seen as part of the tendency to eliminate the potter himself in the later śrautasūtras, and it also can be regarded as evidence that Us borrowed its prescriptions from Ps and adapted them in its own way.

Throughout the mantras of Ps, the clay and the clay artifact are addressed consistently with the same appellation, "*makhas-*" or "*makhasya śiras-*." When the clay is dug from the pit and collected upon the skin of the black antelope, the description runs as follows: [The adhvaryu] digs the ground with a shovel with "May I succeed today! You are the head of Makha." [Then] he carries [the dug-up clay to the site of the antelope skin] with "[I take] you for the head of Makha," and pours [the clay with the shovel upon the skin] with "[I pour] you for the head of Makha."[25] In the same way, the mantra used at the molding scene is, "You are the head of Makha"; the one at attaching a girdle to the vessel is, "You are the girdle of Makha"; the one at the completion of molding is, "You are Makha."

In Us, on the other hand, the ukhā is addressed with various names. It is called "agni purīṣya" (Agni hidden in the earth) at the stage before molding, "ukhā" just before molding, and "Makha's head" and "Aditi" during the molding process.[26] It is difficult to see a consistent implication throughout all of these terms. The use of "Makha's head, which is supposed to serve the function of the birthplace of Agni in the ritual context of the Agnicayana, is especially strange. The expression "Makha's head" in Ps can be explained by the circumstance of the incorporation of the Pravargya rite into the Agniṣṭoma,[27] but it has no such straightforward explanation in the context of Us itself.

I may add one more discrepancy between Ps and Us from the mantra

[24] This is what I observed at the Nambudiris' Agnicayana performance, held in April 1975 at Pañjal, Kerala State. see Volume I, pages 297–298, and plate 42.

[25] *abhriyā praharaty "ṛdhyāsam adya makhasya śira" iti. "makhāya tvê" ti harati. "makhasya tvā śīrṣṇa" ity uttarataḥ kṛṣṇājine nivapati* (BŚS IX. 2: 266. 14–16). I have corrected Caland's text punctuation, putting a full stop after '*nivapati(y)*' and starting the next passage with '*udūhya*'. In the same way, the following passages must be corrected: p. 266, 1.20; p. 267, 1.5; 1.9 and 1.13.

[26] '*Agni purīṣya-*' is the favored phrase in Us mantras. On the word '*purīṣya*', cf. L. Renou, 'Védique púrīṣa,' *IIJ* 4 (1960), pp. 104–110.

[27] I agree with van Buitenen on the interpretation of this phrase that the Pravargya rite symbolically 'completes' the incomplete Agniṣṭoma rite (see van Buitenen, pp. 19f.). On the appellation of '*makha*' and '*makhasya śiras*, see van Buitenen, pp. 16f.

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portion of both rites. Some meter names are found in the mantras applied to the ritual procedure of molding the clay artifacts. In Ps, the first (bottom) part of the vessel is molded with a mantra "*gāyatreṇa tvā chandasā karomi*"; the second (middle) part with "*traiṣṭubhena tvā chandasā karomi*"; the third (top) part with "*jāgatena tvā chandasā karomi*" (TA IV.2.6). These three meters, i.e., gāyatrī, triṣṭubh and jagatī, are regarded as the three major ones found in the ritual literature in general. In brāhmaṇa portions, these three usually make one set that symbolizes triads of things or worlds.[28] In the case of the Pravargya rite, these three correspond to the three worlds that constitute the universe: the earth, the atmosphere, and the heaven. Thus, an analogy is drawn between the mahāvīra vessel, consisting of three parts, and the whole universe. In addition to these three meter names, the text of Us supplies one more meter name in its description corresponding to that in Ps, anuṣṭubh: Us adds a mantra with the words *ānuṣṭubhena chandasā* to the mantra recited at the molding of the third part of the vessel. But, interestingly enough, this additional mantra does not accompany an independent action, while the other three preceding mantras of meter names do. The following are the mantras that accompany the ukhā molding procedure: for the first part, "*vasavas tvā kṛṇvantu gāyatreṇa chandasāṅgirasvat, pṛthivy asi* (*dhruvāsi dhārayā mayi prajāṃ rāyas poṣaṃ gaupatyaṃ suvīryaṃ sajātān yajamānāya*); for the second, "*rudrās tvā kṛṇvantu traiṣṭubhena chandasāṅgirasvad antarikṣam asi . . .*"; for the third, "*ādityās tvā kṛṇvantu jāgatena chandasāṅgirasvad dyaur asi . . ., viśve tvā devā vaiśvānarāḥ kṛṇvantu ānuṣṭubhena chandasāṅgirasvad diśo 'si . . .*" (TS IV.1.5 n; the parenthesized portion is common to each mantra). So the order of meter names in these mantras is gāyatrī-triṣṭubh-jagatī-anuṣṭubh. The fourth mantra, anuṣṭubh, is recited directly after the third one and closes the series. It is recorded in all the extant YV mantra texts of the Agnicayana, and we may safely say that it belongs to the original tradition of this rite. But why does Us have this extra mantra with the word "anuṣṭubh"?

The reason will be found when we take notice of the symbolic meaning of the anuṣṭubh meter as it has developed in the speculative thought of ritual literature, especially in that of brāhmaṇa passages.[29] As mentioned before, when brāhmaṇa explanatory passages treat a set of three notions or entities, they usually symbolize them by means of the meter names, i.e. gāyatrī, triṣṭubh and jagatī. And, in case the quadruple is discussed—for instance, the quarters of the sky or four offerings—the whole of the quadruple or the fourth one is symbolized by the meter name "anuṣṭubh." In brāhmaṇa speculation, these four—that is, the first three and the anuṣṭubh—are re-

[28] For the meters and their effects in the ritual literatures, cf. A. Weber, Indische Studien 8, 1863, pp. 8f.

[29] A. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 37f., H. W. Bodewitz, Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I. 1–65, Leiden 1973, p. 87, n. 26.

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garded as the chief forms of meter. When further elements are to be added, the system of chief meters is extended to paṅkti as the fifth and atichandas as the sixth, respectively. This classification of meters is based upon numerical symbolism, which is particularly favored by the speculative thought developed in the brāhmaṇa passages.[30] In this classification, those that follow the fourth meter symbolize the totality of the corresponding set of entities when they close the series. We must consider the above series of meter names of Us in accordance with this line of thought. The anuṣṭubh in the above Us mantra bears the function of symbolizing the totality of the preceding three, which are homologized with earth, atmosphere, and heaven—i.e., the worlds constituting the universe. In this mantra, the anuṣṭubh itself has the quarters of sky as its corresponding entity, so it integrates the three worlds and establishes the totality of the universe. The name of the deities which appear along with this metre name is the All-gods (*viśve devās*), which thus precisely corroborates the idea.[31] The Us's addition of a mantra having the anuṣṭubh meter is made with this background of brāhmaṇa speculation on meter symbolism. In general, the mantras of Ps are simpler and less metrical than those of Us. And the speculative aspect in Us may be detected in the fact that the above anuṣṭubh mantra does not correspond to an independent ritual act, but remains an additional one that complements the series of preceding mantras in terms of numeral symbolism.

In this study, I have selected one case from each of the three different aspects of the rite—that is, the site of ritual performance, the ritual action and the formulae accompanying the action—and have tried to compare briefly the corresponding portions of Ps and Us given in BŚS IX and X, respectively. Between these two strikingly parallel ritual descriptions, Ps seems to be more original than Us, based upon the above evidence. My conclusion is that the Us description of BŚS was compiled after the model of Ps in the same text.

[30] J. C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, The Hague 1957, pp. 34f. For '*paṅkti*', see A. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 47f.; J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam 1965, pp. 130f. For '*atichandas*', see Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 64f.
[31] H. W. Bodewitz, *loc. cit.*

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AGNICAYANA IN THE MĪMĀṂSĀ

Paṇḍitarāja K. Bālasubrahmaṇya Śāstri
Edited by James A. Santucci

mīmāṃsā-sūtra-kāraṃ taṃ
jaiminiṃ śabaraṃ munim/
bhāṣya-kāraṃ bhaṭṭa-pādān
gurūn naumi punaḥ punaḥ//

[Repeatedly do I praise Jaimini, the author of the Mīmāṃsā-sūtras; the sage Śabara, the author of the Commentary (of the Sūtras); and all the eminent Bhaṭṭas (and) teachers.]

saṃgraheṇa pravaktā-'tra
cayane jaiminer matam/
vicāryā- 'gata-siddhāntam
bālabodhāya bālakaḥ//

[I will now expound in this paper the view(s) of Jaimini regarding the Cayana, which are arrived at following a discussion (of all prima facie or *pūrva-pakṣa* opinions). This paper of Bāla's (the author) is also instructive for beginners (*bāla*).]

EDITOR'S NOTE:

This article by Paṇḍitarāja K. Bālasubrahmaṇya Śāstri on the Agnicayana from the Mīmāṃsā perspective is important because many commentaries on the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts are based upon the Mīmāṃsā mode of analysis. As a matter of fact, many commentators were trained Mīmāṃsakas. An illustration occurs during the main course of the ritual when the Praiṣārtham is recited at the yajamāna's consecration (Volume I, pages 328–333). In general, the Mīmāṃsā may be regarded as a later development of the śrauta tradition.

Though the article was written by the author in English, its style and mode of exposition are Sanskritic, and it contains many technical terms. I have therefore supplied translations and additional pertinent information. Everything contributed by me has been placed between square brackets. Although a great deal of information would be required to understand all of the concepts employed within the paper, space does not allow such

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indulgence. There are a few terms that require additional comment: *vidhi* 'injunction', *utpatti-vidhi* 'originative injunction', *viniyoga-vidhi* 'applicatory injunction', *nitya-karma* 'obligatory rite', *kāmya-karma* 'optional or wish-fulfilling rite', and *aṅga* 'subordinate part'.

In Section I, Mr. Śāstri raises the question of the nature of the Agnicayana rite. This is determined by originative and applicatory statements or injunctions, both of which in turn are described and defined in Section VIII. The importance of the injunction (*vidhi*) in Mīmāṃsā centers around the main topic of investigation of this system, namely, dharma. Dharma is defined in Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 1.1.2 as "the object that is distinguished by a command" (*codanā-lakṣaṇo 'rtho dharmaḥ*). Āpadeva (Edgerton, 1929: paragraph 3) adds that it refers to an object that is enjoined by the Veda for the sake of a profitable goal (*vedena prayojanam uddiśya vidhīyamāno 'rtho dharmaḥ*). Thus, the vidhi or *codanā* 'binding force' (vidhi = codanā according to Prabhākara; Jhā, 1911: 108) is that which moves men to act or not act with a particular goal in mind. The vidhi or codanā may be considered the essence of dharma. The source of all injunctions is found within the Veda, that is, the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda defined by the Mīmāṃsakas as injunctive or commandatory texts (Sandal, Sacred Books of the Hindus, vol. 28: XVII). These injunctions are concerned with the details of sacrificial procedure and define, to a large extent, the type of sacrificial action that is to be performed. There are two kinds of sacrifices: those that are nitya and those that are kāmya. A sacrifice itself possesses two parts: the principal (*pradhāna*) and the subordinate (*guṇa*) (compare Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 6.3.2). In the nitya-karma the principal part must be performed, for it in itself is sufficient to incur the intended object (6.3.1–4). The optional rite, on the other hand, must be performed in its entirety because the principal part, having no connection with the "fruit" of the rite, cannot achieve the desired result (6.3.8–9). However, since it is performed with a specific purpose in mind, there is no obligation in its performance. In other words, no transgression (*doṣa*) is incurred if it is not performed, which is quite the contrary of the obligatory rite (6.3.3 and 10). Turning now to the injunctions that Mr. Śāstri employed in order to determine the nature of the Agnicayana, the first—the originative injunction—merely indicates the general nature of the rite; that is, it creates a desire in the sacrificer to perform the rite for the intended fruit (Edgerton, 1929: paragraphs 47, 63–65). The second—the applicatory injunction—lays down the actions and materials by which the sacrifice is carried out. Thus, it indicates the connection between the subsidiaries (*aṅga*) and principal (*pradhāna*) (*Ibid.*, p. 66).

The term *aṅga* refers to those subordinate parts that contribute to the completion of the principal action (Sandal, SBH, vol. 28: XXI). It consists of two grand divisions: *siddha-rūpa* "consisting of fixed elements" and *kriyā-rūpa* "consisting of actions" (Edgerton, p. 110). The first includes

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such elements as the caste (*jāti*) of the participating individual, the material (*dravya*) employed, and the number or quantity (*saṃkhyā*) of items to be employed. The second—kriyā-rūpa—is subdivided into subsidiary (guṇa) and principal actions (pradhāna-karma). The latter, however, does not refer to the principal sacrificial action mentioned above since both the guṇa and pradhāna actions are still aṅgas. The guṇa actions contribute indirectly to the purpose of the main rite, while the pradhāna actions contribute to it directly (for a full explanation see Edgerton, pp. 182–195).

Here follows a bibliography of the more important works on Mīmāṃsā:

Edgerton, Franklin, ed. and trans. *Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa or Āpadevī: A Treatise on the Mīmāṃsā System*. New Haven, Conn., 1929.

Jhā, Gaṅgānātha. *The Prabhākara School of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*. Allahabad, 1911.

_____. *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā in its Sources: with a Critical Bibliography by Dr. Umesha Mishra*. Benaras, 1942.

_____. *The Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini: Chapters I-III*. Sacred Books of the Hindus, Vol. 10. Allahabad, 1916. The SBH were reprinted by the AMS Press, N.Y., in 1974.

Kane, P. V. *A Brief Sketch of the Purva-Mīmāṃsā System*. Poona, 1924.

Keith, Arthur Berriedale. *The Karma-Mīmāṃsā*. London, 1921.

Mādhavānanda, Swāmi, trans. *Mīmāṃsā-Paribhāṣā of Kṛṣṇa Yajvan*. Belur Math, Dt. Howrah, 1948.

Sandal, Pandit Mohan Yal, ed. and trans. *The Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini*, Chapters I–XII. SBH, Vol. 27. Allahabad, 1923–25.

_____. *Introduction to the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini*. SBH, Vol. 28. Allahabad, 1925.

Shastri, Pashupatinath. *Introduction to the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*. Calcutta, 1923.

Thibaut, G., ed. and trans. *The Arthasaṃgraha: An Elementary Treatise on Mīmāṃsā by Laugākshi Bhāskara*. Benares Sanskrit Series, No. 4. Benares, 1882.

I

THE DECISION AS TO whether the Agnicayana is a *nitya* [obligatory] or *kāmya* [optional] rite is determined by the *utpatti-vākya* [originative statement] and *viniyoga-vākya* [applicatory statement] employed for the rite. The former appears in Taittirīya Saṃhitā (TS) 5.6.3.4: *ya evaṃ vidvān agniṃ cinute* ["who, knowing thus, builds the fire(-altar)"]; the latter statement is the following: *athā-'to 'gniṃ agniṣṭomenā-'nuyajanti* ["They subsequently offer the oblations to the fire with the Agniṣṭoma"]. There is thus one ritual act (*karman*) called *cayana* ("piling," i.e., of the bricks) that is subsidiary (aṅga) to the Jyotiṣṭoma. Furthermore, the Śruti and Kalpa-sūtras assert that the Cayana is not necessary (*nityāṅga*), but rather optional, as is indicated in the following passages: *yady agniṃ ceṣyamānāḥ bhavanti* ["If they are going to build the fire (altar)": Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 4.6.8.3] and *agniḥ somāṅgaṃ ceṣyatām* ["of that which is going to be built, the fire (altar) is subsidiary to the Soma rite"].

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If the Cayana is absent (in the Soma rite), the uttaravedi [high altar] serves as the location of the āhavanīya [sacrificial or offering] fire. If, however, the Cayana is piled at the site of the uttaravedi, then the sacred āhavanīya fire should be installed on the Agnicayana altar. Therefore, the Cayana is an optional aspect (*vikalpa*) of the obligatory uttaravedi.

Turning now to the sense of the term *agni*, we find in śrauta literature that it means "fire" by *abhidhā* [the literal sense of the word], āhavanīya by *nirūḍha-lakṣaṇā* [conventional or secondary use of the word], Cayana by *gauṇī-vṛtti* [indirect use of word], and the Soma sacrifice. With reference to the latter sense, the Agnicayana is viewed as *saṃskāra karma* [preparatory action] to the āhavanīya fire in the same manner as are the Prokṣana [sprinkling (of grain)] and Avahanana [pounding the grain in the mortar for the purpose of decortication]. It is not an *artha karma* [primary rite] as are, for instance, the iṣṭi [a *haviryajña*, i.e., a ritual involving a vegetable oblation such as rice or barley] and prayāja ["fore-sacrifice": the name of the fire oblations preliminary to the iṣṭi]. This is due to the presence of the accusative case in the *utpatti* statement above [. . . *agniṃ cinute*—"He builds the fire (altar)"] and not the instrumental (**agninā cinute*—"He builds with the fire (altar)"], which would follow the model injunction *jyotiṣṭomena yajeta* ["He should offer oblation with the Jyotiṣṭoma"]. Some saṃskāras are directed to the āhavanīya; for instance, a platform is erected for the cayana wherein the āhavanīya is kept (*cayana-niṣpādita-sthaṇḍila-sthāpanenā-'havanīyā 'gniṃ saṃskuryāt*) ["One should construct the āhavanīya-fire by establishing an altar prepared for the cayana"]. With regard to the term *agni* in this passage, we find in the Śruti that such expressions as *agneḥ stotram, agneḥ śastram, cityasyā 'gneṣ ṣaḍupasadaḥ* ["The praise of Agni, the recitation of Agni, the six upasads of the fire to be piled"] reveal Agni to mean the ritual [*yāga*] possessing the Cayana. Therefore, four senses are given to Agni as cited above, and these are discussed by Jaimini in 2.3. 21–23. Although it is an optional aṅga [subsidiary] to the Soma sacrifice, it is also said to be kāmya as given in the following examples: *'paśu-kāmaś cinvīta'* ["One desirous of cattle should build for himself"] *āmayāvī cinvīta* ["One who is sick should build for himself"], *vṛṣṭi-kāmaś cinvīta* ["One desirous of rain should build for himself"], and *brahmavarcasa-kāmaś cinvīta* ["One desirous of preeminence in sacred knowledge should build for himself . . . ']. These are all *śruti-kāmya* [optional rites based upon direct statements], i.e., *adhikāra-vidhayaḥ* [prescriptions of qualification].

In order to determine the dependence of a ritual action upon another there exist six *pramāṇas* [modes of evidence]: *śruti* [direct statement], *liṅga* [word-meaning, or implication from another word], *vākya* [syntactic connection], *prakaraṇa* [context], *sthāna* [position], and *samākhya* [name, etymological meaning]. According to one type of sthāna—the *anuṣṭhāna-sādeśya* [common location in the performance]—the Cayana is considered dependent upon the Soma sacrifice. In order to avoid the *kāmyatā* [option] and to

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ascertain its *nityatā* [obligatoriness], a *vidvadvākya* [learned statement] is useful. If this is practiced, it is called *pratiprasava-vidhi* [injunction of counterexception], which is an optional aṅga. Furthermore, the Cayana may occur in modified (*vikṛti*) sacrifices optionally through *atideśapramāṇa* [the mode-of-evidence of transfer (from *prakṛti* to *vikṛti*)] as well as in the model (*prakṛti*) Jyotiṣṭoma. In some modified rites [*vikṛti-yāgas*] such as the Ukthya, Atirātra, and Dvirātra, however, the Cayana is obligatory, according to the Mīmāṃsā-sūtras 10.8.23–28.

Turning now to the discussion contained within Mīmāṃsā-sūtras 2.2.24–25, there are eleven statements appearing in TS 5.4.11.1–3 that are called *guṇa-kāma-vidhis* [i.e., injunctions that denote the material or accessory with which the sacrifice is to be performed]. They follow the usual Mīmāṃsā model *guṇa-vidhi*: *dadhne-'ndriya-kāmasya juhuyāt* ["He should offer sour milk for one desirous of manly power": Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 2.1.5.6] and are cited as follows:

(1) *chandaś-citaṃ cinvīta paśukāmaḥ* . . . ["He who is desirous of cattle should build an altar with the meters. . . ."]
(2) *śyena-citaṃ cinvīta suvarga-kāmaḥ* . . . ["He who is desirous of heaven should build an altar (in the form) of a bird of prey. . . ."]
(3) *kaṅka-citaṃ cinvīta, yaḥ kāmayeta śirṣaṇvān amuṣmiṅl loke syām iti* . . . ["Who should desire for himself 'May I be possessed of a head in yonder world' should build an altar (in the form) of a heron . . ."]
(4) *alaja-citaṃ cinvīta catuḥsītam pratiṣṭha-kāmaḥ* . . . ["He who desires support should build an altar (in the form) of an Alaja bird having four furrows . . ."]
(5) *praüga-citaṃ cinvīta bhrātṛvyavān* . . . ["One who has enemies should build a Praüga altar . . ."]
(6) *ubhayataḥ praügam cinvīta, yaḥ kāmayeta prajātān bhrātṛvyānn udeya, pratijaniṣyamānān iti* . . . ["Who should desire (the following): 'May I repel (my) enemies who have already been born and who will be born again' should build the Praüga on both sides . . ."]
(7) *rathacakra-citaṃ cinvīta bhrātṛvyavān* . . . ["He who has enemies should build an altar (in the form) of a chariot wheel . . ."]
(8) *droṇa-citaṃ cinvītā-'nna-kāmaḥ* . . . ["He who desires food should build an altar (in the form) of a Droṇa-vessel . . ."]
(9) *samūhyaṃ cinvīta paśu-kāmaḥ* . . . ["He who desires cattle should build (an altar) that is collected and prepared (by the adhvaryu) . . ."]
(10) *paricāyyaṃ cinvīta grāma-kāmaḥ* . . . ["He who desires a village should build (an altar in) a circle . . ."]
(11) *śmaśāna-citaṃ cinvīta, yaḥ kāmayeta pitṛloka ṛdhnuyām iti* . . .

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["Who should desire 'May I succeed in the world of the Fathers' should build an altar (in the form) of a cemetery . . . "]

These statements indicate that the *phala* [fruit of the ritual action] is produced by the guṇas [accessories or material used in the rite] and not by the karma [ritual action], i.e., *phalāya guṇa-vākyam* [a statement containing the accessory (employed in the rite) conducing to the fruit]. Thus, the karma is technically an *āśraya* [dependent-support] and not a *karaṇa* [means, i.e., to produce the phala].

These statements contained in the above passages with additional discussions in Sāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭabhāskara's *Bhāṣya*, and in some of the śrauta sūtras allude to the existence of various types of Agnicayana; that is, the Agnicayana possesses fire altars of varying shapes and sizes. These altars are traditionally divided into two parts: Kṣudra-cayana [small—or minor—piling] and Mahā-cayana [major piling]. The Kṣudra-cayana (as discussed in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka I, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 3.10–12, the Āpastamba Śrautasūtra 19.11–15, and Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra (19.1–10) consists of five subdivisions:

1. Sāvitra-cayana [the building of the fire altar in the form of Savitṛ or the sun]
2. Nāciketa-cayana [the building of the fire altar according to the example of the sage Naciketas]
3. Cāturhotra-cayana [the building of the fire altar with the formulae symbolizing the four hotṛs]
4. Vaiśvasṛja-cayana [the building of the fire altar as it was built originally by the creators of the universe]
5. Aruṇaketuka-cayana [the building of the fire altar as it was built by the sage Aruṇaketu]

The Mahā-cayanas (as discussed in TS 4 and 5) consist of three types: the building of an altar consisting of five, ten, or fifteen layers of bricks. The Kṣudra-cayanas differ from the above in employing pots with pure water rather than bricks.

It may be added in closing this section that Pāṇini refers to some of the terms referred to above, such as *śyena-cita*, *agni-cit* [one who has built the fire altar], *samūhya*, *paricāyya*, etc., in Sūtra 3.2.91: *agnau ceḥ*. ["*KviP* occurs after $\sqrt{ci}$ 'collect' in the past tense when *agni*, ending in the accusative, occurs in composition with it"]; 3.2.92; *karmaṇy agny-ākhyāyām* ["In the passive sense if the compound designates a fire"]; and 3.1.131: *agnau paricāyyo-pacāyya-samūhya* ["*Paricāyya, upacāyya*, and *samūhya* are irregularly formed when they are names of fire"].

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II

Now that the construction of the fire altar has been discussed, it would be appropriate to mention the names and number of bricks employed in its construction. One set of bricks are called apasyāḥ [water bricks], twenty of which are deposited for the first layer with the accompanying mantras found in TS 4.3.1 beginning with *apāṃ tve 'man* [*sādayāmi*] "I place you in the course of the waters". Though there is an absence of the word *ap* 'water' in a few of these mantras, all are nonetheless named *apasyā* according to the Bhūma-nyāya ["the multitude rule," i.e., because many of the mantras contain the word *ap*, those which do not also bear the appellation apasyā]. This rule occurs in the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 1.4.27 (with reference, however, to the Sṛṣṭi-mantras and the *śruti-vākya* [a statement found in a revealed text] *sṛṣṭir upadadhāti* ["He deposits the creating (bricks)": TS 5.3.4.7].

The bricks employed in the construction of the altar are considered to be the *sādhana dravya* [material used as the means] for the Cayana. This is based upon the *guṇa-vākya* [= *guṇa-vidhi*: "injunction denoting the material with which the sacrifice is to be performed"]: *iṣṭakābhir agniṃ cinute* ["He builds the fire altar with the bricks"]. The piling itself is performed by the action (*saṃskāra*) called upadhāna, i.e., the depositing on the part of the adhvaryu of each single brick in its appropriate place by the appropriate mantra.

This action is enjoined by several vidhis such as "*sṛṣṭir upadadhāti*," "*prāṇabhṛta upadadhāti*" ["He deposits the creating;" "breath-supporting (bricks)"], etc. Although this action, i.e., the upadhāna, is perceptible through the *arthāpatti-pramāṇa* [mode of evidence through implication] arising from the injunctions centering on the piling of the altar (*cayana-vidhi*), it is nonetheless explicitly stated in the Veda. Furthermore, it enjoins that only one priest—the advaryu—should deposit each brick singly and not in groups. It is added that the accompanying mantra, which contains within it the root *sṛj*, also is to be recited during this action. Some bricks, however, are mentioned without the appropriate *avāntara-citi-prakaraṇa* [included context with regard to the layer of the altar]. They may, therefore, be deposited on all five layers by the force of *mahā-prakaraṇa* [major context] or at least on the fifth layer by the Āgantuka-nyāya [rule of interpolation]. In order to avoid these alternative possibilities, however, and to establish that the connection must be with that of the central layer, a specific injunction reads "*yāṃ vai kāṃ ca na brāhmaṇavatīm iṣṭakām abhijānīyāt, tāṃ madhyamāyāṃ citāv upadadhyāt*" ["Whatever brāhmaṇavatī brick he might not recognize, let him deposit it in the middle layer"]. This is the general rule for the bricks that possess no included context. Therefore, there is no excessive generalization (*ativyāpti*) with regard to the lokaṃpṛṇā or "space-filling" bricks, which are placed in all five layers to fill the space.

Returning to the sṛṣṭi bricks, seventeen are deposited [in the fourth

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layer] with the accompanying mantras, fourteen of which contain the root *sṛj* [TS 4.3.10]. The other three are contained within the same grouping in accordance with the Bhūma-nyāya, the same rule that connects all the mantras in TS 4.3.1 with the twenty apasyā bricks, as well as accompanying mantras to the depositing of the fifty prāṇabhṛt bricks [TS 5.2.10] not containing the term *prāṇa* [breath: TS 4.3.2]. As such, this is called the Prāṇabhṛn-nyāya, Chatri-nyāya, or simply the *liṅga-samavāya* [collection of emblems], which in fact comprises the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 1.4.28.

The procedure of constructing the altar up to and including the first layer involves ploughing the ground with six or twelve bullocks, the depositing of sand, gold, and naturally perforated stones (svayamātṛṇṇā) as well as the apasyā bricks mentioned above. One grammatical peculiarity that surrounds the mantra that accompanies the depositing of the bricks is given in the Aṣṭādhyāyī 4.4.125: *tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra iti iṣṭakāsu luk ca matoḥ* ["Following a nominal stem ending in the affix *matUP* and signifying an upadhāna mantra employed to refer to the bricks, (the affix *yaT*: 4.4.75) is substituted and there is elision of *matUP*"].

The second layer of the altar involves the depositing of bricks called aśvinī, ṛtavyā, prāṇabhṛt, vṛṣṭisanī, vayasyā, and the mūrdhanvatī (TS 5.3.1). In the middle or third layer the disyā, prāṇabhṛt, bṛhati, and vālakhilyā bricks are deposited following the deposit of the svayamātṛṇṇā stone. Those bricks deposited in the fourth layer are the akṣṇayāstomīyā, sṛṣṭi, and vyuṣṭi series; and finally in the fifth and top layer the asapatnā, virāj, stomabhāgā, nākasad, codā, vikarṇī, maṇḍalā, viśvajyotis, vṛṣṭisani, saṃyānī, āditya, ghṛta, yaśodā, bhūyaskṛt, agnirūpā, draviṇodā, āyuṣyā, etc., bricks are deposited. *Vide* TS 5.3.2–11. In TS 5.4.1.3 only one scientific principle is operative at the time of the Nakṣatre 'ṣṭakā-vidhi [injunction with reference to the constellation bricks], thus invalidating the Bhūbhramaṇa-vāda.

If one does not obtain "support" (*pratiṣṭhā*), then a sixth optional (*naimittika*) layer should be deposited [TS 5.4.2.2]. The adhipatnī [female ruler] bricks as well as other bricks such as the ṛtavyā [seasonal], have the same function. This Cayana is thus called by the special name of Rudra. The attendant "preparatory actions" (*saṃskāra*) within the Cayana should be performed as a child would suckle the breast (*stanyapāna*). These actions are the Śatarudrīya-homa [TS 4.5; 5.4.3], which are accompanied with the offerings of goat's milk, and the Vasordhārā together with the Camaka mantra, employing ghee, etc. [TS 4.7.1–11; 5.4.8]. The Vasordhārā should be performed *santata* ["continuously," referring to a continuous flow of ghee], i.e., *avicchedа* ["uninterruptedly"]. Furthermore, it is both nitya and kāmya according to Śabara and the Taittirīya Saṃhitā. These and other aspects are discussed by Jaimini in 12.3.21–22.

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III

Prior to the actual performance of the Cayana, it is clearly stated in TS 5.1.9–10 that the Ukhyadhāraṇa [bearing the ukhya, i.e., the fire contained within the ukhā pot, which is borne around the neck of the sacrificer] is introduced one year prior to the performance of the Cayana. Thus, the following passage appearing in TS 5.5.1.6 states:

> *yo vai saṃvatsaram ukhyam abhṛtvā-'gniṃ cinute, yathā sāmi garbho 'vapadyate; tādṛg eva tad ārtim ārchet; vaiśvānaraṃ dvādaśa-kapālaṃ purastān nirvapet.*
>
> ["Who piles the fire (altar) without bearing the ukhya for a year undergoes a miscarriage as surely as a premature fetus. As such, he will incur disaster. If he is unable to bear the ukhya for a year prior (to the year-end) he should offer twelve cakes on potsherds to Vaiśvānara."]

The offering of these cakes to Vaiśvānara is a *naimittika* [occasional] action in the same manner as the Bhedana Homa. This is so stated in the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 4.4.12–13.

It has already been stated that the sixth layer (*citi*) is optional, and is performed if support (*pratiṣṭhā*) is not gained through the five-layered Cayana (*pañca-citika-cayana*). It may be subsidiary (aṅga) to the Cayana if there is a *prayoga-bheda* [a break in performance]; or, in order to acquire the fruit of pratiṣṭhā, it may be an independent rite (*svatantra-karma*). This sixth rite is discussed in the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 4.4.14–18.

IV

We turn now to the place of the citriṇī and mantriṇī [vajriṇī] bricks which are mentioned in *anārabhyādhīti* [disconnected statements]. A question in Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 5.3.17–19 arises with regard to what layer of the altar they are to be deposited in. Because the *viniyoga* statements *citriṇīr upadadhāti* ["He deposits the citriṇī (bricks)"] and *mantriṇīr upadadhāti* ["He deposits the mantriṇī (bricks)"] reveal their subordination (*aṅgatvam*), they are characterized as brāhmaṇavatī bricks on the authority of Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 5.3.19. This sūtra further states that they are to be deposited in the third layer in accordance with the special *vacana* [authoritative statement] *yāṃ vai kāṃ ca na brāhmaṇavatīm*, etc., as cited above.

An additional requirement to this Āgantuka-nyāya [rule of interpolation] is stated in Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 5.3.20, which observes that these bricks are to be deposited on the central layer prior to the depositing of the lokaṃ-

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pṛṇā bricks in order to secure the fruit of the latter [which is nourishment, as stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 8.7.2.6–10]. Their express purpose in the altar is to fill up the spaces (*chidra-pūraṇa*). Thus, only the ritual act (karma) as explained in the text (*pāṭha*) can be performed. This is, therefore, the *apavāda* [exception] to the *utsarga* [general rule] or Āgantuka-nyāya.

V

A question that arises concerning the bricks mentioned in the above *anārabhyādhīta* statements has to do with their subordinance (aṅga); that is, are they subordinate to the citi [layer of the altar] or the Cayana as a whole? This question is answered in the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 5.3.15–16. Sūtra 15 offers the *pūrva-pakṣa* or prima facie view that the Soma cups (*graha*) and the bricks are subordinate to the savana [the extraction of the juice from the Soma plant] and the citi respectively. But the *siddhānta* [conclusion] is that the grahas are in fact subordinate to the ritual (*kratu*) and the bricks to the fire (*agni-śeṣa*), i.e., the Cayana. As a result, there is no threefold repetition or recurrence (*āvṛtti*) of the use of the cups [in the Soma pressings or savana] nor fivefold repetition of the [laying of the] bricks [in each of the five layers] that the *pūrva-pakṣa* view would entail.

VI

The next point of inquiry concerns two related topics: the vows (*vratas*) observed by the sacrificer and the time when they are to be carried out, which is either immediately after the Cayana or at the end of the Soma sacrifice. This latter question is discussed in the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 5.3.26–28 and the former subject of the vows is detailed in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka [1.26.6–7], which reads as follows:

> *varṣati na dhāvet; amṛtaṃ vā āpaḥ; amṛtasyā-'nantarityai. Nā-'psu mūtra-purīṣaṃ kuryāt, na niṣṭhīvet, na vivasanaḥ snāyāt, guhyo vā eṣo 'gniḥ etasyā-'gner anatidāhāyā. Na puṣkara-parṇāni hiraṇyaṃ vā 'dhitiṣṭhet, etasyā-'gner anabhyārohāya. Na kūrmasyā-'śnīyāt; no-'dakasyā-'ghātukāny enam odakāni bhavanti; aghātukā āpaḥ; ya etam agniṃ cinute.*
>
> ["He who builds this fire should not run when it is raining; the waters are truly immortal, and this vow is taken for the acquisition of the immortal (sphere). He should neither urinate nor defecate in water; he should not spit nor bathe unclothed, for this fire is hidden

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(in the waters) and (this vow is undertaken) to prevent excessive scorching of this fire. He should not step over lotus leaves or gold to prevent an increase of this fire. He should not eat a tortoise (for) water does not contain water creatures that are injurious to him; the waters (too are) noninjurious."]

These vows are known as the *agnicid-vratas* [vows for the performer of the Agnicayana, i.e., the builder of the fire altar]. They are considered to be both *naimittika* and *puruṣārtha* ["that in which there is an affection of a man, affection marked by an object that is not separated from it": Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 4.1.2]. Since these rules are vratas not performed in accordance with the definition of puruṣārtha in sūtra 4.1.2, the "*tad utsarge karmāṇi*" nyāya contained in 4.1.3 [*tad-utsarge karmāṇi puruṣā-'rthāya śāstrasyā-'natiśaṅkyatvān na ca dravyaṃ cikīrṣyate tenā-'rthenā-'bhisambandhāt kriyāyāṃ puruṣa-śrutiḥ*. "(There are) actions in which there is no natural prompting (but that are done) on account of the infallibility of the scripture; nor is there any material substance purified, (but) in an action it is connected with the object, (and also) there is a direct signification that it is *puruṣārtha*": Sacred Books of the Hindus, vol. 27: 200] suggests that the *paryudāsas* [prohibitive injunctions] are enjoined by a direct statement (*śruti*) in the same manner as the injunction *ne-'kṣeto-'dyantam ādityam* ["He should not look upon the rising sun": Manusmṛti 4.37] in the *snātaka-vratas* [vows applying to the snātaka or student undergoing ablutions at the finish of his studentship].

Now although the *āhitāgni-vratas* [vows for one who has established the sacred fire = *agnihotrin*] should be followed immediately after the *ādhāna* [setting up of the fire] before the Pavamāna iṣṭi [oblation to Pavamāna], etc., the *agnicid-vratas* are to be carried out only at the end of the Soma sacrifice. This is in accordance with Pāṇini's rule in 3.2.91: *agnau ceḥ* [translated above p. 183]. Thus, we know the time when the Cayana is completed together with its subordinate Soma rite (*aṅgi-soma-yāga*). Furthermore, the term *āhavanīya* (fire) does not appear in the *āhitāgni-vratas*; only *agni* appears therein, i.e., the *adṛṣṭa* [unseen transcendental effect] (*utpatti*) *viśiṣṭa* [specific] fire.

Although it is the practice that a *dakṣiṇā* [sacrificial gift] should be awarded to the priests by the yajamāna "sacrificer," the procedure in the Cayana is for the adhvaryu to give to another brāhmaṇa a sacrificial gift during the laying of a brick [*vara-dakṣiṇā-dāna*, i.e., granting of a wish-fulfilling sacrificial gift]. This is shown in the statement *ya etām iṣṭakām upadadhyāt sa trīn varān dadyāt* ["Whoever should deposit the brick should grant three wishes"]. In this instance, the upadhāna of the brick is performed by the adhvaryu according to the *sāmānā-'dhikaraṇya* ["state of relating to the same object" or "common relationship"], thus necessitating the granting of the three wishes by this priest and not the yajamāna. This is due to the

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force of the statement (*vacana*), and is so discussed in Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 3.8.1–2.

VII

The qualifications of the adhvaryu are varied. For instance, he must have enough proficiency in carpentry to prepare the Soma vessels; he must have enough proficiency in pottery to prepare the six varieties of brick-sizes; he must know how to be a barber; he must know the full Veda together with its meaning, as well as the Śrautasūtras and the rules (*nyāya*) of Jaimini, etc. Furthermore, he must be an active and effective supervisor over the other participating priests.

The priests who participate in the Cayana belong to four groups (*gaṇa*). The adhvaryu-gaṇa follows the Yajurveda with the advaryu as chief priest and the pratiprasthātā, neṣṭā, and unnetā as his assistants. As such, the adhvaryu receives a full share of the sacrificial gift (dakṣiṇā), the pratiprasthātā a half-share (ardhī), the neṣṭā a third share (tṛtīyā), and the unnetā a fourth share (pādī).

The hotṛ-gaṇa recites the Ṛgveda mantras, the chief priest being the hotṛ, his assistants being the maitrāvaruṇa or praśāstā (ardhī), the acchāvāka (tṛtīyā), and the grāvastut (pādī).

The udgātṛ-gaṇa recites the Sāmaveda, of which the chief priest is the udgātṛ and his assistants the prastotā (ardhī), pratihartā (tṛtīyā), and subrahmaṇya (pādī).

The fourth group, the brahma-gaṇa, consists of the brahman priest who oversees the other three groups and their actions in the rites, thus necessitating proficiency of knowledge of the three Vedas [Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur-]. His three assistants are the brāhmaṇācchaṃsī (ardhī), agnīdhra (tṛtīyā), and potā (pādī) [see Sacred Books of the Hindus, vol. 27: 180–182).

Returning to the adhvaryu's duties, there is a *śruti-vākya* [statement in the śruti] that reads *nirmanthyene 'ṣṭakā pacanti*, i.e., all bricks should be burnt by the adhvaryu by means of the churning of the *araṇi* [kindling] wood. This action is performed in the middle of the Cayana-prayoga [performance] and is duly noted in Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 1.4.12.

VIII

We turn now to the type of injunction (vidhi) under which the Cayana is to be included by the Mīmāṃsakas. In the Mīmāṃsā school, injunctions are classified in various ways. One popular classification is the threefold division of *apūrva-, niyama-,* and *parisaṃkhyā-vidhi.*

The *apūrva-vidhi* ["original or new injunction"] denotes an injunction

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that sets down something otherwise unknown or not established by any of six modes of evidence (*pramāṇa*). These six modes of evidence are *pratyakṣa* [perception], *anumāna* [inference], *śabda* (*laukika*) [verbal testimony: worldly or non-Vedic], *upamāna* [comparison], *arthāpatti* [postulation or implication], and *anupalabdhi* [nonapprehension].

The *niyama-vidhi* ["restrictive injunction"] refers to an injunction that lays down one method of action out of several possible alternative actions.

The *parisaṃkhyā-vidhi* ["injunction of limited prohibition or exclusive specification"] refers to an injunction excluding one established alternative by naming or implying the other alternative, which alone is allowed. The established examples of these three vidhis are respectively: *vrīhīn prokṣati* ["He sprinkles the rice": Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 3.2.5.4]; *vrīhīn avahanti* ["He threshes the rice": TB 3.2.5.6]; and *ity ásva-'bhidhānīm ādatte* ["He takes the horse's bridle": TS 5.1.2.1].

The following *cayana-vidhis* [injunctions on the Cayana] indicate that they are *apūrva-vidhis*: *ya evaṃ vidvān agniṃ cinute* [see above, Section I], *iṣṭakābhir agniṃ cinute* [above, Section II], and *athā-'to 'gnim agniṣṭomenā-'nuyajanti, tam ukthena . . .* , [Section I: "Now they subsequently offer the oblations to the fire with the Agniṣṭoma, with the Uktha . . . "].

Besides this threefold division, a fourfold division is also mentioned: *utpatti, viniyoga, prayoga*, and *adhikāra*. The *utpatti-vidhi* [originative injunction] denotes only one ritual action (*karman*); the *viniyoga-vidhi* [applicatory injunction] provides information on the dependent or independent nature of the rite; the *prayoga-vidhi* [injunction of performance] provides the complete description and procedure of the ritual; and the *adhikāra-vidhi* [injunction of qualification] establishes the eligibility of the individual who is to perform the rite. Thus, the first cayana-vidhi cited in the previous paragraph is an utpatti-vidhi [as we stated in Section I], while the other two are viniyoga-vidhis.

A sixfold division of the vidhi also exists: *kevala-karma-mātra-vidhi* [injunction concerning the whole rite], *anyoddeśana-tad-vidhi* [injunction referring to another rite], *upapadārthavidhi* [injunction referring to a subsidiary rite], *āśritya-vidhi* [dependent injunction], *viśiṣṭa-karma-mātra-vidhi* [injunction on only a specific rite], and *anyoddeśana-tādṛśa-vidhi* [injunction referring to another rite similar to it]. The first and third cayana-vidhis are anyoddeśana-tad-vidhis and the second cayana-vidhi is an upapadārtha-vidhi. For a further discussion of these vidhis see *Vidhi-rasāyana, Vidhi-viveka,* [and the *Mīmāṃsā-bālaprakāśa*, pp. 12–41].

IX

A *śruti-vākya* is cited by the Mīmāṃsakas (to Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 4.3.29) that establishes that the Agnicayana possesses a subsidiary rite (aṅga)—the

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Sautrāmaṇī—*agniṃ citvā sautrāmaṇyā yajeta* ["Having piled the fire (altar), he should sacrifice with the Sautrāmaṇī"]. This rite is subsidiary to the Agnicayana in the same manner as the Bṛhaspati-sava is subsidiary to the Vājapeya sacrifice by the following statement: *vājapeyene-'ṣṭvā bṛhaspati-savena yajeta* ["Having offered the Vājapeya, he should sacrifice with the Bṛhaspati-sava"]. Another example of a subsidiary rite is the Soma sacrifice in relation to the Darśá-pūrṇa-māsa rites [full and new-moon sacrifices]: *darśa-pūrṇa-māsābhyām iṣṭvā somena yajeta* ["Having offered the Darśa-pūrṇa-māsa rites, he should sacrifice with the Soma rite"]. In all three examples the *Ktvā*-suffix [the *kṛt* suffix *-tvā* denoting the gerund] indicates not a sequence of time (Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 4.3.30), but rather subordination of one ritual to a principal rite (*aṅgāṅgi-bhāva*: Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 4.3.31). As a result, though the Sautrāmaṇī is subsidiary to the Cayana, it should nonetheless be performed only after the completion of the Soma sacrifice, that is, at a fixed and proper time (*parva-kāla*) [which occurs, incidentally, on the new-and full-moon days one day after the performance of the Agnicayana and the carrying of the ukhā], and not immediately following the Cayana. Similarly, the Bṛhaspati-sava is performed in the spring and not immediately following the Vājapeya, which is performed in the autumn. (Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 4.3.40–41).

X

In Section II, the names and numbers of bricks employed in the construction of the altar were discussed. In this section their qualities (*iṣṭakā-dharma*) will be discussed. The qualities of these bricks are listed according to color, size, and shape; thus, they are *akṛṣṇatva*, of a deep red color containing no residue of black within them; *akhaṇḍitatva*, of full size and not sectioned or in pieces; and *avakratva*, i.e., straight and symmetrical. All these qualities apply to the *anārabhyādhīta* bricks (the citriṇī and vajriṇī bricks) as well as to the *prakaraṇādhīta* [contextual or interdependent] bricks such as the prāṇabhṛts and sṛṣṭis (Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 3.6.35) because both possess the same fruit or result, that being the *cayanāpūrva* or invisible potency produced by the Cayana. Similarly, in other contexts the *doha-dharmas* [qualities of the milking] apply to both the milk and curds, as do the *graha-dharmas* [qualities of the Soma-cups] to both the *aindra-vāyava* and *aṃśv-adābhya* cups. An exception to this are the *paśu-dharmas* [qualities or rules (vidhi) of or concerning the animal victim], which apply only to the *aupavasathya-daikṣā-'gnīṣomīya-paśu* [the animal victim dedicated to Agni and Soma in the Dīkṣā (initiation), which is prepared and killed on the Upavasatha day, i.e., the day preceding the Soma sacrifice] and not to the *savanīya-paśu* [the animal victim slain on the day of the Soma pressing] or the *anubandhya-paśu* [the principal animal victim]. A discussion of the

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above is found in the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra 3.6.18–30, 32–34.

The final point of inquiry is the question of the Agnicayana's subordination to the Soma sacrifices, that is, may the Agnicayana be performed before all or only some of the Soma sacrifices? The answer lies with the former and not the latter opinion.

Among the forty rites (saṃskāras), twenty-one are classified into three categories consisting of seven rites each: the *havir-yajña-saṃsthās* [basic form of the oblation offerings: Agnyādheya, Agnihotra, Darśa-pūrṇa-māsa, Āgrāyaṇa, Cāturmāsya, Nirūḍha-paśu-bandha, and Sautrāmaṇī], the *pāka-yajña-saṃsthās* [basic form of the cooked offerings: Aupasana-homa, Vaiśvadeva, Pārvaṇa, Aṣṭakā, Māsi-śraddha, Sarpabali, and Īśānabali], and the *soma-yajña-saṃsthās* [basic form of the Soma sacrifices: Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśī, Vājapeya, Atirātra, Aptoryāma]. If the last stotra [chant of a certain number of ṛcs or strophes put to melody] is the Agniṣṭoma, then it is called the Agniṣṭoma-saṃsthāka-jyotiṣṭoma ["Jyotiṣṭoma rite containing the basic form of the Agniṣṭoma." This explains the technical term *saṃsthā* as the basic form of a rite determined by the final stotra]. If the last stotra is the Ukthya, it is called Ukthya-saṃsthāka-jyotiṣṭoma; if it is the Ṣoḍaśī-stotra, then the rite is the Ṣoḍaśi-saṃsthāka-jyotiṣṭoma; if the Atirātra-stotra is final, then the rite is the Atirātra-saṃsthāka-stotra. If the Vājapeya-stotra is employed, then the rite is a Vājapeya. If there are two additional Atirātra-stotras at the end of the rite, then it is known as the Aptoryāma-saṃsthā. If the Ṣoḍaśin is added to the Agniṣṭoma, then the rite is called the Atyagniṣṭoma-saṃsthāka-jyotiṣṭoma. These seven saṃsthās each have a dependent Cayana in the same manner as some rites have prayājas [preliminary offerings]. The Cayana also is preliminary to all the Ahīnas [rites lasting from two to twelve days; each terminating with the performance of an Atirātra] as well as the Sattras [ritual session of twelve days or more, usually, however, lasting for a year] such as the Gavāmayana and the Viśvasṛjāmayana. The Agnicayana may be performed as an optional rite whose platform reaches up to knees, navel, or mouth and is composed of one, two, or three thousand bricks, respectively. Before the animal sacrifice (*nirūḍha-paśu-bandha*) one of the five Kṣudra-cayanas is performed and not the Mahā-cayana. Furthermore, the *sādhana-dravya* [material used as the means] consists of not only the bricks, but also the *caru* [a hot liquid oblation prepared with unmashed grain, such as rice or barley, and cooked in water with milk or butter] of rice (*nīvāra*), as well as the tortoise (*kūrma*). This is based upon the [*guṇa-vākyas*] *carum upadadhāti* and *kūrmam upadadhāti*.

/ / śubhaṃ bhavatu / /
/ / śrīmān rāghavendro gururājaḥ prīyatām prasannaḥ / /

[May there be good fortune. May the gracious and venerable Rāghavendra, the prince of gurus, be pleased.]

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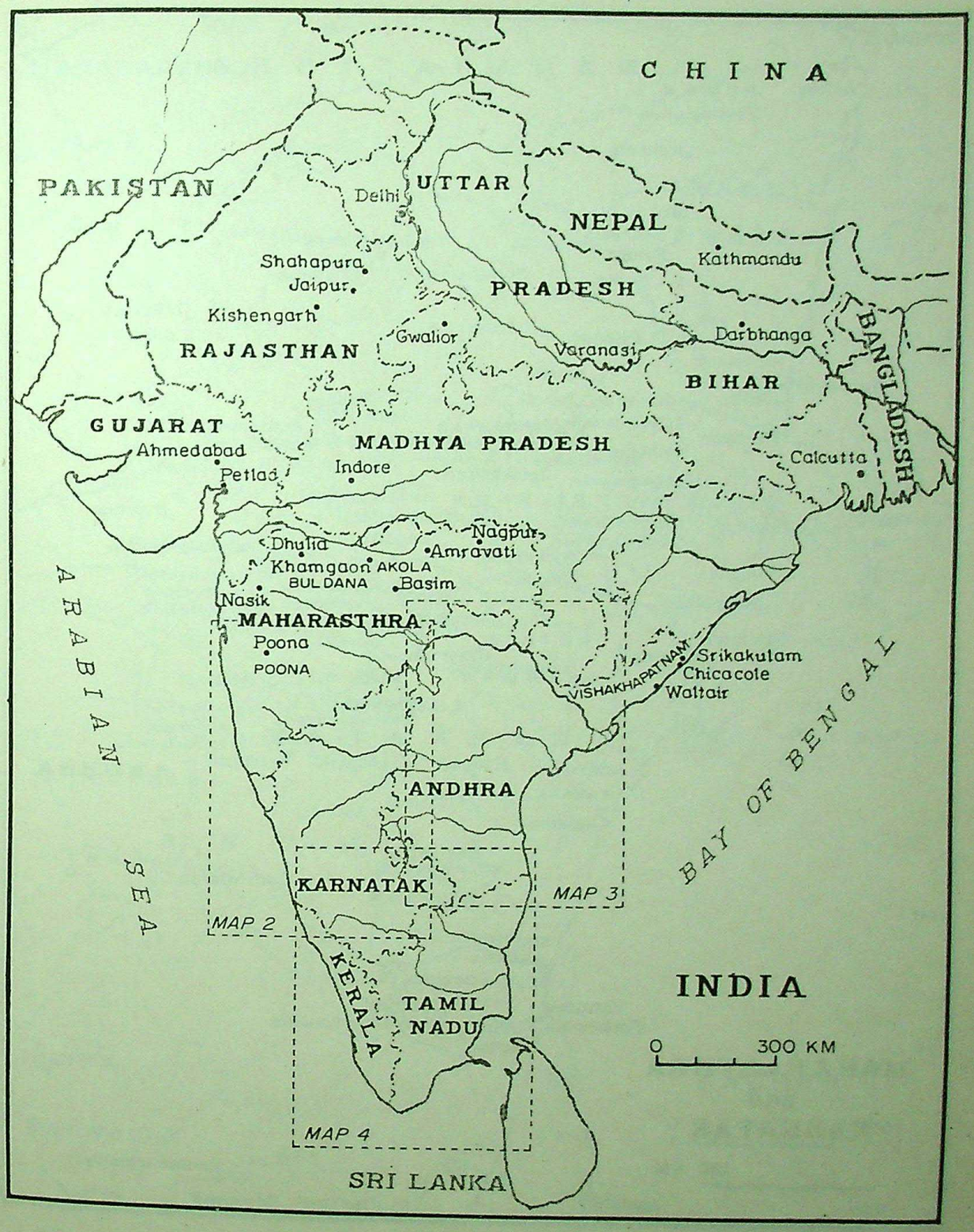

Map 1—Śrauta Traditions: India

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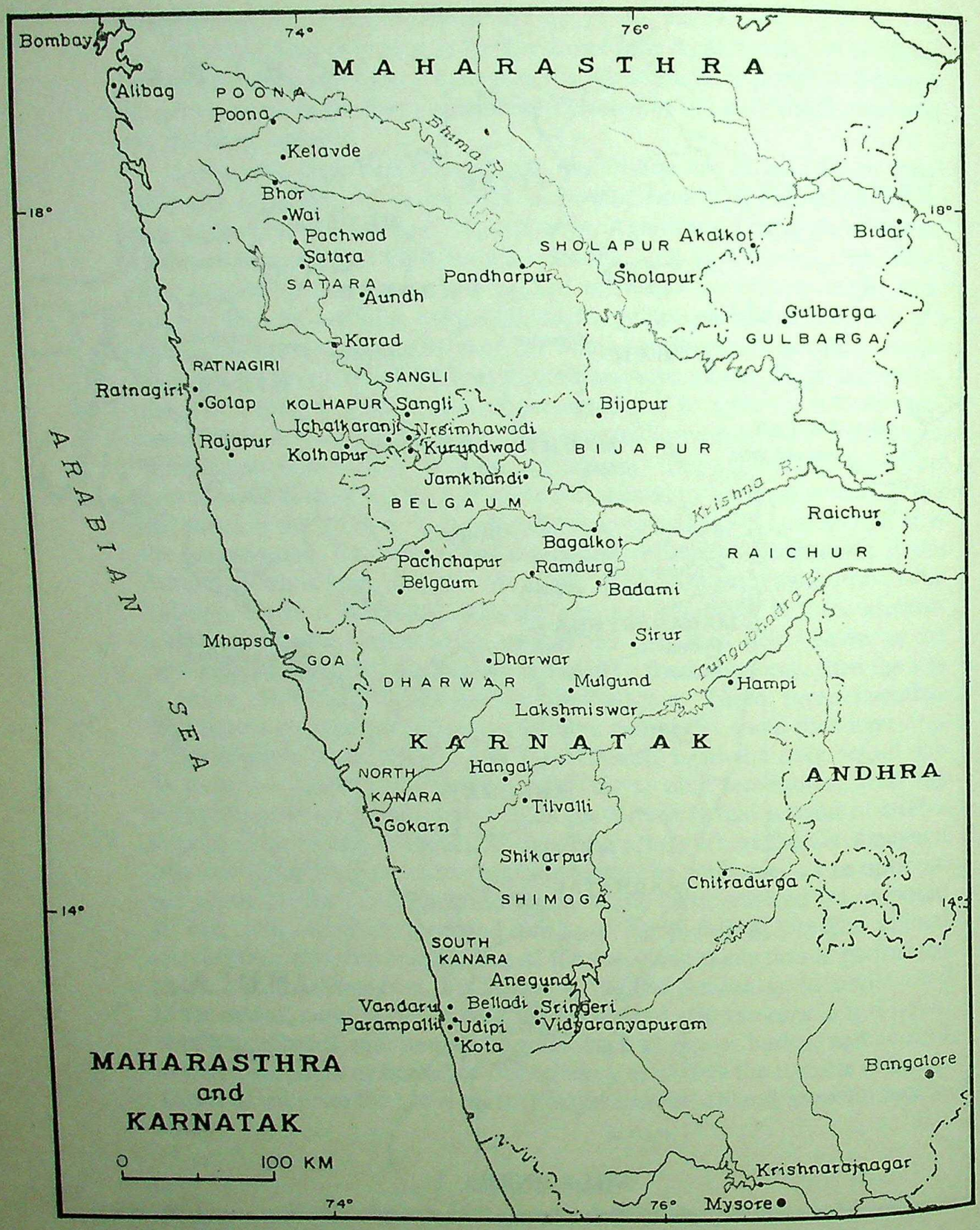

Map 2—Śrauta Traditions: Maharasthra and Karnatak

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Map 3—Śrauta Traditions: Andhra

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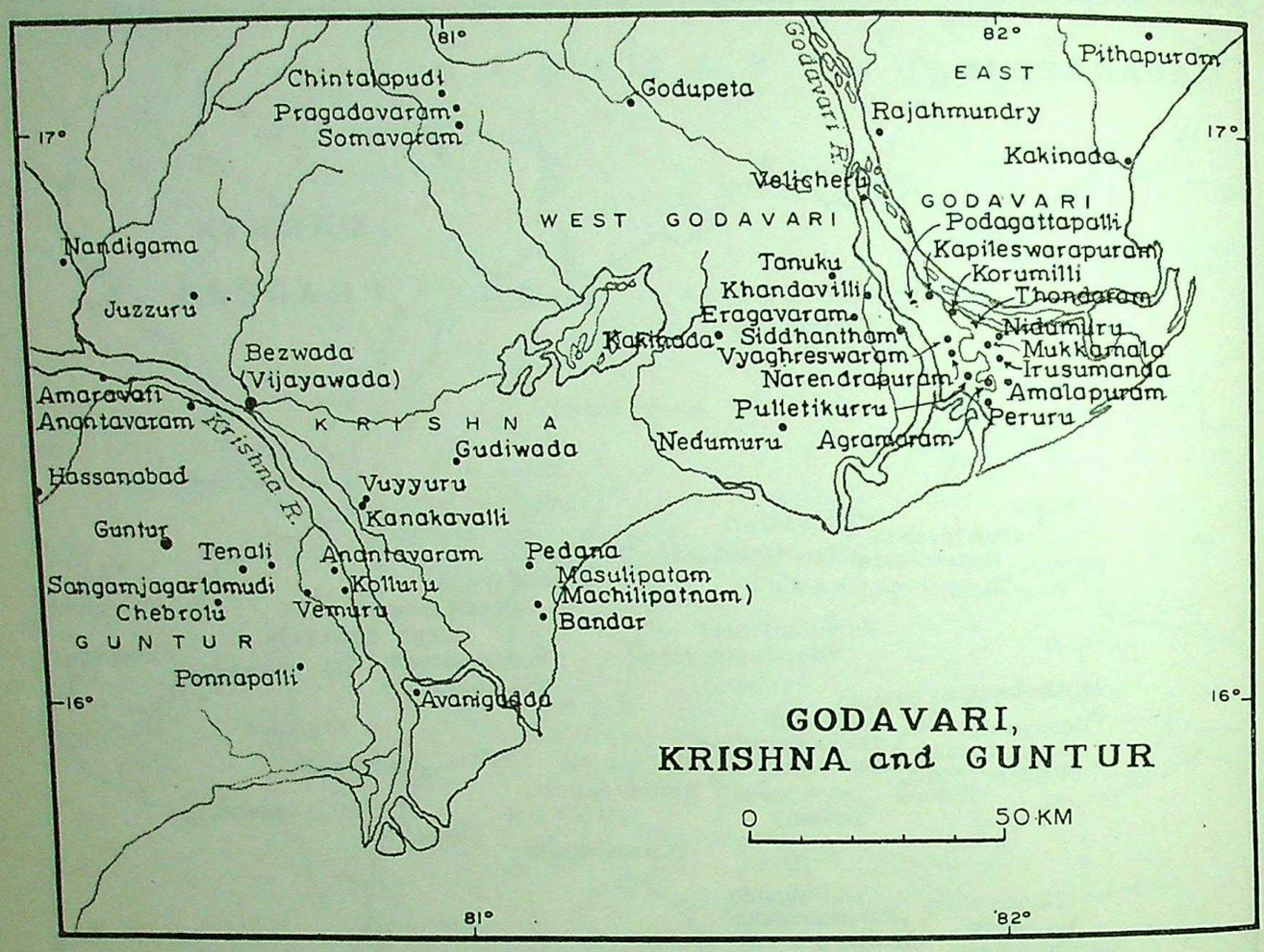

Map 3A—Śrauta Traditions: Godavari, Krishna, and Guntur

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Map 4—Śrauta Traditions: Kerala and Tamil Nadu

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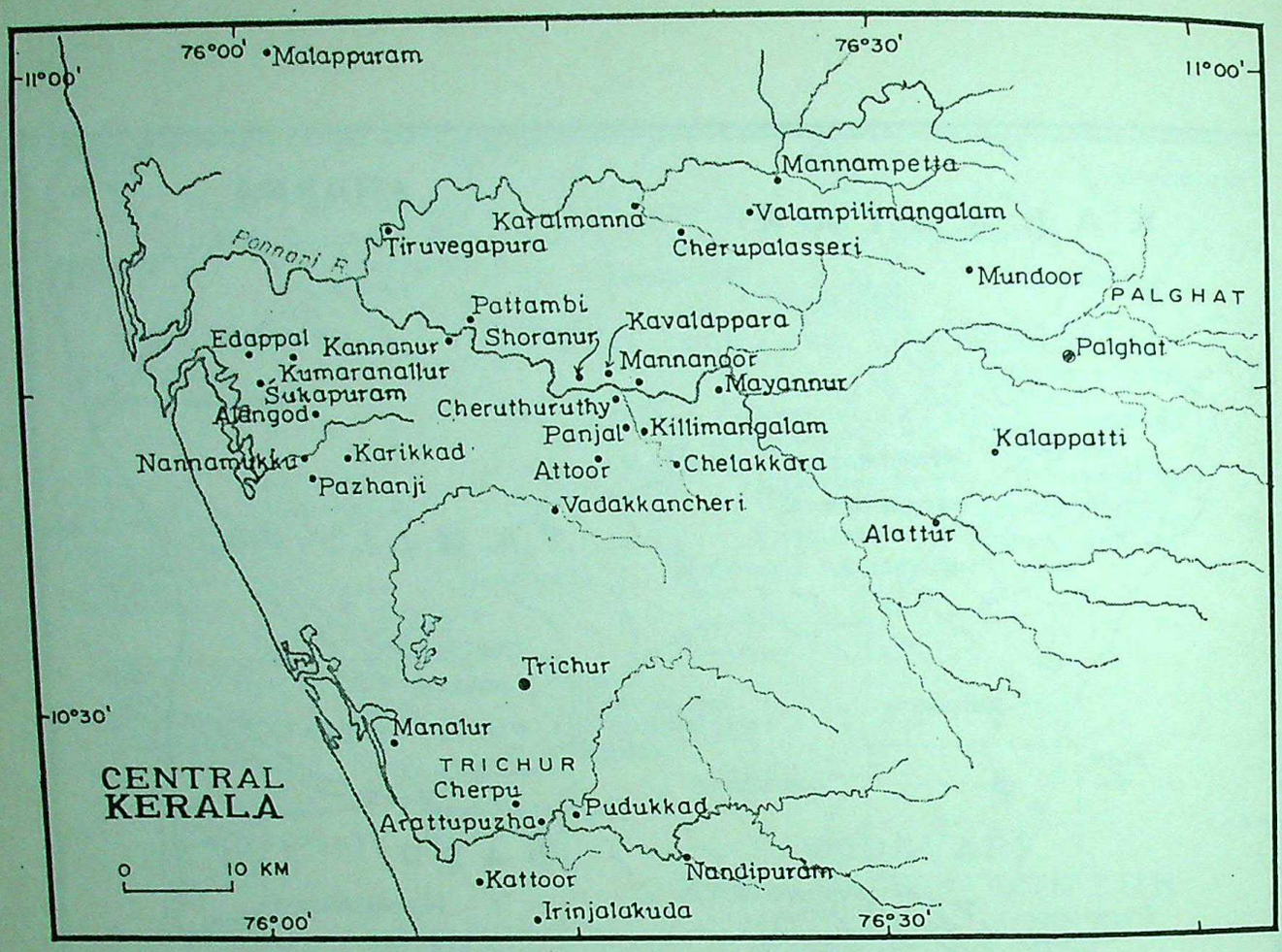
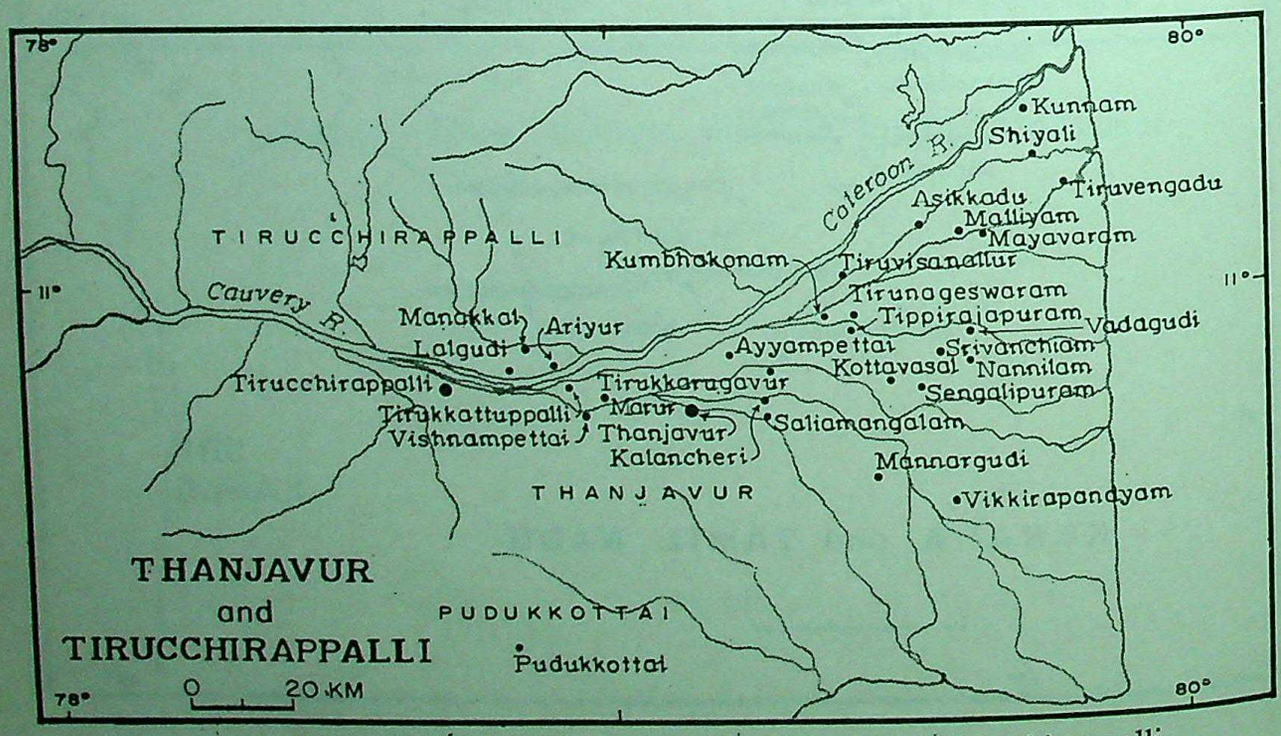


Map 4A—Śrauta Traditions: Central Kerala



Map 4B—Śrauta Traditions: Thanjavur and Tirucchirappalli

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ŚRAUTA TRADITIONS IN RECENT TIMES

C. G. Kashikar and Asko Parpola

THE STUDY OF THE LIVING ŚRAUTA TRADITION IN RETROSPECT

ALTHOUGH BLURRED REFERENCES reached the West considerably earlier, it was not until 1805 that adequate light was shed "on the Vedas or Sacred Writings of the Hindus" by H. T. Colebrooke (cf. Caland 1918).* Although he mentioned most of the śrauta texts, they remained mere names until their scientific study was initiated by Albrecht Weber (1825–1901). Between 1840 and 1865, Weber meticulously worked through the Kāṭhaka and Vājasaneyi Saṃhitās, the Śatapatha, Pañcaviṃśa, Ṣaḍviṃśa, Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas, as well as the śrautasūtras of Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhāyana, and Lāṭyāyana. He had to copy all these texts from manuscripts, since no editions were available, and the only aids to understanding them were the native commentaries accompanying them in the manuscripts. In spite of these difficulties, Weber succeeded in providing the vocabulary of these texts for inclusion in the St. Petersburg Sanskrit dictionary (cf. Weber 1865, pp. 212 ff.). Through his masterly editions comprising some 3,400 quarto pages, he also brought the White Yajurveda within the easy reach of Sanskrit scholars at an early date (1852, 1855, 1859). In 1868 Weber published a systematic and detailed description of the different kinds of śrauta sacrifices, both the havir-yajñas and the soma-saṃsthās, and in 1873 he followed it by a similar paper on the Agnicayana. These pioneering efforts were in due course carried further by Weber himself, Julius Eggeling (1842–1918), Alfred Hillebrandt (1853–1927), Willem Caland (1859–1931) and others.

Because none of the above-mentioned scholars, upon whose philological work so much of our knowledge of the śrauta ritual rests, ever visited India, they could not study the living tradition at first hand. That such a tradition actually existed was brought to notice by Martin Haug (1827–76), who was the first European to witness śrauta performances, in Poona in 1861–62 (cf. his letters to Ewald). In his edition and translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa published in 1863, Haug provided a map of the sacrificial area, including such details as the paths used by the priests and other similar information drawn from direct observation. The work was severely but justly criticized by Weber (1865), who nevertheless also readily acknowledged its merits:

* This research has been partly financed by the Academy of Finland.

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> In spite of its many less positive features, which we shall have to point out in the following, this publication still remains a most significant piece of work, from which one can gather *much instruction and help* and which therefore is to be hailed with gratitude and warm appreciation. Its most important contribution lies in its copious *notes*, in which the author provides general summarizing descriptions of specific rites and procedures, as well as explanations concerning details of the ritual, which he owes either to oral information from the native priests or to direct observation, derived from his personal presence at sacrifices conducted for the sole purpose of informing him. It is not necessary to elucidate at length the importance of this latter circumstance, and how much more valuable is an understanding based on the observation of a concrete performance than an understanding gained only from the instructions of the ritual texts, which are unclear, aphoristic, and often confusing precisely because of their excessive detail. . . . Through Haug's descriptions, much that I had not understood correctly has become clear to me.
>
> (Translated from Weber 1865, pp. 211–213)

The sacrificial implements acquired by Haug were housed at the Royal Ethnographic Museum of Munich and were published by Caland and Henry in 1906 (I, 253–256 and pls. 1–3) together with another collection presented to the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford by R. G. Bhandarkar of Poona and some utensils from Benares procured by W. Crooke. In this connection Caland and Henry refer to the reproductions of "liturgical utensils from India" published by Max Müller as early as 1855 (ZDMG 9, lxxviii ff.), which however are "far from satisfactory." "Implements and Vessels used in Vedic Sacrifice" were also described in 1934 by Raghu Vira, but otherwise, if we exclude the study of Vedic chant and recitation, the present-day śrauta tradition was long neglected.

Almost a century after Haug, the Indian scholars working on the *Śrautakoṣa* or "Encyclopaedia of Vedic Sacrificial Ritual" at the Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala in Poona "felt that the actual performance of some Śrauta sacrifices would greatly facilitate a proper understanding of the many obscure and recondite Śrauta texts on which they had been working. Some minor *iṣṭis* . . . were accordingly performed by the Śrautācārya [Ḍhuṇḍirāja Dīkṣita Bapat] under the auspices of the Maṇḍala. It was, however, soon realised that, in order to obtain a fuller and more comprehensive picture of the Vedic ritual, with all its ramifications, it was necessary to have some major Vedic sacrifice, like the Vājapeya, performed with the cooperation of persons well versed in Śrauta traditions." This quotation is taken from the preface to the brochure brought out by the Vājapeya Performance

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Committee in 1955 on the occasion of this sacrifice. (Cf. also the comments of Renou 1950, pp. 26–33, à propos of an iṣṭi that he witnessed at the Maṇḍala.) Important episodes of the Vājapeya were filmed, and photographs were taken, some of which were later utilized by J.A.B. van Buitenen as illustrations in his book on the Pravargya ceremony (1968). The śrauta traditions and especially their differences from the prescribed ritual have been surveyed in two papers by Kashikar (1958, 1964); (cf. p. 246).

The present project of recording in various ways the Agnicayana performed in Kerala in 1975 undoubtedly represents a culmination to the study of the present-day śrauta tradition. Important work is also being done in Nepal by Michael Witzel (see p. 231).

A CATALOGUE OF ĀHITĀGNIS AND ŚRAUTA SACRIFICES IN RECENT TIMES

There is still much scope for further research into the rapidly dwindling survivals of the śrauta tradition. For example, such research could provide us with accurate explanations of many technical terms that are still but vaguely comprehended by foreign students of the Vedic ritual. One explicit purpose of the present paper is to help future researchers in locating informants. We give below a detailed list of the names and addresses of the present-day āhitāgnis; it can be considered fairly representative, although it by no means pretends to be exhaustive. At the same time our purpose is to record the extent to which the Vedic sacrificial religion has been practiced in recent times. With regard to earlier periods this is impossible due to the nature of our sources: the inscriptions, for example, as a rule make mention only of royal sacrifices (cf. Renou 1965, p. 13). For this reason it has seemed appropriate to include in the list even persons no longer living, as well as to list all the known sacrifices, in each case with such details as happen to be available. An inquiry of this kind on a larger scale is another important task of the future, and will undoubtedly result in corrections and additions, especially in regard to past generations.

The compilation of this pilot list was possible only with the ready help of the following persons who have kindly supplied us the information on which it is chiefly based:

IN ANDHRA PRADESH

1. N. S. Krishna Murthy, M. A., B. L., Advocate; Mulpet, Nellore, A. P. (The information dates from 1958.)
2. Honorary Secretary, Swadharma Swaaraajya Sangha, Kowtha Swaaraajya Vihar; 10 Padmarao Nagar, Secunderabad-25, A. P.
3. T. P. Sree Raman; c/o Panyam Cements and Mineral Indus-

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tries, Ltd., Cementnagar P. O., Kurnool Dt., A. P., 518206. (T. P. Sree Raman kindly communicated to us information supplied by the following three informants.)

4. Madduri Venkateswara Somayajulu; Juzzuru, Nandigama Tq., Krishna Dt., A. P. (135 names, 1975.)
5. Mamilapalli Yagnaramayya, Sāmavedin and Śrautin; Paramanchala P. O., Nandikotkur Tq., Kurnool Dt., A. P. (13 names, 1975.)
6. Yallakanti Narasimha Sarma; Yellakallu, Mahaboobnagar Dt., A. P. (15 names, 1975.)

IN KARNATAK

7. Vedaratna Ganesh A. Khare Sastri; Gokarn, N. Kanara, Karnatak. (The information dates from 1958.)
8. Medha Daksinamurti Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Gokarn, N. Kanara, Karnatak. (1976.)

IN KERALA

9. Erkara Raman Nambudiri; Mukkuthala P. O. via Nannam Mukku, Malappuram Dt., Kerala. (1974.)
10. M. M. Itti Ravi Nambudiri; Panjal P. O. via Cheruthuruthy, Kerala. (1971.)
11. N. M. Neelakandan Akkitiripad; Panjal P. O. via Cheruthuruthy, Kerala. (1971.)

IN NEPAL

12. Dr. Michael Witzel; Nepal Research Center, P.O.B. 180, Kathmandu, Nepal. (1975.)

IN TAMIL NADU

13. Dr. V. R. Lakshmikanta Sarma, Dvivedi; Secretary, Hindumatha Jeevathma Kainkariya Sangham; 14 Kamakshi Josiar Street, Kumbhakonam, Thanjavur Dt., T. N. (67 names, 1972, and the member lists of three sabhāyogas in Kerala.)
14. T. S. Vaidyanathan, B. A., B. L., Advocate; Tirukkarugavur via Kumbhakonam, Thanjavur Dt., Tamil Nadu. (1958.)

IN UTTAR PRADESH

15. Viśvanāth Vāman Dev, Vidyāvāridhi (see below, no. 550);

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K. 23/118, Dūdhvināyak, 221 001 Vārāṇasī-1, U. P. In addition to private information from Śrī Viśvanāth Vāman Dev dating from 1977 and earlier, we have been able to consult his article "Kāśī kī śraut yāg paramparā" in the May 8, 1966, issue of the Hindi newspaper *Āj*, published in Varanasi. The list of "about ten localities in the city [of Varanasi] where yajnas have been performed during the last hundred years or a little more" that is included in Kuber Nath Sukul's book *Varanasi Down the Ages* (Patna 1974), pp. 327–328, is clearly based on that article, so, practically speaking, we owe all our information on the Vedic traditions of Varanasi to Viśvanāth Vāman Dev. (1957.) Much of the material from Viśvanāth Vāman Dev was kindly put at our disposal by Dr. Wayne Howard (see the bio-bibliographical note on the contributors to this volume).

OUTSIDE INDIA

16. Dr. Rām Somayajulu; c/o Thermodynamics Research Center, Texas A & M University, College Station, Texas 77843 USA. In 1977 he gave us details concerning his ancestors and their yāgas (see nos. 37–41).

The materials in the catalogue have been arranged in alphabetical order by regions, and by larger to smaller units (state, district, town or taluq, and village) within the main regions. Names are in alphabetical order under each geographic unit. The village is entered in the appropriate place under the district if its taluq or neighboring town is not known. An attempt has been made to trace the localities, and *a following asterisk* denotes that the geographical name can be found on the accompanying maps. The following facts, if available, have been recorded for the āhitāgnis (and sometimes even for other persons intimately connected with the śrauta tradition): his name, given as fully as possible; his Veda/śākhā; his qualifications, especially with regard to recitation and śrauta ritual; whether or not he is living; his sacrifices and their time and place (mentioned separately, if different from that of the yajamāna's residence); the informant (referred to by the numbers in the list above); the date of the information; and occasional notes on other matters of interest.

In the case of each state (Goa, though a separate state, is for practical reasons included in Maharashtra), a short introductory summary is prefixed. Without attempting to be exhaustive, we have in this context also cited epigraphic and other material illustrative of the earlier local śrauta tradition. The accompanying maps have been drawn by Adrienne Morgan, who has also assisted us and the Editor with the identification of localities.

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ANDHRA PRADESH

We have records for 200 āhitāgnis in Andhra Pradesh in recent times. As a rule, they have performed at least the Agniṣṭoma (obtaining thereby the title of Somayaji or, in Telugu, Somayajulu), and often also the Agnicayana (the respective title is spelled either Chayanulu or Chainulu; the title Deekshitulu seems to be used neutrally for both a Somayajulu and a Chayanulu). About fifty are still alive, among them Rentachintala Venkatachala Yajulu (no. 150), who with his twenty sacrifices (see the list for details) holds the foremost position among all śrauta sacrificers of present-day India. That the Andhra tradition is very old and vigorous may also be seen from a letter (dated November 20, 1976), that we received just as we were writing these lines, from one of our chief informants, Mudduri Venkateswara Somayajulu (no. 124): "I come from a family of great Vedic scholars. Generation after generation members of our family have performed Vedic sacrifices. This tradition has continued. Myself and two of my brothers have also performed soma yagam. Now I proposed to perform POUNDAREEKA KRATU . . . ," i.e., a great Soma feast with eleven pressing days (cf., e.g., ĀpŚS 22.24.8–12).

Most of the Andhra āhitāgnis belong to the Āpastamba school; several of these (fifteen have been specified in our list) have studied the Taittirīya Veda in Ghanapāṭha and many (twenty-five in our list) know it in Kramapāṭha; in addition, we have records of at least nine men (nos. 22, 31, 32, 45, 62, 76, 167, 200, 203) who are proficient in all the priestly capacities of a Soma sacrifice (ādhvaryava, hautra, and audgātra). Usually there is a coordination of the Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, and Kauthuma or Drāhyayaṇa schools in the Soma rituals of Andhra Pradesh.

Even in the past this state stands out as a stronghold of the śrauta tradition, as is borne out by the numerous epigraphic references. In the first century B.C., Khāravela (who was a Jaina!) is recorded to have performed the Rājasūya in Kaliṅga (i.e., Orissa and Northern Andhra) (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, 79). According to P.V. Kane (1941, II, 2: 1238 ff., citing *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, V, 60 ff.), "In the very ancient Nanaghat inscription an Āndhra king is described as having performed the rājasūya, two aśvamedhas, gargatrirātra, gavām ayana and aṅgirasām ayana." About 350 AD, the Śālaṅkāyana king Vijayadevavarma, whose capital was at Vengi in Andhra, performed an Aśvamedha (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, 56). In the sixth century the Viṣṇukundin king Mādhavavarman II of the Andhra country performed eleven Aśvamedhas, a Vājapeya and one thousand Agniṣṭomas (Kane 1941, II, 2: 70 ff. and Vājapeya 1955, 51, citing *Ep. Ind.*, IV, 196; XII, 134; XVII, 336, and *IHQ*, IX, 274, 278). In the eighth century a Niṣāda king Pṛthivīvyāghra is said to have been defeated while his aśvamedha horse was roaming about; according to Sircar (in Majumdar and Pusalker, eds., 1954, III, 254) he seems to have occupied the southern part

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of the Eastern Cālukya dominions, around the northern fringe of the Nellore district (for this inscription, cf. also Kane 1941, II, 2: 1238 citing *I.A.*, VIII, 273, 278).

Cuddapah*

Gudipadu*

1. Seshadri Somayajulu. Somayāga. (6/1975.)
2. Venkatrama Somayajulu. Somayāga. (6/1975.)

East Godavari*

Amalāpuram*

3. Nukala Subramanya Somayajulu, deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
4. Oruganti Agasthya Somayajulu, deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
5. Oruganti Narasimha Deekshitulu, deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
6. Oruganti Venkata Deekshitulu, deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
7. Upadhyajulu (? for Upadyula) Gopalakrishna Chainulu, ghanapāṭhī; living. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
8. Upadhyajulu Kaseepati Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
9. Upadhyajulu Laxminarasimha Somayaji. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th century). (1/1958.)
10. Upadhyajulu Polappa Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
11. Upadhyajulu Seetarama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
12. Vupathayula Somayajulu. Probably identical with one of nos. 7–14; cf. no. 7. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (1/1958.)

Amalāpuram*: Bhoopayya Agraharam

13. Upadhyajulu S(h) eshadri Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (4 + /1975.)
14. Upadhyajulu Yagnanarayana Somayaji. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (1/1958.)

Analāpuram*: Mukkamala

15. Bhamidipati Achutarama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
16. Bhamidipati Chitti Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
17. Bhamidipati Sheshadri Somayaji, Taittirīya, ghanapāṭhī. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (1/1958.)
18. Bhamidipati Simhadri Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
19. Bhamidipati Subramanya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
20. Bhamidipati Yag(ga)narayana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

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21. Kompalla Lakshmi Narasimha Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Amalāpuram*: Nedumuru

22. Srilanka Venkatarama Somayaji, Taittirīya, ghanapāṭhī, expert in ādhvaryava, hautra and audgātra, paṇḍit. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (2/1976.)

Amalāpuram*: Perūru

23. Ganti Abbaji Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
24. Ganti Somasekhara Somayajulu; living. Agnicayana [*sic*; cf. his title]. (4/1975.)
25. Ganti (Ghantī) Suryanarayana Chainulu, ghanapāṭhī; deceased. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.), Agnicayana. (4 + /1975.)
26. Nukala Ba(p)panna Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī, expert in Ādhvaryava; living. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)

Iragavaram

27. Pisipati Venkatappiah Guru. (2/1976.)

Irusumanda*

28. Chebrolu Papayya Chayanulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Kakinada*

29. Bulusu Bhadradri Chayanulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Kapileshwarapuram*

30. Duvvuri Suryaprakasha Chayanulu. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (early 20th cent.). (1/1958.)

Korumilli* (Karumilli given for nos. 32, 34, 35; v.1. Kurumilli for 32.)

31. Bhamidipati Mit(h)ranarayana Yajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī, expert in ādhvaryava, hautra, and audgātra; living. Agniṣṭoma, Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma, Sarvatomukha, Pauṇḍarīkam. (4 + /1975.)
32. Bhamidipati S(h)eshadri Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī, expert in ādhvaryava, hautra, and audgātra; living. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (4+/1975.)
33. Bhamidipati Yag(ga)narayana Somayajulu, kramapāṭhī; living. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
34. Duvvuri Sarveswara Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
35. Duvvuri Suryanarayana Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Narendrapuram*

36. Pulyala Somayajulu; living. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Pīṭhapuram* (the town has its name from the pīṭha of Puruhūtikā Śakti; in the Purāṇas Pīṭhapuram is called Dakṣiṇa-Kāśi and Pāda-Gayā). The following family of Sāmavedins and Śaivite advaitins, according to their family tradition, originally hail from a town called Gollakota.

37. Rāma Somayājulu (1660–1730), somāyaga (1/1958); father of
38. Sarveśvara Somayājulu (1700–1780), somayāga; father of

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39. Subrahmaṇya Somayājulu (1730–1800), somayāga; father of
40. Sundara Rāma Deekshitulu (1760–1840), āhitāgni; father of
41. Subrahmaṇya Deekshitulu (1800–1900), āhitāgni; father of Vēṅkaṭ Rāmayya (1880–1958), teacher of chemistry; father of Rāma Somayājulu (1928–), doctor of chemistry, who according to the traditional belief represents his ancestor Rāma Somayājulu (no. 37), "Since a person who performs Somayaaga is not born for seven generations." Father of Rām Gopal (1962–), Dr. Somayājulu performs the Prāṇāgnihotra. (16/1977)

Podagattapalli*

42. Ramilla Bapanna Avadhanulu Dikshitulu.

Pulletikurru*: Vakkalanka: Srirama(puram) Agraharam

43. Bhamidipati Yagneswara Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (4 + /1975.)
44. B(h)ulusu Vyaghreswara Chayanulu, Taittiriya, kramapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.); Agnicayana. (4 +/1975.)
45. Duvvuri (v.1. Davuri) Yagneswara (Poundareeka-)Yajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī, expert in ādhvaryava, hautra, and audgātra; living. Agniṣṭoma; Vyūḍha Pauṇḍarīka (early 20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)

Pulletikurru*: Vyaghreswaram

46. Bulusu Anantharama Chayanulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
47. Bhulusu Kamaleswara Somayajulu, kramapāṭhī; living. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
48. Bulusu Kameswara Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)
49. Bulusu Linganna Somayajulu; living. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
50. Bulusu Rama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
51. Pulleola Laxminarayana Somayaji. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (2/1976.)

Rajahmundry (Rājamahendravaram)*

52. (Rajahmundry?) Vishvanathulu Somayajulu. Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.) (2/1976.)

Tondaram*

53. Kuchibotla Subramanya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Velicheru*

54. Emani (v.1. Lemeni) Ramachandra Somayajulu; living. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (4 + /1975.)

Exact place not given

55. Lanka Venkateswara Somayajulu, ghanapāṭhī; living. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

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Guntur*

Anantavaram*

56. Kunapati Suryanarayana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Arupalli

57. Ponnapalli Dakshinamurthy Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Bellamko(n)da*: Cwotapapayapalem

58. Sanndinam Seetharama Diksitulu. (2/1976.)

Guntur*

59. Dendukuri Hanuma(n)th Deekshitulu, ghanapāṭhī; living. (4/1975).
60. Dendukuri Hanumanth Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
61. Dendukuri Venkata Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
62. Dendukuri Yagnanarayana Somayaji, ghanapāṭhī, expert in ādhvaryava, hautra and audgātra. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (2/1976.)
63. Dhulipala Ayodhyarama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
64. Dhulipala Srirama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
65. Ponnada Ramakoti Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Gurajāla (Gurazāla, Guruzāla)*

66. Kasamajhala Adinarayana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Hassanabad

67. Chintalapati Srirama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Kollūru*

68. Kuppa Venkatappa Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
69. Mangipudi Subramanya Sastry, expert in hautra. (1/1958.)
70. Vempati Subrahmanya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Narasaraopet*

71. Chintalapati Siddhanti Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Ponnapalli*

72. Rampalli Bhadrayya Deekshitulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
73. Rampalli Kama Deekshitulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Saipalle

74. Hotha Venkatarama Somayaji. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (2/1976.)

Tenāli*

75. Vishnubotla Laxmipati Somayajulu. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (1/1958.)

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Tenāli-2*: Marispeta

76. Dendukuri Venkatappa Yag(na)narayana Yajulu, ghanapāṭhī, expert in ādhvaryava, hautra and audgātra; living. Agniṣṭoma; Vyūḍha Pauṇḍarīka (early 20th cent.) (4 + /1975.)

Tenāli*: Patha

77. Bhagavathula Anjaneya Somayaji. (2/1976.)

Tenāli*: Ramalingeswarapet

78. Vishnub(h)otla Adinarayana Chainulu, Taittirīya, ghanapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (early 20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)

79. Vishnubotla Bheema Sankara (v.l. Bhimashankar) Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (4 + /1975.)

80. Vishnubotla Ramachandra Deeksitulu, Taittirīya, ghanapāṭhī. (2/1976.)

Tenāli*: (Saṅgam) jāgarlamūḍi*

81. Avvari (v.l. Auvari) Sreerama Chayanulu, kramapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma; Bṛhaspatisava (Hyderabad, early 20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)

Vemuru*

82. Chivukula Venkataramana Deeksitulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Hyderabad*

Ibrahimpatnam*: Nandi Vanaparthi P.O.

83. Nandi Vanaparthi Seetharama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (6/1975.)

New Nallakunta*

84. Yanamandra Yagneswara Somayaji. Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.) (2/1976.)

Secunderabad*

85. Yenamandra Yag(ga)narayana Somayajulu, kramapāṭhī; living. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Secunderabad*: Malkajagiri

86. Malladi Veera Raghava Somayajulu; living. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Secunderabad*: Padmaraonagar: Chilkalguda

87. Dendukuri Agnihotra Somayajulu, Taittirīya, ghanapāṭhī, expert in ādhvaryava; living. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)

Vikarabad*: Patluru (Potluru?)

88. Narahari Chayanayaji. Sarvatomukha (1928). (1/1958.)

89. Patluri Maṇikya Diksita. Agniṣṭoma (1960). (= no. 91?) (2/1976).

90. Yajnesvara Somayaji. (1/1958.)

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Karimnagar*

Karimnagar*

91. Potluri Manikya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (= 89?) (4/1975.)

Khammam*

Nela Kondapalli*

92. Hari Yag(ga)narayana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
93. Kavuru Anantarama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
94. Pandyala Bhageeratha Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
95. Pandyala Vasudeva Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
96. Pandyala Viswanadha Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
97. Pandyala Yag(ga)narayana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Venusore

98. Kalakodimi Satyanarayana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Krishna*

Avanigadda*

99. Chitti Subramanya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Bandar*

100. Renduchintala Subramanya Chayanulu. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (20th cent.). (2/1976.)

Gudiwada: Sayapuram*

101. Chilukuri Ramakrishna Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
102. Kappagantu Janakirama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
103. Kappagantu Subramanya Chayanulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
104. Kappagantu Yagna Venkata Chayanulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī, expert in ādhvaryava. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (20th cent.) (2/1976.)
105. Kappagantula Yag(ga)narayana Chainulu, kramapāṭhī; living. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Jaggayyapet(a)*

106. Amaravadi Mrutyunjaya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
107. Amaravadi Subrahmanya Deekshitulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

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108. Amaravadi Vasudeva Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
109. Amaravadi Yag(ga)narayana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
110. Challa Chayanulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
111. Kappagantula Lakshmipati Chainulu; living. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Machilipatnam*

112. Rentachintala Yagganarayana Chainulu, kramapāṭhī, living. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Machilipatnam*: Godupeta

113. Yadavalli Kameswara Somayajulu; living. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Masulipatam*

114. Cheruvu Anjaneya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
115. Cheruvu Lakshminarayana Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
116. Cheruvu Venkataratna Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/(1975.)
117. Jonnalagadda Jogi Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
118. Rentachintala Subramanya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Nandigāma (Nandigrāma)*

119. Yadavalli Kama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
120. Yadavalli Rama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Nandigāma*: Juzzuru* (Jujjuru)

121. Madduri Rajeswara Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī, expert in śrauta, has participated in many yajñas; living (brother of nos. 122 and 124). Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)
122. Madduri Suryanarayana Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī; living (brother of nos. 121 and 124). Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)
123. Madduri Venkata Subrahmanya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
124. Madduri Venkateswara Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī, expert in śrauta, has participated in many yajñas and functioned as the adhvaryu in an Agnicayana; living (brother of nos. 121 and 122, our informant no. 4). Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.); intends to perform Pauṇḍarīka. (4 + /1976.)
125. Madduri Yag(ga)narayana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
126. Vindamuri Rama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Pedana*

127. Yadavalli Subrahmanya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

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Vijayawada (Vijayavāḍa, Bezwada)*

128. Channavajhala Purnanda Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
129. Channavajhala Suryanarayana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
130. Channavajhala Vasudeva Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
131. Dendukuri Venkatasubramanya Somayaji, Taittirīya, ghanapāṭhī, paṇḍit (= no. 144?). Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.). (2/1976.)
132. Ganti Mahapatrani Visweswara Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
133. Kapalavayi (Kapilavayi?) Srirama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
134. Kappagantula Laxminarasimha Yajulu. (1/1958.)
135. Kottapalli Lakshminarasimha Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
136. Kottapalli Venkata Krishna Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)
137. Rani Pratapa Chayanulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)
138. Vempati Rama Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
139. Vishnubotla Anjaneya Chainulu, kramapāṭhī; living. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
140. Vishnubotla Jagannadha Deekshitulu; living. (= no. 151 ?) Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
141. Vishnubotla Jagannadha Somayajulu; deceased. (= no. 151?) Somayāga. (4/1975.)
142. Vishnubhotla Venkatanarayana Yajulu; deceased. Sarvatomukha. (4/1975.)
143. Vishnubotla Venkateswara Deekshitulu; living. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Vijayawaḍa*: Buckinghampet

144. Dendukurī Subramanya Somayajulu, ghanapāṭhī; living. (=131 or 203?) Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Vijayawada*: Governorpet

145. Malladi Ramakrishna Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
146. Tangirala Anjaneya Yajulu; deceased. Panuṇḍarīka. (4/1975.)

Vijayawada*: Krishnalanka Agraharam

147. Dendukuri Venkatesvara Dikshitulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī. (2/1976.)
148. Kottapalli (v.1. Kothapalli) Venkateswara (Poundareeka-)Yajulu; living. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Pauṇḍarīka (20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)

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149. Kunapuli Harichandra Somayaji. (2/1976.)
150. Rentachintala (v.l. Renduchintala) Venkatachala Yajulu, Āpastambasūtra; living. Bahuyājī: has performed twenty śrauta sacrifices, which is the maximum number anybody has performed in recent times. These include several Saumika Cāturmāsyas, Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ṣoḍaśī, Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma, Kuru-vājapeya, Bṛhaspatisava with Kāṭhakacayana, Sarvatomukha, Āpta-vājapeya (Gangalakarru, 1945), Vyūḍha Pauṇḍarīka with Dvisāhasracayana (1944), Samūḍha Pauṇḍarīka (Marripudi, Nellore, 1953) and Vyūḍha Pauṇḍarīka with Triṣāhasracayana (Kallur, Guntur, 1954). (4 + /1975.)
151. Vishnubotla Jagannadha Somayaji. (= 140 or 141?) Taittirīya, ghanapāṭhī. Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.). (2/1976.)

Vijayawada-3*: Purnanandampet (Poornanandapeth) P.O.

152. Ganti Suryanarayana Chainulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (20th cent.). (4 + 6 + /1975.)
153. Ganti Venkateswara Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (6/1975.)
154. Pamidimarri Lakshmana (Sastry) Somayajulu; living. Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.). (4 + /1975.)
155. Pamidimarri Purnanda Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Vijayawada*: Satyanarayanapuram

156. Kottapalli Deekshitulu Chainulu, kramapāṭhī; living. (= 157?) Agnicayana. (4/1975.)
157. Kothapalli Subramanya Chayanulu. (= 156?) Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (20th cent.). (2/1976.)

Vuyyuru*

158. Cheruvu Anantarama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Vuyyuru*: Kanakavalli

159. Kapilavayi Yagneswara Sastri. (1/1958.)

Kurnool*

Buggarameshwar

160. N. N. Vājapeya (Bugga Rameshwar, 1935). (Cf. Vājapeya 1955: 51.)

Churukucherla*

161. Patangi Sesha Somayajulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma. (5/1975.)
162. Soora Somayajulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma. (5/1975.)
163. Viruvinti Chandrasekhara Powndareeka Sarvathomukha Yajulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma; Sarvatomukha; Pauṇḍarīka: Bṛhaspati-savana (*sic*); Diva(ḥ)śyena-iṣṭi; Nakṣatra-iṣṭi. (5/1975.)

Nandikotkur*: Kurukunda*

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164. Pratapagiri Lakshmi Narasimha Somayajulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma. (5/1975.)
165. Viruvinti Chenna Krishna Poundareeka Yajulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma; Pauṇḍarīka; Pañcakarakas (= ?). (5/1975.)
166. Viruvinti Subramanya Sarvatomukha Yajulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma; Sarvatomukha; Āruṇaketuka. (5/1975.)

Nandikotkur*: Miditūru (Midutūru)*

167. Patri Venkata Subramanya Sagnichit Chayanulu, with the title Śrauta-smārta-nidhi, expert in ādhvaryavam, hautram, and audgātram up to aptoryāma; deceased. Agniṣṭoma; Mahāgnicayana; Bṛhaspatisavana (*sic*); Sauṭrāmaṇī; etc. (5/1975.)

Nandikotkur*: Pārumanchala*

168. Mamilapalli Bangaru Somayajulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma; Atirātra-yāga. (5/1975.)
169. Mamil(l)apalli Yagnaramayya, Sāmavedin, expert in śrauta (possessing manuscripts on many aspects of the Vedic sacrifices), has performed the audgātra in Mahāgnicayana and other sacrifices; living (our informant no. 5). (5/1975.)

Nandikotkur*: Vanala

170. Venkatrama Somayajulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma. (5/1975.)

Siruvella*: Veravalli

171. Subramanya Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (6/1975.)

Velugodu*

172. Gangavajhula Rameswara Somayajulu; deceased. Has together with his brother written a book entitled *Saprayoga-pūrta-candrikā*. Atyagniṣṭoma. (5/1975.)
173. Kristipati Kodandarama Poundareeka Yajulu, expert in sāmagāna; deceased. Agniṣṭoma; Pauṇḍarīka. (5/1975.)
174. Kistipadu Lakshmi Narasimha Sagnichit Vajapeya Yajulu, with the title *sāmagāyana-sārvabhauma*, expert in sāmagāna; deceased. Agniṣṭoma, Mahāgnicayana; Vājapeya; Bṛhaspati-savana (*sic*). (5/1975.)
175. Kistipadu Ramachandra Somayajulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma. (5/1975.)

Mahabūbnagar*

Achampet: Balumuru P.O.

176. Balumuru Varada Deekshitulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma. (6/1975.)

Kalvakurthi*: Raghupathipet P. O.

177. Surubhirama Deekshitulu. Somayāga. (6/1975.)

Kalvakurthi*: Vemula

178. Vemula Yagna Somayajulu, expert in Ṛgveda; deceased. Agniṣṭoma. (6/1975.)

Mahabūbnagar*

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179. Gangapuram Narahari Deekshitulu; living. Somayāga. (6/1975.)

Marchala P. O.

180. Marchala Ramacharyulu; living. Agniṣṭoma. (6/1975.)

Nagar Kurnool*

181. Medipuru Narasimha Deekshitulu; deceased. (His father had performed Agnicayana.) Somayāga; Caturmāsya. (6/1975.)

Nagar Kurnool*: Polumuru P. O.

182. Pullayya Chayanulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (6/1975.)

Nagar Kurnool*: Taduru P. O.

183. Taduru Sesha Deekshitulu; deceased. Agniṣṭoma; Pauṇḍarīka. (6/1975.)

Palamūru P. O.

184. Palamooru Munikonda Venkayya Deekshitulu; deceased. Somayāga. (6/1975.)

Nellore*

Nellore*

185. Aramittala Seetarama Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

186. Gollapudi Lakshmana Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

187. K. Subramanya Somayajulu. Agniṣṭoma (Allur, Nellore, 1953). (1/1958.)

Srikakulam*

Seela

188. Arya Somayajulu Subramanya Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Śrīkākulam (Chicacole)*

189. Ganti Narasimha Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Vishakhapatnam

Waltair

190. Ganti Jogi Somayaji, born in 1901 in Andhra Pradesh. (Retired professor of Telugu in the Andhra University at Waltair. Included here as an example of a brahmin name which indicates that his ancestors performed sacrifices.)

Warangal*

Illinda

191. Illinda Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

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West Godavari*

Chintalapudi

192. Channavajhala Subramanya Chainulu; deceased. Agnicayana. (4/1975.)

Chintalapudi: Pragadavaram

193. Kottapalli (v.l. Kothapalli) Lakshminarayana Chayanulu, kramapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma, Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma. (4 + /1975)

194. Kothapalli Yagneswara Somayaji. Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.). (2/1976.)

Chintalapudi: Somavaram

195. Turuluri Brahmananda Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Eragavaram

196. Vishnubotla Hanumad Dikshitulu. (2/1976.)

Khandavalli*

197. Peesapati Venkappa Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)*

198. Peesapati Venkataratna Somayajulu; deceased. Somayāga. (4/1975.)

Sidd(h)āntam*

199. Chivukula (v.l. Cheruvu) Sivarama Somayajulu, Taittirīya, kramapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma. (4 + /1975.)

Tanuku*

200. Gandikota Gurumurthy Sastry, expert in ādhvaryava, hautra and audgātra. (1/1958.)

District uncertain

Alandi (= Aland in Gulbarga Dt., Mysore State?)

201. Keshava Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (Hyderabad, early 20th cent.). (1/1958.)

202. Sivappa Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (Hyderabad, early 20th cent.); Vājapeya (Vinavanta, Warangal, 1945). (Cf. Vājapeya 1955:51.)

Kothapeta

203. Dendukurī Subramanya Dikshitulu, expert in ādhvaryava, hautra, and audgātra. (= no. 144?) (1/1958.)

Pathapattabhipuram

204. Dendukuri Venkatahanumad, ghanapāṭhī. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (2/1976.)

? (now in Madras, Tamil Nadu)

205. Yenamandra (v.l. Yanamandra) Subramanya Chayanulu, kramapāṭhī; living. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (early 20th cent.) (4 + /1975.)

? (see no. 343)

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Since the above surnames have geographical significance, referring usually to the family's native place, they are indexed here with an indication of their rather interesting distribution:

Amaravadi (Amarāvati)*: Krishna, Jaggayyapet (4)
Aramittala: Nellore (1)
Avvari (Auvari): Guntur, Tenali, Sangamjāgarlamūḍi (1)
Balamuru: Mahabubnagar, Achampet, Balumuru (1)
Bhagavathula: Guntur, Tenali, Patha (1)
Bhamidipati: All in East Godavari: Amalapuram, Mukkamala (6), Korumilli (3), Pulletikurru, Vakkalanka, Sriramapuram (1)
B(h)ulusu: All in East Godavari: Kakinada (1), Pulletikurru, Vakkalanka (1) Vyaghreswaram (6)
Challa: Krishna, Jaggayyapet (1)
Channavajhala: Krishna, Vijayawada (3); West Godavari, Chintalapudi (1)
Chebrolu*: East Godavari, Irusumanda (1)
Cheruvu (= Cheruvu Mādhāwaram* in Khammam Dt. ?): Krishna, Masulipatam (3), Vuyyuru (1); West Godavari (1, with Chivukula as v. l)
Chilukuri: Krishna, Gudiwada, Sayapuram (1)
Chivukula: Guntur, Vemuru (1); West Godavari, Siddhantam (1, with Chevuru as v.l.)
Chintalapati (cf. Rentachintala below and Chintalapudi in West Godavari): Guntur, Hassanabad (1), Narasaraopet (1)
Chitti: Krishna, Avanigadda (1); cf. no. 16
Dendukurī: Guntur, Guntur (4) and Tenali, Marispeta (1); Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Padmaraonagar, Chilkalguda (1); Krishna, Vijayawada (1) and ib. Buckinghampet (1) and ib. Krishnalanka (1); ? Kothapeta (1) and Pathapattabhipuram (1)
Dhulipali: Guntur, Guntur (2)
Duvvuri (v.l. Davuri, = Duvvūru*): all in East Godavari: Kapileswarapuram (1), Korumilli (2), Pulletikurru, Vakkalanka, Sriramapuram (1)
Emani (v.l. Lemeni): East Godavari, Velicheru (1)
Gandikota: West Godavari, Tanuku (1)
Gangapuram: Mahabubnagar, Mahabubnagar (1)
Gangavajhula: Kurnool, Velugodu (1)
G(h)antī (cf. Orūganti): East Godavari, Amalapuram, Peruru (3); Krishna, Vijayawada (1), and ib., Purnanandampet (2); Srikakulam, Srikakulam (1); Vishakhapatnam: Waltair (1)
Gollapudi: Nellore, Nellore (1)
Hari: Khammam, Nela Kondapalli (1)
Hotha: Guntur, Saipalle (1)
Illinda: Warangal, Illinda (1)

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Jonnalagadda: Krishna, Masulipatam (1)
Kalakodimi: Khammam, Venusore (1)
Kapilavayi (v.l. Kapalavayi): Krishna, Vijayawada (1), and Vuyyuru, Kanakavalli (1)
Kappagantu(la): All in Krishna: Gudiwada, Sayapuram (4), Jaggayyapet (1), Vijayawada (1)
Kasamajhala: Guntur, Gurajala (1)
Kavuru: Khammam, Nela Kondapalli (1)
Kistipadu (v.l. Kristipati): Kurnool, Velugodu (3)
Kompalla: East Godavari, Amalapuram, Mukkamala (1)
Kottapalli (v.l. Kothapalli): Krishna, Vijayawada (2) and ib. Krishnalanka (1), and ib. Satyanarayanapuram (2); West Godavari, Chinthalapudi, Pragadavaram (2)
Kuchibotla: East Godavari, Tondaram (1)
Kunapati: Guntur, Anantavaram (1)
Kunapuli: Krishna, Vijayawada, Krishnalanka (1)
Kuppa: Guntur, Kolluru (1)
Lanka: East Godavari, ? (1)
Lemeni (v.l. Emani): East Godavari, Velicheru (1)
Mangipudi: Guntur, Kolluru (1)
Madduri: Krishna, Nandigama, Juzzuru (5)
Malladi: Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Malkajagiri (1); Krishna, Vijayawada, Governorpet (1)
Mamil(l)apalli (= Porumāmilla*?): Kurnool, Nandikotkur, Parumanchala (2)
Medipuru: Mahabubnagar, Nagar Kurnool (1)
Nandi Vanaparthi: Hyderabad, Ibrahimpatnam, Nandi Vanaparthi (1)
Nukala: East Godavari, Amalapuram (1), and ib. Peruru (1)
Oruganti (cf. Ganti): East Godavari, Amalapuram (3)
Palamooru: Mahabubnagar, Palamūru
Pamidimarri: Krishna, Vijayawada, Purnanandampet (2)
Pandyala: Khammam, Nela Kondapalli (4)
Patangi: Kurnool, Churukucherla (1)
Patluri (? = Potluri below): Hyderabad, Vikarabad, Patluru
Patri: Kurnool, Nandikotkur, Midituru (1)
Pisipati (v.l. Peesapati): East Godavari, Iragavaram (1); West Godavari, Khandavalli (2)
Ponnada: Guntur, Guntur (1)
Ponnapalli: Guntur, Arupalli (1)
Potluri (? = Patluri above): Karimnagar, Karimnagar (1)
Pratapagiri*: Kurnool, Nandikotkur, Kurukunda (1)
Pulleola: East Godavari, Pulletikurru, Vyaghreswaram (1)
Pulyala: East Godavari, Narendarpuram (1)

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Ramilla: East Godavari, Podagattapalli (1)
Rampalli: Guntur, Ponnapalli (2)
Rani: Krishna, Vijayawada (1)
Rentachintala (v.l. Renduchintala, = Reṇṭāla*?) (cf. Chintalapati): Krishna, Bandar (1), and Machilipatnam (1), and Masulipatam (1), and Vijayawada, Krishnalanka (1)
Sanndinam: Guntur, Bellamkoda, Cwotapapayapalem (1)
Srilanka: East Godavari, Amalapuram, Nedumuru (1)
Tangirala: Krishna, Vijayawada, Governorpet (1)
Turuluri: West Godawari, Chintalapudi, Somavaram
Upadhyajulu (v.l. Upadyula, Vupathayula): East Godavari, Amalapuram (6) and ib. Bhoopayya Agraharam (2)
Vempati: Guntur, Kolluru (1); Krishna, Vijayawada (1)
Vemula: Mahabubnagar, Kalvakurthi, Vemula
Vindamuri: Krishna, Nandigama, Juzzuru (1)
Viruvinti: Kurnool, Nandikotkur, Kurukunda (2) and Churukucherla (1)
Vishnub(h)otla: Guntur, Tenali (1) and ib. Ramalingeswarapet (3); Krishna, Vijayawada (5) and ib. Krishnalanka (1); West Godavari, Eragavaram (1)
Yadavalli: All in Krishna: Machilipatnam, Godugupeta (1), Nandigama (2), Pedana (1)
Yenamandra (v.l. Yanamandra): Hyderabad, New Nallakunta (1), and Secunderabad (1); no. 205 (now in Madras, Tamil Nadu)

ASSAM

For an Aśvamedha in Assam by a Viṣṇuite, cf. K. G. Goswami, *IHQ* 31:129; for an animal sacrifice of the Vedic type in modern Assam, see B. K. Barua, *Cultural History of Assam* (Renou 1965, p. 73 § 13 n. 8).

BIHAR

The state of Bihar (Mithila) represented in old times one of the regions where Vedic religion and śāstric learning, including the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, flourished. Senāpati Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, performed two Aśvamedhas around 180 B.C., the first dated ones for a historical monarch (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, 54, 57; see also Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, act 5; Narain 1957, pp. 9, 83); he was a follower of the Sāmaveda (Smith 1958³, p. 139, citing Haraprasad Sastri, J. and Proc. *ASB* 1912, p. 287). Two inscriptions from the Śuṅga period record the performance of Aśvamedha and Vājapeya sacrifices (Smith 1958³ p. 138).

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In the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I struck gold coins commemorating the Aśvamedhas celebrated by them (Smith 1958[3], pp. 166, 172; Renou 1965, p. 13; Sircar 1966, p. 34). Today hardly any trace of the ritualistic traditions can be found in these regions. At Darbhanga, however, at least one āhitāgni of the Mādhyandina school is reported to be living (= no. 206).

GUJARAT

In Gujarat a few āhitāgnis did exist in the last generation, particularly at Ahmedabad and Petlad. The present position of the śrauta tradition in this state, and others not included in our survey, is unknown.

KARNATAK (*formerly* MYSORE)

The Kadambas, who in the third to sixth centuries ruled the present North and South Kanara districts (cf. Smith 1958[3], 214), are said to have performed Aśvamedhas in the Nilambur plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 148, cf. Kane 1941, II, 1: 70). The early Cālukya king Pulakeśin I (550–566), whose capital was Vātāpi, modern Bādāmi in the Bijapur Dt., performed Agniṣioma, Agnicayana, Vājapeya, Bahusuvarṇa (apparently = Bahuhiraṇya, i.e. Durāśa or Dūṇāśa Ekāha, cf. ĀpŚS 22.9.19 ff.), Pauṇḍarīka, and Aśvamedha sacrifices (cf. Vaidyanathan 1938–1939, 263, citing Bombay Gazetteer, p. 344; Kane 1941, II, 1:70 mentions only the Aśvamedha and refers to *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 1, and IX, 100). Another Cālukya king of Vātāpi, Maṅgalīśa (ca. 597–610 A.D.) performed a Vājapeya (cf. Vājapeya 1955, 51 citing *IA*, III, 305).

We have almost fifty names for the Karnatak state. Some of these āhitāgnis belong to the Ṛgveda, others to the Baudhāyana and Āpastamba schools of the Taittirīya Yajurveda. The most conspicuous among them is Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita Marāṭhe, a Ṛgvedin of Vidyāraṇyapura near Sringeri (see no. 249 for his sacrifices) at which the Ādhvaryava and the Audgātra followed the Baudhāyana and Drāhyāyaṇa schools respectively. In some of the Soma sacrifices in Karnatak, however, the Audgātra has been performed according to the Kauthuma school. Piṣṭapaśus have been employed at the Soma sacrifices in Udipi, the seat of Mādhva ācāryas. Gokarn, on the sea shore, is even at present a seat of śrauta learning and tradition.

Belgaum*

Belgaum*

207. Dhond Dikshita Kelkar. Agniṣṭoma (Hampi*, early 20th cent.) (7/1958.)

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Jamkhandi*

208. Ganesh Dikshita Annegiri. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)

Pachchapur*

209. Dada Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)

Ramdurg*

210. Balambhatta Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)
211. Ganesh Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)

Bidar*

Bīdar*

212. Digambara Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)
213. Narayana Dikshita. (7/1958.)
214. Umakanta Dikshita. (7/1958.)

Bijapur*

Bādāmi*

215. Rama Dikshita Kavathekar. Sāgnicitya Vājapeya (Bagalkot* or Harihar, ca. 1920). (In Badami or elsewhere in Bijapur?) (cf. Vājapeya 1955, 51.) (7/1958.)
216. Rama Dikshita Veni. Agniṣṭoma; Sagnicitya Aptoryāma (Shikarpur*, early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)

Chitradurga*

Chitradurga*

217. Kashinatha Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)

Dharwar*

Dharwar*

218. Mahadeva Dikshita Dandavate. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Vājapeya; a Soma sacrifice with Āruṇaketuka Cayana (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)

Hāngal*

219. Dattambhatta Joshi. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)
220. Hangal Giridhar Shastri. Agniṣṭoma (1932); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (Tilvalli*, 1959). (7/1958.)
221. Hangal Virupaksha Shastri. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)
222. Mahadeva Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (7/1958.)
223. Sitarama Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (20th cent.) (7/1958.)

Kohir

224. Purushottama Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)

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Lakshmiswar*

225. Shripada Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)
226. Vishvanatha Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)

Gulbarga*

Turmamdi

227. Panduranga Somayaji. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (early 20th cent.). (7/1958.)

Mysore*

Krishnarajnagar*

228. Doraiswami Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (Somādhāna, 1963); Sāgnitya Aptoryāma (1964). (7/1958.)

Mysore*

229. K. A. Venkatakrishna. Agniṣṭoma (1925). (8/1976.)
230. Lakshminarayana Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (1964). (8/1976.)

North Kanara*

Gokarn*

231. Balakrishna Joglekar. Agniṣṭoma (1945). (7/1958.)
232. Daivarata Subrahmanya. (7/1958.)
233. Damodar Dikshita Upadhyaya. Agniṣṭoma (Itgi, 1955). (7/1958.)
234. Krishnabhatta. Agniṣṭoma (1931). (7/1958.)
235. K. Venkateshopadhyaya. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (1930). (7/1958.)
236. Narayana Vishnu Sabhait. Agniṣṭoma (Salkode, 1947). (7/1958.)
237. Nilakantha Balkrishna Joglekar. Agniṣṭoma (1976).
238. Sitaram Yajneshwar Joglekar. Agniṣṭoma (1963). (8/1976.)
239. Subrahmanya Dikshita. Atyagniṣṭoma (1945); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (1946). (7/1958.)
240. Vishnu Sabhait. Agniṣṭoma; Sarvatomukha (1910). (7/1958.)

Raichur*

Narayanpet

241. Anna Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma; another Soma sacrifice (Mulgund*) (7/1958.)
242. Bhalachandra Somayaji. Agniṣṭoma (1954). (7/1958.)
243. Parashara Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma; Sarvatomukha with Cayana (1928). (7/1958.)

Shimoga (Shivamogga)*

Shikarpur*

244. Huchcha Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (20th cent.). (8/1976.)

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South Kanara*

Anegund*

245. Krishna Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (1960). (8/1976.)

Kota*

246. Kota Padmanabha Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (Melige, Shimoga, 1957) (7/1958.)
247. Kota Venkatakrishna Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (1925). (7/1958.)
248. Kota Yajnanarayana Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (Melige, Shimoga, 1956); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (Shirnalli, Shimoga, 1958). (7/1958.)

Sringeri*: Vidyāraṇyapuram*

249. Narayana Dikshita Marāṭhe, Ṛgvedin. Agniṣṭoma (1934); Atyagniṣṭoma (Nemṃar, 1954); Atirātra (Kammardi, Shimoga, 1955); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (1960); Vājapeya (Durg, Harihareshwar, 1961; employed clarified butter instead of animals). (7/1958.)

Udipi*

250. Sitaramacharya. Agniṣṭoma (1952); Atyagniṣṭoma (Shirur*, 1958). (7/1958.)
251. Subrahmanya Dikshita, Mādhva Vaiṣṇavite. Agniṣṭoma (1961). (8/1976.)

Udipi*: Belladi P.O.: Vanduru

252. Dikshita Ramakrishna Adiga. Agniṣṭoma (1930); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (Kotambailu, 1957 or 1959; employed clarified butter instead of animals). (8/1976.)

Udipi*: Parampalli

253. Krishna Aithal. (7/1958.)

KERALA

The śrauta tradition of Kerala is dealt with extensively elsewhere in this book; yet the following brief remarks and the lists of the āhitāgnis may be justified in the present context. In former times, Aśvamedhas were performed in Kerala as well (cf. Kunjunni Raja 1958, p. 170), and more than a thousand years ago the Nambudiri brahmin Bhavatrāta, a contemporary of Daṇḍin, composed commentaries that attest to his extraordinary acquaintance with the entire range of śrauta and gṛhya rituals on the Kalpasūtras of the Jaiminīyas and the Kauṣītaki Gṛhyasūtra. A similar ancient commentary written in Kerala is that by Udaya on the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, published by E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma (1976). Yet one must point out in this connection that Raghavan (1962, pp. 2 ff., without giving his source) refers to a tradition according to which Bhavatrāta's "family migrated from Tiṭṭaguḍi (Vasiṣṭha Kuṭī) in South Arcot to Kerala." An indication of his non-Kerala, but rather Kannaḍa than Tamil, origin might be seen in the

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fact that it is the Gṛhyasūtra of the Hiraṇyakeśins upon which Bhavatrāta's father Mātṛdatta commented. The Yajurveda is represented in Kerala only by two highly archaic schools, that of the Baudhāyanins (more than 90 percent) and that of the Vādhūlakas, which is restricted to Kerala (cf. Staal 1961, pp. 62 ff.). The Ṛgveda is found in Kerala in two schools, the Āśvalāyana and the Kauṣītaki (Staal 1961, p. 53), but the Sāmaveda only in the rare Jaiminīya śākhā, which otherwise prevails in Tamil Nadu alone, though in a different form (cf. Staal 1961, p. 64 ff.; Parpola 1973). The śrauta tradition of Kerala thus is fairly isolated. As far as the Soma sacrifices are concerned, their repertoire is nowadays confined to the Agniṣṭoma and the Sāgnicitya Atirātra, which entitle one to the titles Somayaji(pad) and Akkitiri(pad), respectively. According to Erkkara Raman Nambudiri (below, no. 294), somewhere over 120 Agniṣṭomas and 5 Atirātras have been performed in Kerala between 1911 and 1970 (inclusive). Erkkara Raman Nambudiri (born in 1898) has personally taken part in more than 65 of them in various capacities (at times as a sacrificing priest), though as a bachelor he has not himself had one performed on his behalf. He is undoubtedly the foremost śrauta expert in Kerala, where the yāgas are performed partly according to traditional manuals and partly according to the oral instructions of such experienced persons. See also below, pages 252–255.

Below we shall give the member lists of three sabhāyogas of Kerala āhitāgnis, provided by Dr. V. R. Lakshmikanta Sarma; they are followed by a few names of experienced priests, and then a few āhitāgnis belonging to the distinct Tamil Aiyar tradition of the Palghat region.

Somayajipad members, Sukhapuram (Sukapuram) gramam Sabhayogam (the member list is dated 7th makaram 1144 = 1968)

Chelakkara*: Killimangalam P.O.
254. Pallisseri Manakkal Narayanan Somayajipad
Cherupulacheri*: Karalmanna P.O.
255. Karalmanna Kunnath Manakkal Narayanan Somayajipad
256. Kizhenarappatta Manakkal Vasudevan Somayajipad
257. Thekkumparambath Manakkal Subramanian Somayajipad
258. Koyithadi Manakkal Parameswaran Somayajipad
Cherupulacheri*: Valambirimangalam P.O.
259. Kappiyur Eledath Manakkal Sankaranarayanan Somayajipad
Cheruthuruthy*: Panjal P.O.
260. Nellikkat Mamannu Manakkal Neelakandan Akkithiripad
261. Vayakkakara Manakkal Neelakandan Somayajipad
Edappāl P.O.*
262. Narayanamangalathu Manakkal Akkiraman Somayajipad
263. Narayanamangalathu Manakkal Vasudevan Somayajipad
Edappal*: Alangod P.O.
264. Valiyavukkuzhi Manakkal Divakaram Somayajipad
Edappal*: Nannamukku P.O.

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265. Mangalathari Manakkal Narayanan Somayajipad
Kumaranallur* P.O.
266. Kizhakke Kundulli Manakkal Raman Somayajipad
Kumaranallur*: Mundoor P.O.
267. Kavapra Kandayur (Kāppara Kaṇayūr?) Manakkal Sankaran Somayajipad
268. Kavapra Marath Manakkal Narayanan Somayajipad
269. Kavapra Marath Manakkal Sankaranarayanan Somayajipad
Palghat Dt.*: Koottanad P.O.
270. Pazhayath Sasthra Sarman Adithiripad
Palghat Dt.*: Koottanad: Thekke Vavanoor P.O.
271. Kizhuprakkat Manakkal Neelakandan Somayajipad
272. Podakuzhi Manakkal Raman Somayajipad
Pazhanj*i: Karikkad
273. Bhatti Thekkedath Manakkal Vasudevan Somayajipad
Shoranur*: Mannanoor P.O.
274. Pothayath Narayana Mangalattu Manakkal Bhavadasan Somayajipad
Thiruvegappura* P.O.
275. Vadakke Cherumukku Manakkal Vallabhan Somayajipad
Thiruvegappura*: Adappalam P.O.
276. Vadakke Cherumukku Manakkal C. V. Vallabhan Somayajipad
277. Vadakke Cherumukku Manakkal Cheria Vallabhan Somayajipad
278. Vadakke Cherumukku Manakkal Neelakandan Somayajipad (now: Akkithiripad)
279. Vadakke Cherumukku Manakkal Vasudevan Akkithiripad
Thiruvegappura*: Chembra P.O.
280. Bhattiputhillath Ravi Somayajipad
Vadakkancheri*: Attoor P.O.
281. Puthillath Mundayur Manakkal Vasudevan Somayajipad

Members of the Perumanam gramam Sabhayogam (1968?)

Mannampetta*: Thottara
282. Madambi Jathavedan Adithiripad
Mayannur*: Cherunkara
283. Mundanat Sankaran Adithiripad
Palghat*: Kannanore Thirthala
284. Edamana Parameswaran Adithiripad
Shoranur*: Kavalappara
285. Moori Sredharan Somayajipad
Trichur*: Aarattupuzha P.O.
286. Moolayil Perumpadappu Krishnan Somayajipad
Trichur*: Cherpu
287. Keezhillam Jathavedan Adithiripad

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Members of the Irinjalakuda Sabhayogam (7th makaram 1144 = 1968)

Trichur*: Kattoor P.O.

288. Koottampilli Vasudevan Ahithagni

Trichur*: Manalur P.O.

289. Vadakkedath Thamarappilli Damodaran Ahithagni

Trichur*: Nandipulam P.O.

290. Chirangat Mallisseri Sankaran Ahithagni

291. Vadakkedath Mallisseri Haridathan Ahithagni

Trichur*: Pudukkad: Nandikkara P.O.

292. Nandikkara Naduvam Somayajipad

Trichur*: Pudukkad: Muthrathikkara P.O.

293. Kizhikkiniyedath Ravi Ahithagni

Other Nambudiris

Malappuram*: Nanṇam Mukku: Mukkuthala P.O.

294. Erkkara Manakkal Raman Nambudiri (born 1898), Ṛgvedin of the Kauṣītaka śākhā and Tirunāvāya school (he has recited the entire Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa for E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma's edition, 1968) is the foremost śrauta expert of Kerala (see the introduction to Kerala, above). Son of 295. (9/1974.)

295. Erkkara Manakkal Vasudevan Somayajipad, father and teacher (in śrauta) of 294. (9/1974.)

Cheruthuruthy*: Panjal* P.O.

296–298. Muṭṭattukkāṭṭu Māmaṇṇu Manakkaḷ Itti Ravi Nambūdiri, Jaiminīya, the foremost authority on the Sāmaveda in Kerala, has performed the Audgātra in many sacrifices. His grandfather's father performed an Atirātra, and his father an Agniṣṭoma. (10/1971.)

299–300. The father of no. 260 (who performed an Atirātra in Panjal in 1953) celebrated an Agniṣṭoma in 1918, while his grandfather performed an Atirātra (with Agnicayana). (11/1971.)

Aiyar āhitāgnis of the Palghat Dt.

Ālattūr*: Noorani (Nūrani)

301. N. Somasundara Dikshitar Somayaji has published in Sanskrit a description of the Vājapeya (Madras, n.d.), lives now in Kumbhakonam, Thanjavur Dt., Tamilnadu. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Kalpati* (Kalappatti) P.O.: Vedakkenturai

302. Shalappa Dikshitar

303. Somasundara Dikshitar

MADHYA PRADESH

The Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I, who in the fourth century controlled Madhya Pradesh and set up a feudatory kingdom under his son in the

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Western Deccan (cf. Smith 1958[3], p. 214), performed Agniṣṭoma, Aptoryāma, Jyotiṣṭoma, Bṛhaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atirātra, Vājapeya, and no less than four Aśvamedhas (*Ep. Ind.* III, 258 and Gupta Inscriptions no. 55, cf. Kane 1941, II, 2: 70; Sircar in Majumdar and Pusalker, eds. 1953[2], II, 220). The Bhāraśiva-Nāgas of Padmāvatī in Madhya Pradesh are in the Vākāṭaka copper plates said to have performed ten Aśvamedhas, all the while having on their persons the emblem of Śiva, not the *yūpa* (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, III, 258–260; Kane, l.c., Renou 1965, p. 13). We have just one modern reference from this state:

Gwalior*

304. Vināyak Śāstrī Gāḍgīl, RV. Performed a Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma about 1890–1895 at the Bhairav Bāvṛī in Vārāṇasī (cf. after no. 547). (15/1957.)

MAHARASHTRA

Epigraphic evidence relating to śrauta tradition in Maharashtra seems to be relatively scarce. In an inscription of 757 A.D., the Cālukya emperor Pulakeśin, whose capital probably was at or near Nāsik (cf. Smith 1958[3], p. 215), is stated to have been purified by his bath at an Aśvamedha (*Ep. Carn.*, X, Kolar no. 63; cf. Kane 1941, II, 2: 1238). Nevertheless, we have records of some forty āhitāgnis from this state in recent times; they have belonged to the Āśvalāyana, Satyāṣāḍha and Mādhyandina schools. (For the rare Mānava school, see below no. 319.) The Ṛgvedins have generally followed the Baudhāyana and less frequently the Āpastamba school for the ādhvaryava. The sacrificers belonging to the Satyāṣāḍha school mostly have adopted yājuṣa-hautra, and even in their Soma sacrifices, the hautra has contained the Taittirīya elements, being in many cases performed by followers of the Satyāṣāḍha school itself (cf. below, pp. 248 f.). In the sacrifices performed by the Mādhyandinas, Śāṅkhāyana hautra has been adopted. The audgātra has invariably been performed according to the Kauthumas. Among the āhitāgnis of Maharashtra, the largest number of Soma sacrifices has been performed by Shankara Dikshita Natu, son of Vasudeva Dikshita Natu, a Satyāṣāḍhi of Sangli; the only man in the whole of India in the present and last centuries who seems to be able to compete with his impressive achievements (see below, no. 329) is the above-mentioned Āndhra sacrificer, Rentachintala Venkatachala Yajulu (no. 150). The two sacrifices performed by Shankara Dikshita Natu in 1951 took place at Wai, Satara Dt., and all the others at Sangli. This provided a unique opportunity for a large number of vaidikas to become trained in the various priestly offices, including those of the hotā and his assistants.

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*Akola**

Vashim (Bāsim)*

305. Mahadeva Sambasastri Purankar, Mādhyandina.

*Buldana**

Khamgaon*

306. Prabhakar Lakshman Vaidya, Mādhyandina.

*Dhūlia**

Dhūlia*

307. Ganesh Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.).

Goa*

Mhapsa*

308. Mahadeva Dikshita H. Apte, Satyāṣāḍha. Agniṣṭoma (Akalkot*, Maharashtra, 1969; clarified butter was employed instead of animals).

*Kolhapur**

Ichalkaranji*

309. Gulavani.

310. Shridhar Balkrishna Joshi Altekar. Agniṣṭoma (Karād*, Satara Dt., 1927); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (Sangam Mahuli, Satara 1940).

Kolhāpur*

311. Ganesh Dikshita Paranjpe. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (early 20th cent.).

312. Moreshwar Joshi. Agniṣṭoma (Poona* 1968).

Kurundwad*

313. Jamitre. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.).

314. Oka Dikshita. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.).

Nrsimhawadi*

315. Damodar Dikshita Jere. Agniṣṭoma (Sangli* 1928).

316. Shankar Shastri Jere. Agniṣṭoma (Wai*, Satara, 1924); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (Kallol, Belgaum, 1923).

*Nagpur**

Nagpur*

317. Narahari Shrauti. Agniṣṭoma (1927).

*Nasik**

Nasik*

318. Hari Shankar Joshi Ambekar, Mādhyandina. Agniṣṭoma (Amraoti*, 1958); Sāgnicitya Atyagniṣṭoma (1959; animals were not offered); Vājapeya (Poona*, 1959).

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319. N. N., Mānava (early 20th cent.). Though exact details are wanting, it seems that Soma sacrifices have been performed according to the rare Maitrāyaṇī school until recently around Nasik.

Poona*

Bhor*

320. Baba Dikshita Hoshing.

Kelavde*

321. Vishnu Dikshita Bhide. Agniṣṭoma (1912; yājuṣahautra).
322. Vishvanath Narayan Bhide, Satyāṣāḍha. Agniṣṭoma (Poona*, 1958; yājuṣahautra).

Poona*

323. Dattatreya Ramachandra Kinjavdekar. Agniṣṭoma (Goa*, 1912); Sāgnicitya Sarvapṛṣṭha Aptoryāma (Kurundwad*, Kolhapur, 1935; a booklet with a list of śrauta performances was published on the occasion by the Managing Committee, cf. Kashikar 1958, p. 64).
324. Dattatreya Shastri Tambe.
325. Shankar Ramachandra Rajawade, Āśvalāyana. Chose an adhvaryu of the Satyāṣāḍha school instead of one belonging to the Baudhāyana or Āpastamba school (20th cent.); see p. 234.

Ratnagiri*

Golap*

326. Ram Dikshita Bapat, Satyāṣāḍha. Agniṣṭoma (Satara*, 1903); Sagnicitya Atyagniṣṭoma (Poona*, 1904); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (1910). The hautra elements of the Taittirīya Veda were observed in these sacrifices; see pp. 248f.

Rājāpur*: Dongar

327. Gopalbhatta Gokhale, Satyāṣāḍha. Agniṣṭoma (Ratnagiri*, 1935; the hautra elements of the Taittirīya Veda were observed).

Sangli*

Sangli*

328. Rajaram V. Apte, Satyāṣāḍha.
329. Shankara Vasudeva Dikshita Natu, Satyāṣāḍha. Agniṣṭoma (1934); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (1936); Vājapeya (1939); Atyagniṣṭoma with Dviṣāhasra Cayana (1940); Ukthya (1942); Ṣoḍaśī (1942); Atirātra with Triṣāhasra Cayana (1942); Pauṇḍarīka (1943); Sarvatomukha (1943); Agniṣṭut with Kāṭhaka Cayana (Wai*, Satara, 1951); Bṛhaspatisava (Wai*, Satara, 1951). In all these sacrifices (on which cf. also above, p. 227),

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the hautra was performed by followers of the Satyāṣāḍha school. Son of 332.

330. Shripad Balambhatta Chhatre.
331. Tilak.
332. Vasudeva Dikshita Natu, Satyāṣāḍha, father of no. 329.

Satara*

Pachawad*

333. Ananta Dikshita Bapat Panchavadkar, Satyāṣāḍha, grandfather of no. 334. Agniṣṭoma; Vājapeya (Alibag, 1905). Adopted ṛgghautra. (Cf. Vājapeya 1955: 51.)
334. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja Dikshita Bapat, Satyāṣāḍha; died on February 13, 1956 at the age of 74 (cf. *Śrautakośa* I; *E.S.*, p. 37). Cāturmāsyas; Agniṣṭoma (Aundh*, N. Satara, 1925, under the patronage of the Raja of Aundh); Sāgnicitya Sarvapṛṣṭha Aptoryāma (Indore*, Madhya Pradesh, 1930); Vājapeya (Poona*, 1955; for this sacrifice cf. above, p. 200). Ṛghautra according to the Āśvalāyana school was adopted, and clarified butter was employed instead of animals in the two latter sacrifices.

Sātāra*

335. Ananta Nilakantha Joshi; deceased.
336. Ramchandra Ananta Joshi; living.

Wai*

337. Kashinatha Dikshita Karandhikar, Satyāṣāḍha. Agniṣṭoma (Pachwad*, 1872; the hautra elements in the Taittirīya Veda were insisted upon).
338. Kashinatha Shastri Lele, Satyāṣāḍha. Agniṣṭoma (1913; hautra elements in the Taittirīya Veda observed).
339. Nilakantha Lele, Satyāṣāḍha. Agniṣṭoma (1949; the hautra was performed by Satyāṣāḍhins).
340. Shankar Dikshita Gokhale, Satyāṣāḍha. Agniṣṭoma (the hautra elements in the Taittirīya Veda were observed).

Sholapur*

Pandharpur*

341. Balacharya Varkhedkar, Mādhva Vaiṣṇavite. Agniṣṭoma (Somādhāna, 1967); Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (1975; piṣṭapaśu).
342. Nrsimhacharya Varkhedkar, Mādhva Vaiṣṇavite. Agniṣṭoma (Gaya, 1958; piṣṭapaśu).
343. Pradyumnacharya Varkhedkar, Mādhva Vaiṣṇavite. Sāgnicitya Pauṇḍarīka (Hyderabad, 1962). (Resides in Hyderabad; entered here because he apparently originally hails from Pandharpur.)

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NEPAL

According to personal communications of Michael Witzel (1974–1975), there are two groups of brahmins in Nepal who perform Vedic rituals. The Newari brahmins came from India in medieval times (according to their own tradition some 800 years ago), and are fully integrated into Newari society, speaking Newari. With the help of the Japanese Television, Witzel has been engaged in filming Newari rituals including "bratabandha" (i.e., Upanayana), Śrāddha, and marriage, as well as the Agnihotra, which is being performed by one single Newar brahmin only (no. 344), and which is much influenced by Tantric worship. The Agnihotra is being performed daily for the king of Nepal, as well, by a Nepali brahmin (no. 345) according to his family tradition (he had never seen the Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra as such): his family has been performing this duty for about 200 years. The Nepali brahmins, who speak Nepali, came originally from Kumaun and all belong to the Mādhyandina school. Besides the Agnihotra, only the Darśapūrṇamāsa is performed of the śrauta sacrifices. At the end of the 19th century, however, āhitāgni paṇḍit Śiromaṇi Śāstrī (no. 346), the guru of the King of Nepal in Kathmandu, is known to have performed two Somayāgas in Vārāṇasī: first an Atyagniṣṭoma, and then, spending two lakhs of rupees, a Sāgnicitya Sarvapṛṣṭhāptoryāma. The site where these sacrifices took place was the Bauliyā Bāg situated at Rām Kaṭorā (cf. also no. 545).

RAJASTHAN

The inscription found at Ghosuṇḍi-Hathibala, Chitorgaṛh Dt., Rajasthan, and dated to about the second half of the 1st century B.C. (cf. Sircar 1965, p. 42), refers to king Gājāyana Sarvatrāta, a Bhāgavata, as a performer of an Aśvamedha celebrated not in honor of Indra but of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, 25, and XXII, 198; cf. Kane 1941, II, 1: 70, and Renou 1965, p. 13).

From recent times, we have references only to royal sacrificers:

Jaipur*

347. Rājā Mān Sinh, king of Jaipur. Had the Rājaṣūya performed in Vārāṇasī in the 17th century (see no. 542).
348. Raja Savāī (Sewai) Jayasingh, king of Amber (= Jaipur). Aśvamedha (first half of the 18th cent.). (Cf. Īśvara-vilāsakāvya of Kṛṣṇakavi in the Deccan College manuscript no. 273 of 1884–1886; P. K. Gode in *Poona Orientalist*, 2, 166–180, and Kane 1941, II, 2: 1239; more literature in Renou 1965, p. 73 § 13 n. 8.)

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Kishengarh*

349. Maharaja of Kishengarh. Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) (15/1957.)

Shahapura*

350. Maharaja of Shahapura. Āhitāgni. (early 20th cent.)

TAMIL NADU

The Old Tamil poems of the 1st centuries A.D. contain many references to Vedic sacrifices. Although the religion that is in the foreground in these texts still predominantly represents the ancient Dravidian tradition (cf. Hart 1975, pp. 21–50), the brahminic rites of the North had already been introduced to South India (cf. Filliozat 1968; Hart 1975, pp. 51–56). For instance, the Pāṇḍya king Mutu-kuṭumi-peru Vaḻuti, who is referred to simply as Kuṭumi both in Puṟanāṉūṟu (6,26; 9,8; etc.) and in an inscription of Vēḷvikkuṭi (= "village of sacrifice," *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, 291–309, no. 16), has the epithet *pal-yākacālai* 'having many sacrificial halls' (Puṟam 64, col.). Puṟam 224, 9 speaks of *veta-vēḷvi* 'Vedic sacrifice', and Puṟam 2 of the three fires. A specific rite is met with in the epithet of the Cōḻa king Perunaṟkiḷḷi, *irācacūyavēṭṭa* 'who has performed the sacrifice of rājasūya'. This tradition can be traced to slightly younger texts; thus the Cilappatikāram (ca. 200 A.D.) mentions *vēḷvi cālai* 'yāgaśālā', and the Paripāṭal (ca. 5th cent.) *vēḷvi mutalvan* 'lord of sacrifice (Indra)' and *vēḷvi-p-pākam* 'sacrificial portion' (5, 31; 5, 26 ff.). The Pallava king Śivaskandavarman of Kāñcīpuram, who reigned in the first half of the 4th century A.D. (cf. Sathianathaier in Majumdar, ed., 1954, III, 282), performed the Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices (*Ep. Ind.*, I, 5; cf. Kane 1941, II, 1: 69).

It seems that the śrauta tradition of present-day Tamil Nadu has largely spread from the Tanjur district, and that its flourishing there is largely due to the patronage of the Nayak of the 15th century, and especially to the spiritual mentor and minister of Sevvappa Nayak, Achuta Nayak, and Raghunatha Nayak, the chancellor Govinda Dīkṣitar. He himself performed daily the Agnihotra and many Soma sacrifices, including the Sarvatomukha, and established in 1542 the Raja Veda Pāṭhaśālā in Kumbhakonam for the study of Ṛg-, Yajur-, and Sāmaveda; this institution, which according to the tradition stands on the very site of Govinda Dīkṣitar's sacrifices, is still functioning. Govinda Dīkṣitar also founded numerous villages and donated them to brahmins; among these is Kandamangalam, from which we have records of śrauta traditions that still survive. Govinda Dīkṣitar, a Ṛgvedin of the Āśvalāyana school, had seven sons, of whom the eldest, Yagnanarayana Dīkṣitar, performed the Ādhvaryava at the Āpta-vājapeya conducted by his father, and, to judge from his name, was himself also a Soma sacrificer. A younger son, Venkata Makhin, was, like his father and eldest brother, also a famous writer on the śāstras and on music whose works include the

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Vārttika-bharaṇam on Mīmāṃsā. (For further details see the booklet "Sri Govinda Dikshitar," published by the Rāja Veda Pāṭhaśālā, Kumbhakonam, n.d.)

The Vedic traditions thus resuscitated could continue in peace under the tranquil rule of the Bhonsala dynasty at Thanjavur. The ministers of the kings Shahaji and Sarfoji also themselves performed many sacrifices in the 18th century. The concentration of the Tamil śrauta tradition in this district is indeed conspicuous: we have records of some eighty āhitāgnis there, and most of them are still living. A big center of Vedic ritual in this nucleus has been the village Sengalipuram, as may be seen from our list. S. Anantarama Dikshitar, who comes from this village, has greatly propagated the cause of śrauta religion in this century, and has been awarded the title Upanyāsacakravartin. Most of the śrauta performances in the Thanjavur district and elsewhere have been ably guided by Nellicheri Ramanatha Śrautigal, while T. S. Narayanasami Sastrigal, a Sāmavedin of Tippirajapuram, has most sacrifices to his credit as the yajamāna (see no. 435). Another major center of śrauta tradition has been Kallidaikuruchi in the Tirunelveli district: it once had eighteen āhitāgnis, most of whom had performed Soma sacrifices. Here the yājuṣa-hautra has been adopted for pre-Soma rituals. The schools followed in the śrauta rituals of Tamil Nadu are Āpastamba of the Yajurveda, Āśvalāyana of the Ṛgveda, and Drāhyāyaṇa and Kauthuma of the Sāmaveda.

Chingleput (Ceṅkaḷunīrppattu)*

Madras* (cf. also above, no. 205)

351. Sambasiva Deekshithar, YV. Ādhāna. (13/1972.)
352. Subramania Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Tirukkalukkuṉṟam*

353. Subrahmanya Dikshita. (14/1958.)

Madurai*

Madurai*

354. T. Appadurai Dikshitar. Many Soma sacrifices with Cayanas up to Vājapeya with Triṣāhasra Cayana (1923).

Ramnad (Rāmanāthapuram)*

Devakottai*

355. N. N. Many Soma sacrifices with Cayana; Vājapeya (Devakottai, 1936).

S(h)ivaganga*: Kaliarkoil

356. Kaleeswara Dikshitar.

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Thanjavur (Tañcāvūr, Tanjore)*

Ariyur

357. Srinivasier. (14/1958.)

Ayyampettai* P.O.: Nellicheri (Ayyampettai on the Kumbhakonam-Thanjavur route was built by Govinda Dīkṣitar in the 15th cent.)

358. N. Jambunatha Srowthigal, YV. Agniṣṭoma (Mayūram, 1958). (13 + /1972.)
359. N. Jayarama Śrauti/Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma (Mayūram, 1958). (13 + /1972.)
360. N. Ramanatha Śrautigal, expert in ādhvaryava and hautra, has directed most of the performances in the Thanjavur Dt. and elsewhere in Tamil Nadu; has been granted the title *śrautavidyāsudhākara*. (14/1958.)
361. Vaidyanatha Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
362. Yagneswara Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Gangadharapuram (near Swamimalai in the vicinity of Kumbhakonam)

363. Swaminatha Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
364. Venkatarama Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Kandamangalam (built by Govinda Dīkṣitar in the 15th cent.)

365. Subramania Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma.

Kodavāsal*: Sengalipuram*

366. Adhyarapathi Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
367. S. Anant(h)anarayana(n) Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma (1950). (13 + /1972.)
368. S. Anant(h)arama Deekshithar alias Ambi, YV, Upanyāsacakravartin (see above, p. 233). Agniṣṭoma (1950). (13 + /1972.)
369. S. Anjaneya Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
370. S. Ayya Deekshithar, YV, continues a long śrauta tradition. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma. (13 + /1972.)
371. Krishnamurthi Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
372. Mani Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
373. Narayanaswamy Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
374. Nataraja Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
375. S. Pundarikaksha Dikshitar, SV. (14/1958.)
376. S. Subburama Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
377. Subramania Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
378. S. Sundaresha Shastrigaḷ. (14/1958.)
379. Swaminatha Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
380. S. Venkatesha Dikshitar. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma; Vājapeya (Veppathur, 1946). (14/1958.)
381. Yagnanarayana Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Kumbhakonam* (cf. also no. 301)

382. Agnihotram Tatachariar, Vaiṣṇavite; recently deceased.

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383. Dr. V. R. Lakshmikanta Sarma Deekshithar, YV; living. (Our informant no. 13; prepares an edition of Tālavṛnta-nivāsin's alias Āṇḍapiḷḷai's Prayogavṛtti on the Āpastamba Śrautasūtra; has taken part in many sacrifices). Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
384. S. Narayana Dikshitar. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma; Vājapeya (1944). (14/1958.)
385. Ramachandra Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
386. Ramanatha Deekshithar alias Kuppuswami, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
387. Ramanuja Thathacharya Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
388. Srinivasa Thathacharyar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
389. Sund(a)ra Thathacharya Deeksithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
390. N. N. Ukthya with Dviṣāhasra Cayana (Kumbhakonam, during eight days in June, 1972). (13/1972.)

Kunnam* (on the Coleroon bank)

391. Balakumara Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
392. Balarama Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
393. Krishnamurthi Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
394. V. Srinivasar. Agniṣṭoma. (1957). (14/1958.)
395. Sund(a)rarama Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
396. Yagnarama Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Mannārgudi*

397. Gopala Dikshitar. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma (1956). (14/1958.)
398. Ramamurthy Dikshitar. (14/1958.)

Marur*

399. Raghawa Dikshitar; deceased. (14/1958.)

Mayūram (Māyavaram)*

400. Annas(w)amy Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
401. Gopala Deekshithar, ṚV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
402. Rama Deekshithar, ṚV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Mayūram*: Malliyam: Asikkadu

403. Nidur Dikshitar. Soma sacrifices with Cayanas. (14/1958.)

Nannilam*

404. Sethurama Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Nannilam*: Palur

405. Appathurai Dikshitar. (14/1958.)

Nannilam*: Vaḍaguḍi

406. Narayana Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma; Ṣoḍaśī; Vājapeya. (13 +/1972.)
407. Raju Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
408. Ramu/Raman Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma (1957). (13 + /1972.)
409. Srinivasa Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

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410. Subramania Deekshithar alias T(h)ambu Deekshithar. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
411. Swaminatha Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
412. N. N. Atyagniṣṭoma (Vadagudi, March 1962; cf. Staal 1964, 608–609).

Nannilam*: Srivanchiam (Srivanjiam)

413. P. K. Vaidyanatha Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma; Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma. (13 + /1972.)

Nannilam*: Srivanchiam: Pūngulam P.O.

414. V. R. Gopala Iyer/Dikshitar, YV. Agniṣṭoma (1958). (13 + /1972.)
415. K. V. Thyagarajair. Agniṣṭoma (Pungulam, 1956). (14/1958.)

Puththakaram

416. Varadaraja Bhattachar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Saliamangalam*: Kalancheri

417. Rajamier. (14/1958.)

Sammangudi

418. Kumara Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
419. Kumaraswamy Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
420. Nageswara Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
421. Sivaguru Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
422. Yajnarama Dikshitar. (14/1958.)

Shiyali*: Sattanathapuram

423. T. K. Aghora Shastrigal. (14/1958.)

Simiḷi (Simizhi)

424. Gopala Vajapeyee/Dikshitar, YV. Agniṣṭoma; Āpta-Vājapeya (Tirukkarugavur, 1956). (13 + /1972.)
425. Rajendran Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma (1956). (13 + /1972.)
426. Yagna Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

T(h)andangorai

427. T. Appadurai Dikshitar. Agniṣṭoma; Soma sacrifice with Triṣāhasra Cayana (1920); Vājapeya (Madurai, 1923). (14/1958.)
428. Vaidyanathaswamy Diksitar. (14/1958.)

T(h)anjāvūr (Tañcāvūr, Tanjore)*

429. Ānandarāya, minister (dewan) of king Sarfoji of Thanjavur. Many sacrifices (18th cent.). (cf. Vājapeya 1955, p. 51.)
430. Govinda Dīkṣitar, RV (Āśvalāyana), chancellor of several Nāyak kings of Thanjavur (see above, pp. 217 f.). Agniṣṭoma; Sarvatomukha; Āpta-Vājapeya (Kumbhakonam, 15th cent.).
431. Sundaresa Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)
432. Tryambakarāya, minister of king Shahaji of Thanjavur. Many sacrifices (18th cent.). (cf. Vājapeya 1955, p. 51.)
433. Yagnanarayana Dīkṣitar, RV, expert in ādhvaryava. (14/1958.)

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T(h)ippirajapuram*

434. P. N. Ramamurthi Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma (1957). (13 + /1972.)

435. T. S. Narayanas(w)ami Deekshithar/Sastrigal, SV. Agniṣṭoma; Ukthya; Ṣoḍaśī; Sahasracayana; Sarvapṛṣṭha Aptoryāma; Dvisāhasracayana; Triṣāhasracayana; Bṛhaspati-sava; Saṃsthā-vājapeya (Tirukkarugavur, June, 1955); Saumika Cāturmāsya; Sarvatomukha; Sarvajit Mahāvrata (Puthagoram, 1956); Dvādaśāha (Vishnampettai, 1958). (Cf. Vājapeya 1955, pp. 51–52.) (13 + /1972).

436. Venkatarama Srowthigal, SV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

T(h)irukkarugāvūr*

437. Vaidyanatha Deekshithar, YV. Ādhāna. (13/1972.)

Tirunageswaram: Uppiliyappan Koil

438. Srinivasachari. (14/1958.)

Tiruvaiyāru (on the Kāveri river)

439. Agnisvara Dikshitar. Agniṣṭoma (1941). (14/1958.)

440. Muthu Srowthingal/Diksitar, YV. Agniṣṭoma (1958). (13 + /1972.)

441. Yajñesvara Dikshitar. (14/1958.)

Tiruvengādu*

442. Aghora Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Tiruvisanallūr (= Tiruvisalūr*?)

443. S. Krishnamurthi Deekshithar, SV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)

Udayalur

444. Sund(a)ra Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

Vikkirapandyam

445. Mahadeva Dikshitar. (14/1958.)

Tirucchirappali (Tiruccirāppaḷḷi, Trichinopoly, Trichi)*

Karupattūr

446. Narayana Dikshitar. (14/1958.)

447. Radhakrishnier. (14/1958.)

Krishnarājapuram

448. Sankara Dikshitar. (14/1958.)

449. Venkatarama Dikshitar. (14/1958.)

Lalguḍi*: Angarai

450. A. K. Arunachala Dikshitar. Agniṣṭoma. (14/1958.)

451. Halasya(natha) Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)

452. A. R. (read A. K.?) Ramanatha Dikshitar, 17th generation of āhitāgnis. Agniṣṭoma (1960). (14/1958.)

Mahārājapuram

453. Nagaswamy Dikshitar. (14/1958.)

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Maṇakkāl*
454. Vaidyanatha Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
Pudukkoṭṭai*
455. Kalyana Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
456. Panchapagesha Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
457. N. N. Agniṣṭoma (Pudukkoṭṭai, "a few years" before 1950; cf. Renou 1950, p. 27). (14/1958.)
Tirukkāttuppaḷḷi (Tirkatpalli)*: Vishnampet(tai) (30 miles from Kumbhakonam)
458. Mahalinga Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
459. Natesha Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
460. Padmanabha Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma; Sarvapṛṣṭha Aptoryāma with Sāhasra Cayana. (13/1972.)
461. N. N. Kuru-vājapeya (Vishnampettai, 5–20.12.1972). (13/1972; participated in the yāga.)

Tirunelvēli (Tinnevelly)*
Gopalasamudram*
462. Thiagaraja (Tyagaraja) Deekshithar, YV or SV (two conflicting reports). Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
Kalakkadu* (SW of Tirunelvēli; according to another testimony a different Kalakkadu, ENE of Trivandrum in Kerala, is concerned.)
463. S(w)ami Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13 + /1972.)
Kallidaikurichi*
464. Kailasa Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (14/1958.)
465. Sakthi Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
Kallidaikurichi*: Ekambarapuram
466. Krishna Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
467. Ramachandra Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
468. Varadaraja Srauti. (14/1958.)
Kallidaikurichi*: Ekambarapuram P. O.: Kallal
469. Hariharasubramanya Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
Kallidaikurichi*: Srivarahapuram
470. Satyavagisvara Dikshitar. (14/1958.)
Sundarapandiyapuram*
471. Krishna Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (13/1972.)

exact location unknown
Pallathur
472. N. N. Ādhāna (13/1972.)
473. Ramu Deekshithar, YV. Agniṣṭoma. (settled in Bombay, Maharashtra) (13/1972.)
474. Pranadharthihara (read Pradhana°?) Deekshithar, YV. Agni-

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ṣṭoma; Sāhasracayana; Sarvapṛṣṭha Aptoryāma; Atirātra; Dvisāhasracayana; Ukthya. (13/1972.)

475. N. N. Agniṣṭoma (June 11, 1973). (13/1972.)
476. N. N. Ṣoḍaśī (June 8, 1973). (13/1972.)

UTTAR PRADESH

In his inscription at Ayodhyā (modern Ajodhya, Fyzabad Dt., U.P.), Dhanadeva, the sixth descendant of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, says that he has performed an Aśvamedha; this would have happened in the late first century B.C. (cf. Sircar 1965, p. 42, and in Majumdar and Pusalker, eds. 1953², II, 173 f.). Though one must suppose that Uttar Pradesh was a seat of Vedic learning in ancient times, the tradition seems to have been fairly limited in historical times. The śrauta performances have been restricted, practically speaking, to Vārāṇasī and its immediate neighborhood, where during the last 130 years altogether nineteen Somayāgas have been performed in ten different localities, described below in detail according to the information provided by Śrī Viśvanāth Vāman Dev. In addition to the names of the yajamānas of these major sacrifices, performers of minor śrauta rites and persons who have officiated in the function of chief priests are listed below. The śrauta traditions of the sacred city go back to the very dawn of creation, when god Brahma is said to have performed the horse sacrifice ten times at the site of the present Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ. The earliest historical yāga on record is the Rājasūya performed in Kāśī about 1650 on behalf of a mahārāja of Jaipur by Śyām Dīkṣit Pāṭhak (see no. 542). The regular list of the nineteen Somayāgas, however, begins with Vāman Dīkṣit Pāṭhak (no. 545, the rest being given in this order: 515, 505, 518, 304, 485, 527, 346 with two yāgas, 537, 490, 528, 552, 520, 531, 522, 501, 529, 526). The holy city has been frequented by people from many states (e.g. nos. 304, 346, 520, 541, 548), and it is not surprising that in addition to the regional vaidikas and paṇḍits, one comes across followers of other Vedic schools, too. The Ṛgveda is represented by both the Āśvalāyana and the Śāṅkhāyana schools, the Yajurveda by those of Mādhyandina, Baudhāyana, and Satyāṣāḍha, but the Sāmaveda by the Kauthuma school alone. Among those who have maintained the Vedic and śrauta traditions in Vārāṇasī, particular mention may be made of Bālaśāstrī Rānāḍe, who lived in the nineteenth century and was awarded the title of *bālasarasvatī* for his outstanding knowledge of śruti, smṛti, purāṇa, and darśana at a very young age (see no. 485).

Rshikesh

477. Āhitāgni Bālakramjī, Mādhyandina. Performed the Cāturmāsyas five times at this holy place. (15/1957.)

Varanasi* (all obtained 15/1957.)

478. Aba Dīkṣit Purohit, RV (early 20th cent.).

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479. Anant Rām Puṇtāmbekar, hotār; living.
480. Ātmārām Vaśiṅkar (? v.l. Bharavāśilkar), adhvaryu; deceased. (See no. 529.)
481. Bāl Dīkṣit Joṣi (early 20th cent.).
482. Bāl Dīkṣit Kāle (early 20th cent.).
483. Bāl Dīkṣit Toro (20th cent.).
484. Bāla Dīkṣita Yajñamvaru, Āpastamba (20th cent.).
485. Bālaśāstrī Rānāḍe, Satyāṣāḍha, Bālasarasvatī (see above, introduction to Vārāṇasī). Performed an Agniṣṭoma around 1880 on a piece of land that he had bought for himself near the Rāj Mandir at the Brahma Ghāṭ, still known as "Yajñaśālā" (see also no. 518). Ṛgveda-hautra was adopted in this sacrifice.
486. Bālakṛṣṇa Śāstrī Kelkar (early 20th cent.).
487. Bālaśāstrī Raṅgappa (20th cent.).
488. Bhavanilalji, Śāṅkhāyana (20th cent.).
489. Bhikojī (v.l. Bhikaji, Bhiku) Dīkṣit Lele, Satyāṣāḍha, adhvaryu; deceased (early 20th cent.)
490. Bhikojī (v.l. Bhikaji, Mikoji) Pant Śeṣ, RV, an expert in dharmaśāstra; deceased. Performed an Agniṣṭoma at the end of the 19th cent. at the Durgā Mandir near the Sumer Mandir at Rāmnagar (a town on the east bank of the Gaṅgā, southeast of Vārāṇasī in its immediate neighborhood). Acted also as hotār.
491. Bholanāth (20th cent.).
492. Cintāmaṇi Pālande, udgātār; living.
493. Devakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhī, udgātār; living.
494. Devanāth (20th cent.).
495. Gajānan Godse, adhvaryu; living.
496. Gaṇeś Bhaṭ Nāpaṭ, udgātār; living.
497. Gaṇeś Dīkṣit Bāpat, adhvaryu; living.
498. Gaṇeś Dīkṣit Dāūjī Bhaṭṭ, adhvaryu; deceased.
499. Gaṇeś Sāstrī Bettigiri (20th cent.).
500. Gaṇeś Vyankateś Sahasrabuddhe (19th cent.). (See no. 551.)
501. Gaṅgādhārjī (Agnihotrī), Mādhyandina, gauṛ-sārasvata. Performed an Agniṣṭoma in the early 20th cent. at Sapta Sāgar, near the Kāśī Devī Mandir and the Town Hall. (See also no. 529).
502. Gaṅgādhār Śāstrī Thatte, Satyāṣāḍha (20th cent.).
503. Gopālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭ Bhaṭṭ, hotār; deceased.
504. Govindācārya, hotār; deceased.
505. Har Dīkṣit Kāle, RV. Performed an Agniṣṭoma between 1860 and 1896 at the Baṅgālī Bāṛā, near Gāy Ghāṭ and Viśveśvarganj, where is now situated the garden of Rai Bahadur Paṇḍit Madhoram Saṇḍji. (See also nos. 528, 531, 552.)
506. Hariśaṅkarrām Dalpatram, Dvivedī (Śrīmali, 20th cent.).

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507. Kāśīnāth Nāpaṭ, udgātār; living.
508. Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣit Mahadkar, hotār; deceased.
509. Kṛṣṇapant Śāstrī (20th cent.).
510. Lakṣmaṇ(jī) Gaṇorkar, Āśvalāyana, hotār; deceased. (See nos. 521, 522.)
511. Lakṣmīkānt Dīkṣit, adhvaryu; living.
512. Lakṣmīnāth Pāṭhak Saptarṣi, Mādhyandina, adhvaryu; deceased. (20th cent.) (See no. 522.)
513. Maṅgaleśvar Bādal, adhvaryu; living.
514. Mannujī (20th cent.).
515. Namaskāre, Mādhyandina. Performed a Cayana about 1860 at the Reṇukā Mandir, near the Durgā Mandir on the Durgākuṇḍ.
516. Nandakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhī, udgātār; living.
517. Nārāyaṇ Dātar, udgātār; living.
518. Pāṇḍuraṅg Dīkṣit Bhaṭ (Bhaṭ), RV. Performed an Agniṣṭoma about 1885–1890 at the Rāj Mandir near Brahma Ghāṭ (between Pāñc Gaṅgā Ghāṭ and Gāy Ghāṭ). (See no. 485).
519. Prabhudattajī (20th cent.).
520. Puruṣottam Śāstrī Drāviḍ, Āpastamba, a Tamil brahmin. Performed an Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) at Hanumān Ghāṭ (near Hariścandra Ghāṭ).
521. Raghunāth (Rac) Gaṇorkar (? v.l. Gavodkar, Gaudkar), hotār; deceased. (See no. 510.)
522. Raghunāthjī (Agnihotrī), Mādhyandina, gauṛ-brāhmaṇ. Performed an Agniṣṭoma around 1920 at Assī Ghāṭ. The ādhvaryava was perfromed according to the KŚS by Paṇḍit Lakṣmīnāth Pāṭhak Saptarṣi (no. 512), and the hautra according to the ĀŚS by Paṇḍit Lakṣmaṇjī Gaṇorkar (no. 510).
523. Rāmcandra Śrīkṛṣṇa Ratate (20th cent.).
524. Rāmeśvarbhaṭṭ Vaze (early 20th cent.).
525. Ratanjī Dīkṣit, Śāṅkhāyana (20th cent.).
526. Ṛṣīśaṅkar Tripāṭhī, Kauthuma, Sāmavedācārya; living. Performed an Agniṣṭoma in April 1966 on the grounds of Kāśīrāja Nyāsa at Śivālā Ghāṭ. Has also functioned as udgātār.
527. Sadāśiv Dīkṣit (v.l. Bhaṭṭ) Jāvjī Bhaṭṭ, Mādhyandina. Performed around 1900 (1898 or 1902?) an Agniṣṭoma at Satī Ca(b)ūtrā in Sukhlāl Sāhu Phāṭak (near Viśvanāth Mandir), where is presently situated the Lacchī Rām Dharmaśālā. The hautra was performed according to the ĀŚS by Raghunāth Gaṇorkar (no. 521).
528. Sadāśiv Śāstrī Soman, RV. Performed an Agniṣṭoma at the end of the 19th century at the Baṅgālī Bāṛā (see sub no. 505).
529. Śaśibhūṣaṇ (Agnihotrī). Performed an Agniṣṭoma (early 20th

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cent.) at Sapta Sāgar (see no. 501). For the adhvaryu and hotār (following the ĀŚS) of this yāga, see nos. 480 and 532 respectively.

530. Siddhanāth, Śakadvīpī (20th cent.).

(346.) Śiromaṇi Śāstrī. (See sub NEPAL, no. 346.)

531. Śītal Pāṇḍe(ya), Mādhyandina. Performed an Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) at the Baṅgālī Bāṛā (see sub no. 505).

532. Sītārām Dīkṣit Purohit (v.l. Citlai), hotār; deceased. See sub no. 529.

533. Śivadatt Tripāṭhī, udgātār; living.

534. Śivarām Tripāṭhī, adhvaryu and udgātār; living.

535. Sokhārām Dīkṣit Dāūjī Bhaṭṭ, adhvaryu; living.

536. Somnāth Pāṭhak Saptarṣi, adhvaryu; deceased.

537. Son Dīkṣit Kāle, RV. Performed an Agniṣṭoma at the end of the 19th century on behalf of Rājā Munśī Madho (v.l. Mādhav) Lāl in the village of Bhūlanpur, Rohania thana, Kāśī district (at the junction of the Mall and the Grand Trunk Road on the way to the Allahābād Road). He undertook the Agnihotravrata only from this sacrifice onwards.

538. Śrīdharbhaṭṭ Pacgavkar (20th cent.).

539. Śrīkṛṣṇa Godse, adhvaryu; living.

540. Śrīkṛṣṇa Vāman Dev, hotār; living.

541. Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī Drāviḍ, Āpastamba (20th cent.).

542. Śyāmā Dīkṣit Pāṭhak, Mādhyandina. "The tīrtha purohita of the Hindu emperor Anan[ta]pāla of Delhi, the Vidvān of Kāśī. . . . Performed the rājasūya on behalf of the king of Jaypur, Mān Sinh, 300 years ago" (trans. from *Āj*, May 8, 1966) (See no. 347.)

543. Tatya Kelkar (early 20th cent.).

544. Vāmanācārya, adhvaryu; deceased.

545. Vāman Dīkṣit Pāṭhak, Mādhyandina. Performed a Soma yāga around 1850 or a little earlier (cf. the introduction to Vārāṇasī, above) at Rām Kaṭorā, near the Sanskrit University. (See also no. 346.)

546. M. M. Vamshidhar Śāstrī (from Bengal, 20th cent.).

547. Vayunandan Miśra (20th cent.).

(304.) Vināyak Śāstrī Gāḍgīl, RV, from Gwalior. Performed a Sāgnicitya Aptoryāma about 1890–1895 at Bhairav Bāvṛī, on the site of the present Kāśī Gośālā (near the Kōṭvālī or Chief Police Station and Kāl Bhairav Mandir).

548. M. M. Vināyak Śāstrī Vetal (20th cent.).

549. Viṣṇu Śāstrī Sathe (early 20th cent.).

550, Viśvanāth Vāman Dev, ṛgvedaghanapāṭhī, vedācārya, vidyā-

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vāridhi; our foremost informant on the Vedic traditions in Vārāṇasī. Has served as hotār; living.

551. Vyaṅkateś Sahasrabuddhe (19th cent.). Cf. no. 500.

552. Yajñeśvar Dīkṣit Mahābaleśvar(kar), RV. Performed an Agniṣṭoma (early 20th cent.) at the Baṅgālī Bara (see sub no. 505).

SUMMARY

The preceding lists have been summarized below in the form of two tables giving statistics of (1) the sacrificers in the various states, and (2) the rarer Soma sacrifices performed. Some annotations are necessary for their correct interpretation. These tables, and especially the catalogues of the sacrifices, represent underestimates, since only the sacrifices that have been expressly mentioned are included (the only exceptions are the Agniṣṭomas implied for the performers of Soma sacrifices of unspecified or different kinds). Moreover, the figures for the various states are not directly comparable. Those for Kerala, being based on the total estimate for the years since 1911 by Erkkara Raman Nambudiri, are probably much closer to the actual number than the figures for the other states. Among the latter, the figures for Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh include a considerably higher percentage of deceased persons than the rest.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF SACRIFICERS

State	Āhitāgnis	Somayājins	Performers of two or more Soma sacrifices	Maximum number of sacrifices per one person
Andhra Pradesh	200	188	62	20 (no. 150)
Bihar	1			
Karnatak	47	43	15	5 (no. 249)
Kerala	ca. 125	ca. 120	6	2
Madhya Pradesh	1	1	1	2 (no. 304)
Maharashtra	39	26	11	11 (no. 329)
Nepal	3	1	1	3 (no. 346)
Rajasthan	4	3	2	
Tamil Nadu	126	84	21	11–14 (no. 435)
Uttar Pradesh	80	15	1	1
TOTAL	626	481	120	20

TABLE I

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THE RARER SOMA SACRIFICES

Name of the sacrifice	Specification	Number of performances	TOTAL
Agnicayana			103
	Unspecified (probably with Aptoryāma)	36	
	Unspecified, with Aptoryāma	38	
	Unspecified, with other sacrifices	12	
	Sāhasra (cf. TS 5.6.8.2)	3	
	Dviṣāhasra (cf. ibid.)	5	
	Triṣāhasra (cf. ibid.)	5	
	Kāṭhaka (cf. ĀpŚS 19.11–15)	2	
	Āruṇaketuka (cf. BŚS 19.10)	2	
Aptoryāma	(cf. ĀpŚS 14.4.12ff.; 22.13.18–19), mostly Sarvapṛṣṭha (cf. p. 234) and with the Agnicayana	39	75
	Inferred from unspecified Agnicayanas	36	
Vājapeya			22
	Unspecified (2 with unspecified and one with Triṣāhasra Cayana)	16	
	Āpta-vājapeya (cf. ĀpŚS 18.3.6)	3	
	Kuru-vājapeya (cf. ApŚS 18.3.7)	2	
	Saṃsthā-vājapeya (cf. PB 18.6–7; Vājapeya 1955: 19.52)	1	
Atirātra	(cf. ĀpŚS 14.3.8ff.; 22.13.15ff.) (nine with unspecified, one with Triṣāhasra Cayana)		15
Pauṇḍarīka	(cf. ĀpŚS 22.24.8–12)		14
	Unspecified (two with unspecified Cayana)	9	
	Vyūḍha (one with Dvi°, one with Triṣāhasra Cayana)	4	
	Samūdha	1	
Sarvatomukha (cf. BŚS 18,49; ĀpŚS 22.11.12–13) (one with unspecified Cayana)			11
Atyagniṣṭoma (cf. BŚS 14.20) (two with unspecified, one with Dviṣāhasra Cayana)			9
Bṛhaspatisava (v.l.° savana; cf. ĀpŚS 22.7.5–16) (once with Kāṭhaka Cayana)			7
Ṣoḍaśī (cf. ĀpŚS 14.2.2 ff.)			5

(Table continued on p. 245)

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Ukthya (cf. ĀpŚS 14.1.6 ff.) (one with Triṣāhasra Cayana)	4
Saumika Cāturmāsyas (cf. ĀpŚS 22.8.1 ff.)	2
Diva(ḥ)śyena Iṣṭi(s) (cf. BaudhŚS 19.8; ĀpŚS 19.15.17)	1
Nakṣatra Iṣṭi(s) (cf. TB 3.1; BŚS 28.3–4)	1
Pañcakarakas (?)	1
Sautrāmaṇī (cf. ĀpŚS 19)	1
Agniṣṭut (cf. ĀpŚS 22.6.5 ff.) (with Kāṭhaka Cayana)	1
Sarvajit Mahāvrata (cf. ĀpŚS 22.1.16 ff.)	1
Dvādaśāha (cf. ĀpŚS 21.1–4)	1
Rājasūya (cf. ĀpŚS 18.8–22)	
Aśvamedha (cf. ĀpŚS 20)	1

TABLE 2 *(continued)*

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE MODERN ŚRAUTA TRADITION AND ITS DEVIATIONS

During the Brāhmaṇa period the Vedic sacrifices were the focus of cultural and religious activity, although it cannot be said that each and every individual entitled to perform sacrifices did so. During the Sūtra period, however, when metaphysical concepts based on Upaniṣadic teachings had gained ground, ritualistic practices must have received a setback. Changing social conditions also played their part. Nonetheless, literary and epigraphic evidence, some of which has been cited above, indicates that ritualistic religion survived in the classical and medieval periods in spite of the great ideological revolutions. In this connection, it may be repeated that the epigraphic evidence cannot be taken at face value, since as a rule only the sacrifices performed by royal yajamānas have been recorded. In the 19th and 20th centuries, close contact with the Western world brought about most radical changes in social and economic conditions as well as religious convictions. This new development has dealt a severe blow to the already weakened sacrificial tradition. Despite the adverse conditions, however, we have the names of over five hundred āhitāgnis from recent times, mainly living in relatively isolated corners of peninsular India. These southern states have for a long time been a stronghold of ancient Indian customs that had largely been extinguished in the North during the centuries of Muslim rule. It does seem remarkable that, along with Vedic recitation, the śrauta tradition has been preserved in India for three millennia. Viewed in the light of an epigraphic and literary record, which testifies to a significant series of precedents, if not to a continuous heritage, the modern day śrauta traditions, with their wide distribution, do appear to be genuine survivals of ancient rituals.

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In regard to this modern tradition in general, we would therefore not speak of "reconstructions" of the śrauta ritual, as Renou (1953, p. 31) did when referring to the Vājapeya instituted by the Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala (cf. pages 200, 230). It is true that in this particular instance professional scholars engaged in the critical study of the ancient ritual texts were involved in the organization of the ritual, which was performed by traditional experts. In the vast majority of the recent performances, however, this is certainly not the case. The traditional śrautins resort to the local prayoga manuals and the customary procedure learnt from the older generation rather than to the study of the Śrauta Sūtras. Thus also the deviations of the modern performances from the injunctions of ancient ritual texts can to some extent be considered as proofs of their authenticity. Taking into consideration that the Śrauta Sūtras themselves often allow for optional procedures, various substitutions, and relaxation of older ritual restrictions, it would indeed be suspicious if modern practice agreed in every detail with that described by the Śrauta Sūtras some two thousand years earlier.

This circumstance of course has some effect on the reliability of the modern śrauta tradition, even if it is accepted as the genuine successor of the ancient ritual. Weber was quite justified in criticizing Haug for his tendency "by far to exaggerate the importance of the *present* views of the native priests or the *traditional oral* tradition in general. In fact he goes even so far, as is rightly pointed out by his reviewer in Bombay, that he puts his own personal experiences and inquiries not only above the sūtras and the commentaries but even above Sāyaṇa. But it is quite plain how considerable errors can or *must* creep into our conception, if we without further ado adopt as an unconditioned model for the antiquity, too, that development of the ritual which it has reached at a given stage or individual today" (translation of Weber 1865, pp. 214 f.). Many of the numerous errors pointed out by Weber and the Bombay reviewer in Haug's work are due to sheer carelessness on Haug's part. But there is certainly reason to be on one's guard when employing present-day śrauta performances for the elucidation of the Vedic texts. A brief survey of some major points of difference may be useful in this context. The reader is referred for more details to two papers by Kashikar (1958, 1964), on which this survey is based.

The cake offered in the Full- and New-Moon sacrifices should actually be prepared in the following manner. A bullock cart or a vessel full of paddy stands to the rear of the fire hall; the adhvaryu takes out paddy in the required quantity; it is pounded and winnowed; and the rice grains are crushed by means of two grinding stones. (Cf. e.g., ĀpŚS 1.17 ff.) Nowadays prepared flour is usually poured out, and the procedures of pounding, winnowing, and crushing are only formally gone through to the accompaniment of the relevant mantras. Even the baking of the cake is sometimes done in a manner rather different from the prescribed one.

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The fire hall and the fireplaces are constructed in accordance with the prescriptions of the various Śrauta- and Śulba Sūtras. There are, however, a few differences. Some Śrauta Sūtras mention chambers around the gārhapatya and āhavanīya fires, but these are generally not built. The common practice of making a shed that covers the entire sacrificial area does not find authority in any Śrauta Sūtra. In consequence, the prācīnavaṃśa shed, which should have a roof with a central beam pointing towards the east, does not have an independent roof any more than do the sadas and the havirdhāna sheds, though each of them is expected to be covered separately.

The somewhat artificial character that the Soma sacrifice, in particular, has, and probably has had for some time, is conspicuous in the miniature form that some of the implements have acquired. Particular mention may here be made of the bullock carts (the havirdhāna carts, the Soma cart) and the chariots (used in the Vājapeya and other sacrifices).

The dakṣiṇās to be given away to the priests in a sacrifice are varied: cows, goats, bulls, horses, other animals, chariots, agricultural land, cloth, gold, and many other substances. It must have always been extremely difficult to procure them, even for rich people, and consequently substitutes are employed. The Mūlhādhyāya-pariśiṣṭa belonging to the Kātyāyana-Śrauta Sūtra lays down the values of many dakṣiṇās in coins (paṇa). At present only money is given, and the sums are symbolic in comparison to the original gifts. For example, in the Vājapeya one should give to each of the seventeen priests a hundred cows, a chariot, a cart, a horse, an elephant, a golden pectoral, a slave girl, a goat, a ewe, a garment (ĀpŚS 18.3.4), or a hundred cows and sixteen other articles. In the Vājapeya performed at Poona in 1955, "the total of 116 articles was substituted by Rs. 116/- for each priest. Certain other priests received extra *dakṣiṇā* as prescribed." (Vājapeya 1955, p. 59.)

The Cāturmāsya sacrifices, which should be performed at four-month intervals, are nowadays celebrated on consecutive days. Three offerings have been prescribed to be made every year, one at the appearance of each new crop: the Śyāmākāgrayaṇa in the rainy season, the Vrīhyāgrayaṇa in the autumn, and the Yavāgrayaṇa in the winter. These rules relate to the economic conditions of North India. In the South, only Vrīhyāgrayaṇa is performed, since paddy alone is grown.

The offering of an animal, generally a goat, forms an integral part of many sacrifices. As a compromise between the injunction of the holy writ (śruti) and the tenet of nonviolence preached by the Vaiṣṇava sect, Madhvācārya introduced the practice of offering an animal of dough (*piṣṭapaśu*). This tradition is being observed even at present by the followers of the Mādhva sect (cf. nos. 341, 342). It became a point of dispute between the traditional ritualists and the followers of the Mādhva sect in the first quarter of this century.

In recent times there has been a growing opposition to the animal

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sacrifice from various quarters. In consequence, some Soma sacrifices have been performed without actually offering an animal (cf. no. 318: Nasik 1959). In several sacrifices clarified butter has been used as a substitute (cf. no. 334: Indore 1930, Poona 1955; no. 252: Kotambailu 1957 or 1959; no. 249: Harihareshwar 1961; no. 308: Akalkot 1969). In the Sāgnicitya Atirātra of Panjal, Kerala, 1975, which is described in detail in the present publication, dough tied in a piece of banana leaf was offered in place of an animal because of the public opposition; the substitute was adopted from the similar one used at the domestic rite of Aṣṭakā in Kerala.

In an animal sacrifice the omentum and certain organs are to be offered. Their identification, however, presents a problem, and some are taken only partially. The main reason for this seems to be that in Karnataka, Andhra, and Tamil Nadu the body of the immolated animal (goat) is not dissected, but the organs are extracted by making an aperture in the dead body of the animal. Such a practice can be explained on the basis of the vegetarianism of the brahmins to whom the practice of ritualistic religion has for long been largely restricted.

It appears from the Brāhmaṇa texts that the original Soma plant, the principal offering substance of a Soma sacrifice, had already by that time become difficult to procure. The reason for this was most probably the migration of the Vedic people away from the habitat of the original Soma plant. Its identity remains a problem that Gordon Wasson's mushroom theory has hardly succeeded in solving (cf. Brough 1971). The most likely candidate seems to be some species of Ephedra growing at high altitudes in the Iranian plateau, and imported as haoma by the Parsis of Bombay (cf. Watt 1890, III, 246 ff.). The Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts already mention substitutes. Nowadays, as has been the case for a long time, the most commonly used plant is some species of Sarcostemma (cf. Watt 1893: VI, 2, 477 f.); the vernacular names of both the two genera mentioned are often derived from the word *soma*.

The Ṛgveda, the Yajurveda and the Sāmaveda each have their own sphere of influence in the performance of a Soma sacrifice. A problem arises when a Veda transgresses its specific field. Thus, while the ādhvaryava is the field of the Yajurveda, the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda have recorded the hautra for certain sacrifices. Since the hautra is the field of the Ṛgveda, the one recorded in the Taittirīya Veda was naturally regarded as the hautraśeṣa. In view of the fact that the hautra for a Soma sacrifice is contained in the Ṛgveda alone, it has been the age-old practice of most Taittirīyas to adopt in a Soma sacrifice the complete hautra from the Ṛgveda. The Āpastambins in and around Kallidaikurichi in the Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu, and the Satyāṣāḍhins of western Maharashtra, have adopted the yājuṣa-hautra for pre-Soma purposes. In the 18th century, however, Gopinatha Ganesh Oka, a Maharashtrian of Varanasi and the commentator of Satyāṣāḍha-Śrauta Sūtra VII–X,

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professed that even in a Soma sacrifice performed by a Satyāṣāḍhin the hautra elements of the Taittirīya Veda had to be adopted by the hotar. In the Agniṣṭoma performed in 1872 at Pachwad by Kashinatha Dikshita Karandhikar, a Satyāṣāḍhin of Wai (no. 337), the hautra was performed along these lines, and it was followed by a number of similar Soma sacrifices in western Maharashtra, particularly at Wai and Sangli (cf. nos. 322, 326, 327, 329, 338–340). In most of these the entire hautra was performed not by Ṛgvedins but by Satyāṣāḍhins.

The coordination of the three Vedas in a Soma sacrifice also involves the question of the relations of their subschools. There are no rules for the coordination of specific schools. Certain traditions, however, have been established, probably as a consequence of neighborly relations. Thus a Ṛgvedin (Śākala) sacrificer from Maharashtra was required to choose as his adhvaryu a person belonging either to the Baudhāyana or the Āpastamba school. Since neither of these schools were available in the city of Poona, the Taittirīyas there belonging to the Satyāṣāḍha school, S. R. Rajawade, a Ṛgvedin āhitāgni (no. 325), chose a follower of the Satyāṣāḍha school as his adhvaryu in the first quarter of the 20th century. This caused a stir among the priests for some time.

An āhitāgni begins with the performance of the Full-and New-Moon sacrifices, followed by an animal sacrifice, the Cāturmāsyas and finally the Agniṣṭoma. The Śrauta Sūtras enumerate seven forms of one-day (*ekāha*) Soma sacrifices, but the practice of performing all of them one by one is very rare. In most parts of India it is customary after the Agniṣṭoma to perform the Aptoryāma sacrifice involving the chanting of stotras characterised by all the stomas and all the pṛṣṭhas (cf. Eggeling 1894, III, p. xx) and combined with the building of the fire altar. In Kerala, however, the Atirātra is performed instead of the Aptoryāma.

Due to the decline of the śrauta tradition, the reduced number of āhitāgnis and sacrificial performances, the skills of the officiating priests have deteriorated. The knowledge of many priests in recent times has been limited to learning the Veda by rote and to a practical knowledge of the prayoga manuals of specific sacrifices, if that. As a result, the performances have often taken a longer time to complete than expected. For example, in an Agniṣṭoma the third pressing should be finished well before the sunset, and in an Atirātra by next morning, but not infrequently the procedure of one day's Soma pressing has been spread over two days.

It is true that changes in the mode of life have led to the introduction of certain practical conveniences, producing a sort of artificiality in the performances. Nevertheless, the study of modern śrauta tradition renders invaluable help in understanding Vedic texts. The history of religions is about to lose this important primary source, and it is to be hoped that the scholarly world will not cease in its efforts to preserve as much of it as

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possible: the Kerala Agnicayana project, important as it is, has far from exhausted the potential.

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RECENT NAMBUDIRI PERFORMANCES OF AGNIṢṬOMA AND AGNICAYANA

C. V. Somayajipad, M. Itti Ravi Nambudiri, and Erkkara Raman Nambudiri

THE FOLLOWING LIST HAS been reconstructed from memory, and so there is a possibility of error in the dates. In the first column we list the name of the Nambudiri house (*illam* or *mana*) to which the yajamāna belonged. They all belong to the Śukapuram *grāmam* (hereditary village). In the second column we list the village, and in the third the district, where the family is now located. In the fourth and last column we list the number of performances that have taken place within the last 100 years, followed by the dates if we can recollect them. Unmarked dates indicate performances of Agniṣṭoma; dates followed by the letter *A* indicate performances of Agnicayana. The dates are given in the Malabar or Malayalam Era. Since the performances always take place during the spring (*vasanta*), the Gregorian dates can be obtained simply by adding 825. The order of the listings is alphabetical. This list should supplement and, wherever necessary, supersede the information provided by Kashikar and Parpola (pages 223–226).

HOUSE	VILLAGE	DISTRICT	YEAR
1. Akittam	Śukapuram	Malappuram	2
2. Aḷakappuṟa	Tiruvegappuṟa	Pālakkāṭù (Palghat)	1: 1074
3. Ālampiḷḷi	Kavaḷappāṟa	Pālakkāṭù	1: 1104
4. Ālampiḷḷi	Kirāyūr	Pālakkāṭù	2: 1116
5. Ameṯṯūr	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	2: 1102, 1145
6. Āññam	Toṇṭinūr	Pālakkāṭù	2: 1067, 1105
7. Aṭakkāpputtūrkunnam	Aṭakkāpputtūr	Pālakkāṭù	2 + 1(A): 1102
8. Bhaṭṭinambūtiri	Akatiyūr	Tṛśśūr	2: 1062, 1098

[1] *Editor's Note*: I am responsible for the Roman transliteration of the names into Malayalam, although my work has also been checked by Sreekrishna Sarma. I have retained the expression of dates in terms of the Malayalam Era, so that the authors can check them and error is minimized. For a concordance of dates over the years 1899–1949, see Mooss 1973, pp. 209–221.

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HOUSE	VILLAGE	DISTRICT	YEAR
9. Bhaṭṭiputtillam	Paḷalippuṟam	Pālakkāṭṭu	3: 1078, 1103, 1140
10. Bhaṭṭivaṭakkeḍam	Paḷalippuṟam	Pālakkāṭṭu	1: 1084
11. Ceṟumukku	Eṭappālam	Pālakkāṭṭu	8 + 4(A): 1044, 1058, 1070, 1104, 1114, 1129, 1140(2), 1048(A), 1060(A), 1130 (A), 1150(A)
12. Ceṟuppoyilam	Poyilam	Pālakkāṭṭu	2: 1091
13. Cola	Tṛttāla	Pālakkāṭṭu	1: 1104
14. Eḷeṭam	Kāṟalmaṇṇa	Pālakkāṭṭu	2: 1101, 1140
15. Ēḷikkōṭṭu	Paiṅkuḷam	Tṛśśūr	2: 1090
16. Eṇṇāḷi	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	2: 1078, 1102
17. Eraṭṭa	Poyilam	Pālakkāṭṭu	3: 1104
18. Ērkkara	Mūkkutala	Malappuṟam	3: 1062, 1068, 1104
19. Etattaṟa mūttēṭam	Eṭattara	Malappuṟam	1
20. Kakkāṭṭu	Guruvāyūr	Malappuṟam	2 + 1(A)
21. Kaliyan	Poliyam	Pālakkāṭṭu	1
22. Kallānikkāṭṭu	Neṭuṅṅōṭṭūr	Pālakkāṭṭu	1
23. Kaṇayūrkāpra	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	2: 1086, 1103
24. Kārttiyam	Kirāyūr	Pālakkāṭṭu	1 + 1(A)
25. Karuvāṭṭu	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	1: 1102
26. Kiḷakkekkuttuḷḷi	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	3: 1081, 1102, 1129
27. Kīḷenarippaṭṭa	Kāṟalmaṇṇa	Pālakkāṭṭu	2: 1070, 1140
28. Kīḷ muṇṭayūr	Pērāmaṅgalam	Tṛśśūr	1: 1060
29. Kiḷuprakkāṭṭu	Poyilam	Pālakkāṭṭu	2: 1113
30. Kirāyūr paḷḷiśśeri	Kirāyūr	Pālakkāṭṭu	1: 1128
31. Koraṭṭikkara	Pāṅṅāl	Tṛśśūr	3: 1090
32. Koṭakkāṭṭu kuttuḷḷi	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	1: 1101
33. Koyttaṭi	Kāṟalmaṇṇa	Pālakkāṭṭu	2: 1127
34. Kṛṣṇattu	Trāṅṅāli	Pālakkāṭṭu	1
35. Kuḷiyāṅkuṇam	Akatiyūr	Tṛśśūr	2 + 1(A): 1091
36. Kummiṇi	Kavaḷappāṟa	Pālakkāṭṭu	2: 1097
37. Kunnam	Kāṟalmaṇṇa	Pālakkāṭṭu	2: 1128
38. Kunnam	Kirāyūr	Pālakkāṭṭu	1: 1068
39. Kuriśśāttamaṇṇa	Kalluvaḷi	Pālakkāṭṭu	1
40. Kuttuḷḷi	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	2 + 1(A): 1128, 1094(A)

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HOUSE	VILLAGE	DISTRICT	YEAR
41. Maṃgalattēri	Mūkkutala	Malappuṟam	2: 1079, 1114
42. Māṟattukāpra	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	7 + 1(A): 1013, 1043, 1073, 1090, 1097(A), 1108, 1121, 1140
43. Mēlenarippaṭṭa	Kāṟalmaṇṇa	Pālakkāṭu	1
44. Meppoyilam	Poyilaṃ	Pālakkāṭu	2: 1102
45. Mōḷikunnam	Kāṟalmaṇṇa	Pālakkāṭu	1 + 1(A)
46. Muṇṭayūr	Āṭṭūr	Tṛśśūr	4: 1091, 1103, 1128
47. Muṇṭayūr	Āṟaṅṅōṭṭukara	Tṛśśūr	1: 1060
48. Mūrttyeṭam	Kāṟalmaṇṇa	Pālakkāṭu	2: 1078, 1102
49. Muṭṭattukāṭṭil māmaṇṇu	Pāṅṅāl	Tṛśśūr	4 + 1(A): 1055, 1086, 1104, 1019(A)
50. Mūtteṭam	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	1
51. Nalleṭam	Naṭuvaṭṭam	Pālakkāṭu	1: 1074
52. Nāṟāssu	Eṭappāḷ	Malappuṟam	3: 1103, 1130, 1140
53. Neḍḍham	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	2: 1068
54. Nellikkāṭṭil māmaṇṇu	Pāṅṅāl	Tṛśśūr	3 + 3(A): 1091, 1116, 1076(A), 1093(A), 1131 (A)
55. Neṭuṅṅōttūr mūtteḍam	Neṭuṅṅōṭṭūr	Pālakkāṭu	1
56. Neṭuṅṅōttūr pāṟa	Neṭuṅṅōṭṭūr	Pālakkāṭu	1
57. Nilayaṅṅōṭu	Cāttanūr	Pālakkāṭu	1: 1080
58. Oṭṭupura	Kirāyūr	Pālakkāṭu	1: 1080
59. Pakarāvūr	Mūkkutala	Malappuṟam	3: 1078, 1098
60. Paḷayam	Vaṭṭanāṭu	Pālakkāṭu	2: 1095
61. Paḷḷiśśeri	Kiḷḷimaṃgalam	Tṛśśūr	2: 1078, 1128
62. Pāṇṭam	Kāṟalmaṇṇa	Pālakkāṭu	1: 1085
63. Pāṟa	Toṇṭinūr	Pālakkāṭu	2: 1089
64. Paṭiṅṅāṭṭāṭu	Trāṅṅāli	Pālakkāṭu	2: 1091, 1102
65. Paṭiṅṅāṭṭukara	Accipra	Malappuṟam	1
66. Pātirippiḷḷi	Pāṅṅāl	Tṛśśūr	2 + 1(A): 1088, 1034(A)
67. Perumaṅṅāṭu	Pāṅṅāl	Tṛśśūr	2: 1079
68. Pōtāyattu	Trāṅṅāli	Pālakkāṭu	2: 1086, 1140
69. Poṭṭakkuḷi	Poyilam	Pālakkāṭu	1: 1101
70. Pukkuḷi	Ālaṅṅōṭu	Malappuṟam	2: 1089, 1113

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HOUSE	VILLAGE	DISTRICT	YEAR
71. Putumana	Tōnnalīūr	Tṛśśūr	2: 1076, 1104
72. Putuśśeri	Śukapuram	Malappuṟam	1: 1086
73. Tekkēppāṭṭu	Eṭappalam	Pālakkāṭṭu	1
74. Tekkuṃpaṟampu	Kāṟalmaṇṇa	Pālakkāṭṭu	2: 1128
75. Tiyyanūr	Kavaḷappāṟa	Pālakkāṭṭu	1: 1104
76. Tōṭṭam	Pāṇṇāl	Tṛśśūr	3: 1087, 1100
77. Vāddhyān	Āṯṯūr	Tṛśśūr	1
78. Vāykkākkara	Pāṇṇāl	Tṛśśūr	3: 1080, 1127
79. Veṇṇallūr	Ōṅṅallūr	Pālakkāṭṭu	1
80. Ventrakkāṭṭu	Eṭappāḷ	Malappuṟam	2: 1085

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A HISTORY OF THE NAMBUDIRI COMMUNITY OF KERALA

M. G. S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat

MIGRATIONS FROM THE NORTH

IN SOUTH INDIA the historical period began in approximately the third century B.C. with what is generally designated as the Sangam age, the age of the Sangam literature (Sastri 1966, pp. 115–145). During this period, Kerala formed an integral part of Tamiḻakam in the political, social, cultural, and linguistic senses, and the early bards of Tamiḻakam traveled freely between the forts of chieftains on either side of the Western Ghats (Kunjan Pillai 1970, pp. 9–23). In those days the Cēra or Kerala kingdom, which gave its name to Kerala, included the central portion of the modern state of Kerala (the major part of Kozhikode, Malappuram, Palghat, Trichur, Ernakulam, and Alleppey Districts) and a few western districts of the modern state of Tamilnadu (Coimbatore, Salem, and Tiruchirappalli). To the north of the Cēra kingdom on the west coast lay the Mūva territory around Ēḻimalai, beyond which lay, as far as the Tamils were concerned, Moḻipeyardēśam (the land of a different speech). To the south of the Cēra kingdom was the Āy-Vēḷ territory on the west coast and, further south, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Contrary to earlier notions among historians, it is now clear that brahmins, along with their Vedic-purāṇic lore and ritual tradition, formed an influential section of Tamil Sangam society and played a crucial role in policy-making in the courts of the chieftains of Tamiḻakam during the Sangam age (Sastri 1972; Narayanan 1975). In fact, the Vedic sage Agastya is regarded by the Tamils as the first grammarian of the Tamil language and the father of Tamil culture.

The First Wave: Sangam Period

It is interesting to note that Nannan of Koṇkānam, the Mūva chieftain of Ēḻimalai (in North Kerala), is mentioned in the Sangam literature as a great warrior and patron of Tamil poets. This Nannan was probably the same as Nandana, the great ancestor of the Mūva or Mūṣaka rulers, who are described in the eleventh-century historical work called the *Mūṣakavaṃśakāvya* as the lords of North Kerala (Narayanan 1973[a]). The nearby site of Cellūr is described as the place marked by the sacrificial pillar and never-extinguished sacred fire that commemorate the sacrifice of the Great One With the Battle-ax who extirpated many princes. This is a clear reference to

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the myth of Paraśurāma, although there is nothing to suggest a legend to the effect that the land of Kerala was itself created by Paraśurāma. Cellūr is the same as Periñcellūr (now known as Taḷipaṟamba), one of the two northernmost Nambudiri or Kerala brahmin settlements in Kerala (Veluthat 1978, pp. 12–20), the other being Payyannūr, about 20 kilometers west-northwest of Taḷipaṟamba. These two settlements constitute the northern group, geographically separated from the others by more than 150 kilometers, and are the only major brahmin settlements in North Malabar. Though Cellūr is included in the list of thirty-two traditional brahmin settlements of Kerala found in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle, the prolific references to Kerala in the Sangam works do not contain any mention of the other great brahmin settlements known to Kerala tradition. Moreover, the *Kēraḷōlpatti* itself refers to two stages of brahmin immigration to Kerala. The earlier brahmin settlers, who were called Paḷantuḷuvar (the early Tuḷu people) and were supposedly brought by Paraśurāma, suffered from the hostility of the Nāgas and fled. The second attempt by Paraśurāma is described as having been more successful. There is a possibility that in the account of the Paḷantuḷuvar we have a reference to the old brahmin settlements of the Sangam age (including Cellūr), which were associated with the Vedic sacrifice of Paraśurāma.

With regard to the Paraśurāma tradition, one must bear in mind that the purāṇic references to Paraśurāma's violent quarrel with the kṣatriyas, his gift of the whole earth to the Kāśyapas, and his creation of new land from the sea (Saletore 1933) have nothing to do with Kerala. They are associated with places in Saurashtra, Gujarat, and Maharashtra, because they refer to Māhiṣmati, the Haihaya capital, Śūrpāraka or Sōpāra, Bhṛgukaccha or Broach, and Mount Mahēndra of the Vindhyan range. However, these legends may allude to northern settlements on the west coast of brahmins belonging to the Kāśyapa and Bhārgava clans, who were distinguished by their taste for innovation and adventure (Kosambi 1956, pp. 99, 111, 120, 124). When these brahmins migrated further south along the west coast they seem to have carried the Paraśurāma legend with them, with the result that there is an association of the Koṅkan, Canara, and Kerala countries with the alleged reclamation of land by the great sage.

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

The Second Wave: Kadambas and Cālukyas

The enduring large-scale brahmin settlement of Karnataka seems to have been established under the auspices of the Kadamba dynasty founded by Mayūravarman (A.D. 345–360). According to the undated Candravalli tank inscription Mayūravarman claimed to have defeated the Pallava and the Punnāṭa territories of the south as well (Archaeological Survey, Mysore State, *Annual Report of Epigraphy* 1929, p. 50). Another early Kadamba inscription in Prakrit, by an unnamed king at Malavaḷḷi (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, 7, Sk. 264), records a grant of villages to a brahmin. King Mayūravar-

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man is described in the Tālaguṇḍa Pillar inscription of his descendant Kākusthavarman as a great conqueror who began life as a Vedic scholar and, following a quarrel with the Pallavan force at the ghaṭikā of Kāñci, carved out a kingdom for himself on the west coast. This ruler is credited in the *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* and the *Grāmapaddhati* chronicles, both pertaining to South Canara, with importing brahmins from the north in order to settle them in his territory. These traditions are corroborated by several medieval inscriptions of Karnataka and appear to be reliable (Saletore 1936, pp. 327–35; Kosambi 1956, p. 33). The large-scale brahmin settlement of the Tuḷu-Kannada region may therefore be assigned to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. A sixth century Kadamba king named Viṣṇu Varman left a label inscription at Eḍakal on the northeastern frontier of Kerala (*Indian Antiquary*, XXX: 409–421), but there is no evidence of direct political influence of the Kadambas over Kerala.

In the period of the seventh and eighth centuries, land grants to brahmins took place in the Āḷupa country of South Canara, which had come under the domination of the Cālukyas. The records of the Cālukyas from the time of Kīrtivarman I (A.D. 566–598) also claim that the Mūṣakas and Keralas were brought into subservience along with the Āḷupas, Gaṅgas, and other groups (Fleet, nos. XVIII, XXIX, XXXI), which may indicate the extension of brahmin settlements into Kerala in the same way as in Āḷupa country. In fact, the Kerala brahmin traditions as found in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* also point in this direction. According to these traditions, Paraśurāma established sixty-four brahmin settlements in the territory between Gōkarṇam and Kanyākumāri, the first thirty-two being in Tuḷu country and the rest of them in Kerala itself. As pointed out earlier, the association of Paraśurāma with these settlements represents only the migration of a myth. All the evidence from the early brahmin settlements of Kerala confirms their affiliation with the settlements in Tuḷunāḍu. Moreover, it is clear that all thirty-two settlements of Kerala proper had come into existence by the ninth century, since even a southern settlement like Tiruvalla had developed upagrāmas (subsidiary settlements) by that time, as is evident from the Vāḻappaḷḷi copper plate of Rājaśēkhara (*T.A.S.*, II: 8–14). We may therefore conclude that the thirty-two traditional settlements of Kerala were established in the period of Cālukya hegemony during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

These brahmin settlements must be distinguished from the earlier brahmin settlements of Tamiḻakam (including Cellūr) that flourished in the Sangam age. In this connection, it is important to remember that the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, the record of Nambudiri tradition, contains no trace of the early Cēra kingdom with its many celebrated kings and poets, or of the Mūva kingdom of Ēḻimalai, or of the Āys and Vēḷs of South Kerala. In addition, there is no mention of the Agastya legend, nor of the Cēra king Ceṅkuṭṭuvan who is celebrated in the epic of *Cilappatikāram*. The ancient ports of Toṇḍi (Tyndis

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of the Greeks) or Muciri (Muziris) are also conspicuously absent. The chronicles begin with the brahmin settlements of the Tuḷu and Kerala countries and move directly into the problems of government which led to the establishment of the rule of the Cēra Perumāḷs of Koduṅgallūr. These traditions fit into the framework of epigraphic evidence regarding the Kadambas and Cālukyas discussed above. There is every reason to attribute the foundation of the thirty-two settlements of tradition to the post-Sangam period, preferably to the seventh and eighth centuries, and to postulate a close connection between these brahmin settlements and the ninth century phenomenon of the rise of the later Cēra kingdom of Makōtai or Mahōdayapuram.

DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE CĒRA KINGDOM

By the ninth century A.D. the historical scene in Kerala emerges with greater clarity. Light is thrown from different angles: there is a good deal of evidence from epigraphy, and to a lesser extent from archeology, as well as from literature. Thanks to recent studies (Kunjan Pillai 1970; Narayanan 1972) we have a definite picture of a long line of hereditary rulers known as Perumāḷs presiding over a kingdom that brought almost all the territory of the present-day state of Kerala under a uniform system of administration. This new Cēra or Kerala dynasty had its capital city at Makōtai or Mahōdayapuram, which is identified with modern Koduṅgallūr. The Perumāḷs claimed kṣatriya status and, like the Guptas, Cālukyas, Pallavas, and others, proudly proclaimed their championship of varṇāśramadharma. They were great patrons of the temples, which were controlled by the Kerala brahmins. Among these kings were Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, one of the sixty-three Tamil Śaiva saints, and Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār, one of the twelve saints of Tamil Vaiṣṇavism. It was during the later Cēra period that the Kerala brahmins developed into an organized, powerful, wealthy, landowning community enjoying the patronage of the state. They formed an oligarchy supporting the Perumāḷ's government, thus accelerating the process by which a rigidly hierarchical caste system was established. Gradually the influence of these brahmins from Tuḷu-Kannada areas and their Nāyar followers weaned Kerala away from the common Tamil heritage. This period also witnessed the beginnings of the development that shaped Malayalam into a separate language.

All thirty-two traditional settlements of Kerala brahmins appear to have been established before the close of the eighth century. This can be inferred from the fact that Vāḻappaḷḷi and Tiruvāṯṯuvāy, two subsidiary villages of the brahmin settlement of Tiruvalla in the south, are mentioned in the early ninth century Vāḻappaḷḷi copper plate of King Rājaśēkhara. Moreover, out of the thirty-two traditional settlements, eighteen have

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yielded inscriptions of the Cēra period from their temple precincts, four figure prominently in Cēra inscriptions from other places, three others are mentioned in near-contemporary literature and six have come down to us with their continuing brahminical traditions and temples, the foundations of which are stylistically datable to the Cēra period (Narayanan 1972, passim; Veluthat 1978, pp. 21–38).

Nature of the Council

These brahmin settlements are distinguished by their peculiar temple-centered organization, consisting of a central temple known as the grāma-kṣētra, as well as several other temples. The administration of the temple and its property (Narayanan 1972; Veluthat 1978, pp. 52–67) was entrusted to a permanent council consisting of hereditary members, ten or sixteen or eighteen or twenty-five or twenty-seven as the case may be, who represented the founding families who jointly owned the temple property, known as dēvasvam, and severally owned plots of land, or brahmasvam. The details presented in some land grants of about the eleventh and twelfth centuries indicate that on the establishment of a new temple the ruler invited brahmins to settle around that temple. They were charged with the maintenance of the temple and its dēvasvam property, and the brahmasvam property appears to have been bestowed on them to provide an incentive for settlement and continued supervision of the temple.

The council, variously known as Ūr (this term denoted both the village and its council), Sabhā (assembly), Patineṭṭu Nāṭṭār (the Eighteen Residents), Patinaṟumar (the Sixteen), and so on, met regularly within the precincts of the temple. The council often had a smaller executive committee, called the Paraṭai (pariṣad or committee), and an executive officer called Potuvāḷ. Important decisions taken by the council were set down on granite walls, loose granite slabs, or copper plates. In several cases the Perumāḷ (king), Koyil Adhikārikaḷ (king's representative), Nāḍ Uṭaiyavar (district governor) or Paṭai Nāyar (commander of the army) presided over such council meetings, thus demonstrating royal supervision over these otherwise relatively autonomous bodies.

In the council meetings decisions were taken unanimously. Most of the resolutions were concerned with the regulations of tenancy rights on temple property and the service conditions of the employees of the temple. Those who consistently opposed the consensus and those who violated the agreements were mercilessly excommunicated. Such offenders lost their membership in the council as well as all other positions, and their property was confiscated. These interdicts also applied to the relatives and supporters of the offenders and to their succeeding generations. The severity of such punitive clauses, which equated socioeconomic offences with the scriptural mahāpātakas (great sins), illustrate the manner in which new legislation was put into practice by these councils in close collaboration with the authority

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of the state. They also confirm the intensity of the desire on the part of these brahmins to preserve their communal property and privileges even at the risk of inflicting self-torture (Narayanan 1976).

Another significant trend characteristic of this period is the degree of unity and uniformity among the brahmin settlements. Several temple council resolutions, from Ēḻimalai near Cannanore in the north to Tirunandikkara near Trivandrum in the south, refer to the regulations regarding the management of property and services of Mūḻikkaḷam temple, quoting it as a precedent that exercised the force of law. This demonstrates an awareness of the identical nature of their problems and their eagerness to impose a uniform pattern, enforced with the help of the Perumāḷ. In addition to the kaccam (agreement) of Mūḻikkaḷam, which covered all the normal functions of the village council, several other kaccams were devised for specific requirements such as the management of cērikkal or crown property under lease (as in the Tavanūr, Śaṅkaramaṅgalattu and Kaḍaṅgāṭṭu kaccams), protection of the temple girls (as in the Kōṭṭuvāyiravēli kaccam), and the amalgamation of two or more brahmin villages (as in the Kaitavārattu kaccam). These measures indicate both the development of brahmin communal identity on a pan-Kerala basis and the growth of a complex legal and judicial system. The latter is manifested in all parts of India, especially in the contemporary epigraphic records of peninsular India, but the former is a feature peculiar to Kerala, which might lend support to the tradition of group migration into the region.

Landed Property aud Political Power

Epigraphic records reveal that the brahmin village councils underwent a period of quick development in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, receiving donations of land and gold from princes, chieftains, merchants, brahmins, dēvadāsis, and others. In addition, some of the members of the council surrendered their brahmasvam property to the temple and took up cultivation as tenants of the temple. In some instances the ruling chieftains transferred whole villages and forest areas to the temple authorities for the conduct of annual festivals or for some routine expenditure. The donations of gold were also invested in land that was leased out to tenants on liberal terms, and temple servants were usually remunerated by the assignment of land on service tenure.

These transactions appear to have made the brahmin ūrāḷar of the settlements the biggest landlords in Kerala, at least in their corporate capacity. In this connection it may be noted that all the Kerala brahmin settlements are found in the plains between the sea-coast and the mountains, where the fertile soil, watered by numerous rivers, furnished ideal conditions for paddy cultivation. For example, the three biggest clusters of traditional brahmin settlements are found on the banks of Pampā, Periyār, and Pērār (Veluthat 1978, p. 31), which would appear to reveal an early preference for

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arable land. Moreover, the rate of increase in the extent of cultivated land held as dēvasvam property is amazing. Though this is demonstrated by the records of several settlements, the finest example is provided by the lengthy copper plates from Tiruvalla, dated to about the twelfth century (*T.A.S.*, II: 131–207). For instance, the land set apart to feed brahmins could be sown with 12,634 kalam (126,340 paṟai; one paṟai equals roughly 17 liters) of paddy seeds, and land of a seed capacity of over 2,000 kalam was earmarked for the expenses of burning "perpetual lamps" in the temple. A subordinate temple, Tēviyārnaṭai, possessed land sown with 5,600 kalam of paddy. The revenue of 13,685 paṟai of paddy was used to finance the burning of daily lamps, 13,500 paṟai for daily food offerings to the deity and 1,237 1/2 paṟai for purchasing ghee. Beyond this lay the land for the conduct of festivals, ceremonies, and so on instituted by different devotees, the land for the payment of the various functionaries, and the land for the maintenance of the hospital and śālai attached to the temple. Wealth in other forms, such as gold, precious stones, and vessels, also belonged to the temple (Kunjan Pillai 1970, pp. 238–239).

This vast amount of landed wealth naturally gave the brahmin ūrāḷar great authority over a large army of tenants. The skillful blending of the sense of obligation to the landlord and devotion to the deity certainly made the lord-tenant relationship doubly strong and secure. The resolutions of several brahmin settlements setting down conditions of tenancy with punitive clauses reinforced by priestly imprecations illustrate the degree to which the alliance between ruler and priest tightened feudal ties of dependence. It is also possible that the traditional Näyar militia of the middle ages in Kerala came to be recruited largely from these tenants of the temple.

The tenants who failed to measure out the stipulated amount of paddy at the prescribed time had to pay twice as much by way of fine. If they again defaulted, they had to surrender the tenure. Thus the fear of temple authority was maintained through harsh regulations. To avoid complications, it was often prescribed that members of the council or their close relatives were unwelcome as tenants of the temple. That the members of the Sabhā at Aviṭṭattūr and Śukapuram were prohibited from courting alliances with the women of the tenants (Narayanan 1972) implies the existence of clandestine brahmin-śūdra relations in spite of orthodox brahmin sentiment and strictures in Dharmaśāstra literature.

The brahmin ūrāḷar were further endowed with the right to change tenants or alter the conditions of their tenure, as attested by several inscriptions of the Cēra period. However, it might be argued that conditions of tenure were nonetheless comparatively favorable to tenants because there were some landowners, such as Etiran Kaviran of Perunna in the eleventh century, who surrendered their land to the temple and took it back as tenants (Kunjan Pillai 1970, pp. 344–345). Such acts of commendation show that in times of insecurity the ordinary people came to look upon the temple

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presided over by the brahmin Sabhā as a permanent institution with protective power. Moreover, tenancy was largely hereditary. Under such conditions the secret of the successful development of the brahmin settlements in Kerala lay partly in the good relations they established with the tenant class and the close contact, through sambandham (concubinage), even at the risk of attracting the punitive clauses of the śāstras and bringing upon themselves derisive comments from brahmins outside Kerala. The confidence generated among the nonbrahmin population of tenants, coupled with the support of political authority, ensured peace and material prosperity for the brahmin settlers, which in turn set many of them free for the pursuit of higher ideals in science, philosophy, and literature.

As in the case of tenants, the brahmin settlers were in an advantageous position in respect to the temple servants as well. In addition to the priestly hierarchy, large groups of skilled laborers like drummers, musicians, dancers, actors, storytellers, cooks, sweepers, garland-makers, oil mongers, and such were necessary for the temples. When the temples grew in size and importance, as indicated by the records at Tiruvalla, Trikkaḍittānam, Perunna, Tiruvanvaṇḍūr, Trikkākara, Iriñjālakuḍa, Aviṭṭattūr, Śukapuram, Mūḷikkaḷam, and elsewhere, the number of functionaries increased accordingly. Many of these inscriptions deal with the appointment of temple personnel from priest to sweeper. Several powerful officers like the Vāriyan or Samañjitan (accountant) and Potuvāḷ (secretary) were concerned with the management of temple property and services. These functions, remunerated by land assignment on service tenure, became hereditary and gave birth to small subcastes, generally known as ampalavāsi (temple servant) or antarāḷajāti (intermediate caste). According to tradition, offspring of anulōma relations between brahmins and others, as well as certain fallen members of the brahmin community itself, were assigned these functions and grouped into their respective subcastes. It is not surprising that over the centuries close contact with the brahmin groups resulted in the emergence of Sanskrit scholars, astronomers, physicians, and poets from these temple-serving classes. In fact, their contribution to Sanskrit culture in Kerala is almost as great as that of the brahmins themselves.

Besides control of landed property and human resources through temple patronage, the Kerala brahmins also enjoyed political power through the constitution of Nālu Taḷi (the Four Temples), which functioned at the capital city of Mahōdayapuram. Although this advisory council of the Perumāḷs finds mention in some records of the Cēra kingdom, the details regarding its composition are elaborated only in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle. According to this, the Nālu Taḷi, Mēlttaḷi, Kīḻttaḷi, Neṭiya Taḷi, and Ciṅgapuram Taḷi were the seats of the representatives of the four important brahmin settlements of Mūḷikkaḷam, Airāṇikkaḷam, Paṟavūr, and Iruṅgāṭikkūṭal (Iriñjālakuḍa), respectively. The ruins of ninth century temples called Kīḻttaḷi and Ciṅgapuram (Śriṅgapuram) are found in the old capital,

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and a record in the former temple establishes its connection with the Airāṇikkaḷam brahmin village. The relationship between Neṭiya Taḷi and the village of Paṟavūr is similarly attested by early medieval literature (Kunjan Pillai, ed., 1959, vol. 84). In the *Kēraḷōlpatti* we find statements to the effect that members of the Muṭṭil and Kōtamaṅgalam families represented Mūḷikkaḷam at Mēlttaḷi; the Kariṅṅampaḷḷi and Cūravaḷḷi represented Airāṇikkaḷam at Kīḷttaḷi; and the Eḷamturutti and Kaṭampanāṭ represented Paṟavūr at Neṭiya Taḷi; however, the names of the representatives of Iriñjālakuḍa are not mentioned. It is interesting to note that some of these family names, like Cūravaḷḷi, Eḷamturutti and Kaṭampanāṭ, figure prominently in Cēra inscriptions as well. It is quite likely that the *Kēraḷōlpatti* refers to a historical fact when it states that the officers of the four taḷis in the capital represented the four brahmin settlements around the capital, which in turn represented four kaḷakams into which the thirty-two settlements were organized (Narayanan 1972).

Whether the council of Nālu Taḷi had the power to control the sovereign, as is claimed by the traditional chronicle, is open to doubt, but the status of this institution as an integral part of the Perumāḷ's ministerial council is established by epigraphic evidence. One record states that the king and the Nālu Taḷi, meeting at Neṭiya Taḷi, ordered the cancellation of the annual payment from Perunna village (*T.A.S.*, V: 37–40). Therefore it may be inferred that the brahmin leaders of the thirty-two settlements, enjoying close contact with the Perumāḷ at the capital, used their position to confer the blessings of royal patronage on brahmins and temples. It is also clear from a record at the Kollam Rāmēśwaram temple that these councillors accompanied the Perumāḷ to his temporary headquarters at Kollam or Quilon in order to supervise the military operations against the Cōḷa Empire, further evidence of their influence (*T.A.S.*, V: 40–46).

Significance of the Temple

A significant feature of the Cēra period is the rise and development of numerous brahminical temples. The earliest temples of Kerala, as distinct from the kāvus or native tribal shrines, exhibit in their granite foundations and sculptural motifs the characteristics of the late Pallava period (eighth and ninth centuries). A few rock-cut shrines, like those at Viḷiñjam, Kaviyūr, and Irunnalakōṭ, also belong to this period. Inscriptions from Tiruvaḍūr, Cōkkūr, Karikkāṭ, Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi, Aviṭṭattūr, Trikkākara, Perunna, Trikkaḍittānam, Kaviyūr, Tiruvalla, and elsewhere contain the names of a large number of brahmins who figure as members of the Sabhā (temple council), or of the Gaṇam (board of trustees for the conduct of special endowments), or as witnesses in transactions. Apart from this, over sixty other brahminical temples of the Cēra period have yielded inscriptions, and there may well have been many more.

This was a period in which Vedic ritual had lost its popularity all over

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India and the Āgamaic mode of temple worship assumed importance. Therefore a curious amalgam of the two may have developed in Kerala, as elsewhere. Certainly the Kerala brahmins became devoted to the new type of temple worship, as is testified by the entire corpus of Cēra inscriptions, but this need not necessarily mean that they discontinued Vedic sacrifices and rituals, especially the domestic rites. In fact, we come across a Sōmayājin of Neḍuvēli (T.A.S., II: iii) at Tiruvalla and a Sarvakratuyāji Akki at Tirupparappu (*T.A.S.*, I: xiii). Beyond this we have no epigraphic evidence regarding the performance of Vedic sacrifices. Therefore, it may be inferred that while the Vedic forms of community ritual survived in certain pockets as a relic of ancient tradition, the new forms of Āgamaic temple worship dominated the social arena.

The brahminical temples grew into gigantic establishments sending out tentacles into every area of social life and culture. It may be suggested that, since we are able to identify about seventy temples from this period, about a hundred or so may have been in existence. If we calculate on an average rate of ten brahmin families per temple we get a thousand families. If again we assume an average of ten members per family, the total Nambudiri population during the later period may have been only about ten thousand. Leaving a generous margin for unnoticed temples, this number might be doubled. Since the armies of the Cēra Perumāḷ and his vassals alone numbered several thousand, these ten or twenty thousand brahmins must have formed only about one or two percent of the total population of Kerala. However, they enjoyed high status and possessed property and influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

The brahminical temples usually contained a central shrine dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Subrahmaṇya, or Bhagavati, plus a number of subsidiary shrines. The waves of the bhakti movement had swept through Kerala in the ninth century, as is evident from the works of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār and Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār. Nevertheless, the feuds and rivalry between Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites do not appear to have significantly influenced the brahmin community in Kerala, for shrines of Viṣṇu and Śiva and their associates are found within the same temple. Again, irrespective of the nature of the deity, the routine of worship with lamps, garlands, offerings of food, and oblations remained essentially the same, as revealed by epigraphic evidence. There are also special festivities in each temple, including annual birthday and consecration celebrations; common festivals like Ōṇam, Viṣu, and Tiruvātira; and royal festivals and local festivals. On such occasions there were grand feasts and entertainments primarily intended for the brahmins themselves.

In addition to routine worship and special offerings, the temple was also the major proprietor of the land in Kerala, regulating conditions of tenure and influencing rates of interest, prices and wages. With the approval of the state they also functioned as the custodians of weights and measures.

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Attached to them were also institutions like the śālai or Vedic college, and the kūttampalam, or theater. The great śālais of Kerala, such as those at Pārthivaśēkharapuram, Kāntaḷūr, Tiruvalla, and Mūḷikkaḷam, promoted Sanskritic and brahminical studies like vyākaraṇa (grammar), mīmāṃsā (a philosophical system), and paurohitya (priestcraft) (*T.A.S.*, I, i: 1–14). The bhaṭṭas or professors were engaged in vakkāṇam or vyākhyāna (commentary) on the texts. Their disciples, known as caṭṭas or chātras, enjoyed free food and accommodation and were expected to be subject to severe discipline. A curious form of entertainment called Cāttirakkaḷi (the play of the chātras) performed by three different saṅghas (groups) of six families each appears to have been cultivated in the śālai. Their traditions, as well as the records, would suggest that they received both military training and Vedic education under the patronage of kings and chieftains. The revenue from a large number of villages was usually set apart for their maintenance (Kunjan Pillai 1970, pp. 267–277; Narayanan 1973 , pp. 21–42).

The śālai catered to the educational needs of the brahmin community, and the kūttampalam fostered the arts of singing, acting, dancing, and storytelling. A large number of Cākkiyārs, Nambiyārs and Naṅgiyārs were attached to the temples. Under the patronage of King Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 844–ca. 883) the Cākkiyārs adopted several Sanskrit plays, notably the *Mattavilāsa, Bhagavadajjukīya, Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Svapnavāsavadatta, Tapatīsamvaraṇa, Subhadrādhanañjaya* and *Bālacarita*, as well as several other plays of Bhāsa. Performances are mentioned in several temple endowments of the period. A consequence of theatrical development was the rise of a large class of dancing girls with proficiency in Bharatanāṭya. Women called dēvadāsis or tēvaḍiccikaḷ were attached to the temples. Endowed with beauty, artistic skill, social status, and wealth, they came to play a very prominent part in society. The remuneration of dancers, as well as a few donations made by members of their class, are mentioned in Cēra inscriptions (Kunjan Pillai; 1970, pp. 278–283; Narayanan 1973b).

A popular institution, which acted as a link between the brahmin and the nonbrahmin community and played a part in the dissemination of itihāsic and purāṇic culture, was that of the Mahābhārata bhaṭṭas appointed in several temples to recite stories from the Mahābhārata for popular consumption (Kunjan Pillai 1970, pp. 278–283). The playacting of the Cākkiyārs and Naṅgiyārs, the dancing of the dēvadāsis and the storytelling of the bhaṭṭas must have made a profound impact on the local people, attracting them to the temple and familiarizing them with the concepts, manners and customs of the brahmin-kṣatriya elite. These affected mainly the temple-serving groups of ampalavāsis and the warrior groups of Nāyars, but excluded the Izhavas and Pulayas, who were outside the pale of the temple.

Thus the temple served as a kind of fort for the brahmin populace, ensuring their economic and social supremacy, as well as support from a

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large class of servants and tenants who were usually connected in some way with temple functions. This institution became the center of the arts and sciences, of education and culture in the brahmin-dominated society of Kerala.

THE POST-CĒRA PERIOD OF NAMBUDIRI DOMINANCE

Around the beginning of the twelfth century the hegemony of the Cēramān Perumāḷs of Makōtai or Mahōdayapuram began to wane, leaving the government of the different districts in the hands of the feudatories. After the collapse of the central government, the brahmin community, with its numerous interrelated settlements and temple corporations, became the only pan-Kerala power. They had established a system of legal immunity that in a sense elevated their status over that of the ruling class of kṣatriyas, Sāmantas, and Nāyars in the small principalities. They served as advisers to regional chieftains, who were usually the sons of brahmins owing to the sambandham form of alliance. Apart from the fragmentation of territory and the dissipation of economic resources in petty wars, the marumakkattāyam or matrilineal form of succession also weakened the power of the ruling classes. Since each ruling dynasty (svarūpam) was divided into several competing branches of succession or mother lines (tāvaḷis), there was loss of continuity and of political unity in the principalities. Powerful rulers like those of Kozhikode and Veṇāṭ launched ambitious programs of aggrandizement. As a result, there was political anarchy and social insecurity in Kerala, although the geographic barrier of the Western Ghats minimized the possibility of political interference from outside. Given these conditions, the temple corporations alone could provide a protective umbrella for their numerous tenants and servants. Once a person took refuge within the saṅkēta or sphere of the temple's authority, he was virtually beyond the reach of the tyrant's arm (Padmanabha Menon 1912, pp. 183–187). Elsewhere the people were at the mercy of anyone who possessed hereditary or mercenary bands of retainers.

Continued Prosperity

Most of the brahmin settlements continued to be economically prosperous, although the increase of wealth often weakened the sense of solidarity within the settlement itself and among the different settlements in Kerala. The middle of the twelfth century witnessed the foundation of new settlements, illustrated in the charters given to Tiruppālkaḍal and Dēvīdēvēśvaram. In fact, this trend could be noticed even a century earlier in the Tiruvaḍūr inscription of ca. 1020 (*A.R.E.* 1926, nos. 477, 478). In Tiruvaḍūr in North Kerala, twenty-four brahmins from the earlier well-established settlements in central Kerala (six from Aviṭṭatūr, four from

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Iriñjālakuḍa, seven from Peruvanam, two from Paṟavūr and five from Vaikkam) were drawn together to establish a new settlement. Land, to be inherited according to the rule of primogeniture, was allotted to each member of the settlement. It may be remembered that only the eldest son of a Kerala brahmin married within the community, while others resorted to the sambandham form of alliance. A Kiḷimānūr record dated A.D. 1169 also registers a grant of land to a newly constituted brahmin settlement around a newly consecrated temple at Tiruppālkkaḍal (*T.A.S.*, V, i: 63–85). This settlement was formed by ten brahmins drawn from eight old villages, viz. Paṟavūr, Mūḷikkaḷam, Airāṇikkaḷam, Iriñjālakuḍa, Peruvanam, Ceṅgannūr, Tiruvalla, and Āṟanmuḷa. Apart from the land given as dēvasvam for the maintenance of the temple, each of the newly settled families was provided with land having the seed capacity of six kalam, together with house sites and a pair of serfs to work the land. According to this system, the earlier occupants of the land became tenants of the temple. An executive committee with a rotating membership consisting of two members at a time out of the original ten managed temple affairs. In Dēvīdēvēśvaram another brahmin settlement was created (or re-created) by the renewal of a charter, purportedly issued first during the time of Śrīvallavaṅkōta of Veṇāṭ (tenth century) and reissued in A.D. 1189 (*T.A.S.*, IV: 22–65). Twenty-three brahmins were granted land with a total seed capacity of 1,365 paṟai, together with garden lands. This land was known as paṭakāram and was not to be sold, mortgaged, donated, or otherwise alienated. The provision for different kinds of skilled labor and services, including the supply of oil, food, cloth, and pottery, indicates the growing self-sufficiency of this type of village.

At the same time, the flourishing condition of traditional settlements like Cōkiram, Periñcellūr, Ēṭṭumānūr, and Iriñjālakuḍa is illustrated in literary works such as *Śivavilāsam*, *Uṇṇiyāṭi*, *Uṇṇiccirutēvi*, *Candrōtsavam*, *Cellūrnāthōdayam*, and the sandēśakāvyas. The same Maṇipravāḷa poems also contain scattered references to many other settlements, including new ones like Tirumarudūr and Kaṇḍiyur (Kunjan Pillai 1956).

In the midst of this prosperity the mysterious decay and disappearance of certain settlements (Chemmaṇḍa, Iḷibhyam, Kārattōḷa, and Kāṭamaṟuku, among them) also took place. Most of the temples bearing the names of these villages have survived to this day, but without even a trace of the Nambudiri settlements. Most probably the loss of these grāmas took place in the post-Cēra period due either to wars or calamities, or to mass excommunication or extinction of families (Veluthat 1978, pp. 71–72). If we may use an analogy from South Canara, the commission of great sins or mahāpātakas may have led to social ostracism (Saletore 1936), which could have resulted in migration or wholesale conversion to other creeds like Christianity.

With prosperity came the evils of luxury and licentiousness, as indicated by the sensuous accounts of dēvadāsis living in palatial buildings

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decorated with arched gateways and gardens. Their clients included boastful bhaṭṭas and quarrelsome chātras armed with pseudoscientific pretensions about astrology and medicine. By the confession of their own poets these wealthy brahmins were captivated by the glamour of the courtesans, offering them tributes with as much seriousness as to a deity in the temple. The *Candrōtsavam*, a satirical poem on an imaginary moon festival organized by courtesans, bears testimony to the degenerate aspects of Nambudiri life in medieval Kerala.

Rise of Brahmin Chieftains

The disappearance of central political power also meant the disappearance of central control over the councils of brahmin settlements. This, coupled with their growing prosperity, seems to have eventually brought about a weakening of the corporate character of the settlements. In its place we find the emergence of individual brahmin chiefs like the lord of Tirumalaśśēri, the rājā of Paṟavūr, the rājā of Eḍappaḷḷi and the rājā of Ambalappuḷa. Lesser brahmin houses like Tāḷakkāṭ of Payyannūr, Kuṟumāttūr of Periñcellūr, Āḷuvāñcēri of Śukapuram, Kaippañcēri of Panniyūr, Kariṅṅampaḷḷi of Airāṇikkaḷam, Vaññippuḷa of Āṟanmuḷa and Vilakkilimaṅgalam of Tiruvalla also came into prominence. In addition, a few Tantris like Taraṇanallūr became very prosperous and powerful, owing to their connections with a number of temples in all parts of Kerala, and eight Nambudiri houses of āḍhyans acquired great wealth and influence.

These rulers and chieftains possessed large territories and temporal authority, like any other nonbrahmin magnate, reinforced by their brahminhood and their sacerdotal functions, especially their association with the temples. Thus the rājā of Eḍappaḷḷi was the chief priest of Trikkākara temple. There was a common belief that a donation, or tiṟa, to this temple was efficacious in ensuring progeny (Kunjan Pillai, ed., 1959, pp. 88–89, commentary on verse 95). Similarly the brahmin rājā of Ambalappuḷa performed priestly functions in the local temple. The circumstances under which these brahmin chieftains established their authority and functioned in their dual capacity are not very clear. However, during this period the brahmins in Kerala are described as brahmakṣatra, wielding śastra and śāstra with equal force.

The political influence of the saṅkēta or temple corporation also became very powerful in this period. Several medieval records prove that the temples maintained forces for self-protection, administered their own law within their territory and invited princes from some of the regional principalities as their mēlkōyma or supervising authority (Padmanabha Menon 1912, pp. 183–187). They were also engaged in fierce competition with one another and with other local potentates. The case of a long-drawn feud between two settlements is examined below. There are some reliable

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traditions regarding a violent conflict during this period between the temple authorities of Iriñjālakuḍa and Tirukkaṇavāy in which the latter, controlled by two Nāyar families (it appears to have been a Jain center), came ultimately to grief. The Eṭṭarayōgam, which controlled the affairs of the Śrīpadmanābha temple in Trivandrum, played a crucial role in Veṇāṭ politics (Kunjan Pillai 1970, p. 357). In many cases the king of Veṇāṭ was forced to offer prāyaścitta or atonement for offences committed against these brahmins (Kunjan Pillai 1970, p. 346). The Pattillathil Pōṯṯimār of Tiruvalla were powerful rulers of the region whom the Veṇāṭ king Mārthāṇḍa Varma overthrew following a bloody struggle (Raghavan Nambyar 1929). In these cases we find certain aristocratic houses appropriating leadership and acting in the name of the corporate bodies. We also come across instances in which some of the old member families became extinct and their voting rights were acquired by others (Veluthat 1978, p. 89). The same families gradually appropriated the ūrāṇma rights in several temples, and in some cases a whole temple with all its property and saṅkēta rights was handed over to a single brahmin house, as in the case recorded in the Nāvāykkuḷam Copper Plate (*T.A.S.*, III: 216).

During this period we do not encounter the old Mūḷikkaḷam kaccam jealously safeguarding the communal and corporate character of the local bodies. The corporate character survived nominally in the case of Tiruvānantapuram, Tiruvalla, Iriñjālakuḍa, and a few other places, but real authority came into the hands of certain aristocratic brahmin families. Concentration of wealth and power often made the brahmins a serious threat to the small principalities, thus contributing to the growth of feudal anarchy in Kerala.

Śukapuram-Panniyūr Feud

A strange feud, the origins of which are unclear, between two neighboring settlements, Śukapuram and Panniyūr on the banks of the river Pērār, developed in the post-Cēra period. In Śukapuram there is a grāmakṣētra or village temple of Śiva-Dakṣiṇāmūrti with ninth or tenth century inscriptions recording landed properties on a large scale (*A.R.E.* 1895, nos. 208–211). Panniyūr, with a grāmakṣētra of Viṣṇu-Varāhamūrti, has a fragmentary inscription from the tenth century (*A.R.E.* 1895, no. 214). In addition, Śukapuram had a well-established history of yajñas dating back to Mēḷattōḷ Agnihotri, who is said to have performed ninety-nine sacrifices. According to tradition, the spirit of competition led Panniyūr brahmins to accept paradēśi teachers, and this paved the way to disputes and violence. Finally one group polluted the temple, as a result of which they lost ritual privileges and came to be looked down upon by the rest of society.

These two brahmin villages are prominently mentioned, with equal status, in the thirteenth century Vīra Rāghava Copper Plates (*Epigraphia Indica*, IV: 290–297). Along with Ērnāṭ, Vaḷḷuvanāṭ, Venāṭ, and Ōḍanāṭ,

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the Panniyūr and Cōkiram grāmas are described as witnesses to the grant outlining the character of privileges. Most probably the open feud began some time after A.D. 1225, the date of this record. Echoes of the conflict are found scattered in the Maṇipravāḷa poems of the fourtheenth and fifteenth centuries, such as *Uṇṇiccirutēvi, Kōkasandēśam*, and *Līlātilakam*. In the Calicut-Cochin wars of the fifteenth century, Tirumalaśśēri, the leader of Panniyūr grāma, had become a camp follower of the zamorin of Calicut, helping him in his military action against the rājā of Cochin (Kunjan Pillai, ed., 1959, vols. 26–27). Naturally Śukapuram received the patronage of the Vaḷḷuvanāṭ rājā who was himself an ally of Cochin. Several foreign travellers have observed that the Śukapuram-Panniyūr feud rocked the whole of Kerala, dividing the chieftains into two camps (Padmanabha Menon 1924, pp. 479–480; Krishna Ayyar 1938, pp. 97–102; Panikkar 1959, pp. 52–60). The intensity of the feud is indicated by the fact that the two grāmas followed opposite ways in everything from sacrificial rituals to the manner of cutting vegetables. They never dined together, and they did not intermarry. Although the Panniyūr brahmins ultimately lost the privilege of performing Vedic sacrifices, stray references in medieval Malayalam literature indicate that the brahmins of Śukapuram continued their tradition of Vedic rituals and sacrifices. Moreover, Āḷvāñcēri Tamprākkaḷ, who was the spiritual leader of the Śukapuram group, also became the chief ecclesiastical functionary in the coronation ceremony of several rājās in medieval Kerala, including the zamorins of Calicut and the Tiruvaḍis of Veṇāṭ (Krishna Ayyar, 1938, pp. 23).

The Grand Alliance

The successful domination by the Nambudiri community of medieval society and polity was the outcome of a grand alliance between the Nambudiris and the ruling groups. The ancient kṣatriya dynasties of Kerala like the Cēras and Mūṣakas were originally aboriginals of the Sangam age upon whom the brahmins conferred kṣatriya status. Various other dynasties or svarūpams of the post-Cēra period, like the Perumpaḍappu, Puṟanāṭ or Kōṭṭayam, Pūñjār, Pantaḷam, Parappanāṭ, and Veṭṭam, also must have belonged to this category. None of them, except the Mūṣakas, preserves any tradition of having migrated from the north in the manner of the brahmins themselves, and even the Mūṣakas are usually associated with the Koṅkaṇ and mentioned as the relatives of Cēdis and Kaliṅgas (Narayanan 1973[a]). Therefore it would appear that the brahmins of Kerala had "aryanized" them, giving them Sanskrit names and Sanskritic culture. By the post-Cēra period at least all these kṣatriya ruling families had adopted the matrilineal form of succession (marumakkattāyam; Kunjan Pillai 1970, pp. 292–323). Their women were usually married to Nambudiri brahmins, with the result that all the rulers in Kerala were sons of brahmins. This was also true of the Sāmanta and Nāyar kings, chieftains, and landlords. Therefore the priestly

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educated groups of Nambudiris had a direct hold on politics, war, and administration, in addition to their functions as councillors and messengers, similar throughout India. Thus, as relatives of the rulers, administrators, and warriors, the brahmins occupied a unique position from which they could command respect and influence.

During the Cēra period and the immediate post-Cēra period, the Nambudiris, whose tenants formed a large group of people from whom the warriors and officials of the state were recruited, played a significant role in the rise of the Nāyar militia (Narayanan 1977). Many tenant families appear to have had the opportunity, through brahmin sambandham alliance and brahmin favor, to eventually attain high positions, as illustrated by the case of Etiran Kaviran (Kunjan Pillai 1970, pp. 344–345) whose descendants later climbed to the status of influential feudal chieftains. Another interesting case is that of Kōṭikkaḷattu Iyakkan Govindan, who enjoyed the goodwill both of the governor of Kīḻmalaināḍu and of the ūrāḷar of Trikkaḍittānam and Tiruvalla (Kunjan Pillai 1970, pp. 350). Thus it is evident that the Nambudiris mediated the rise of a new ruling class in Kerala consisting of kṣatriyas, Sāmantas and Nāyars, with whom they had close relations owing to sambandham alliance. Matrilineal succession among these later classes provided an arrangement convenient to brahmins and non-brahmins alike.

Though there was a progressive "aryanization" of the indigenous groups resulting in the imposition of priestly brahmin authority on secular society, there was on the other hand a progressive secularization of the Nambudiri community, as outlined earlier. Only a small fraction of the community continued Vedic-śāstraic studies and the performance of Vedic sacrifices other than the domestic rites (Ravi Varma 1932, pp. 182–185). For the great landlord classes, brahminical ritual was confined to the saṃskāras, or sacraments, and patronage of temples. In other words, the great majority of brahmins were secularized, with the result that the pursuit of professional skills came to be recognized as the hereditary occupation of certain brahmin families (Gundert 1961, *passim*). The posts of temple priests were offered chiefly to new brahmin immigrants from the Tuḷu area called Emprāns because the rich landlord Nambudiris considered it beneath their dignity to take up such an occupation. In fact, most of the Nambudiris followed worship and learning by proxy, concentrating their attention primarily on worldly affairs and the pursuit of the arts of leisure.

Another aspect of the Grand Alliance was the promotion of temple arts and culture by means of Nambudiri patronage. A large number of temple servants belonging to the Vāriyar, Potuvāḷ, Pishāroṭi, Cākkiyār, and Nambiyār subcastes acquired proficiency in Sanskrit language and literature and in Sanskritic studies through brahmin contacts. Among Vāriyars and Pishāroṭis we find an early tradition of studies in grammar, poetics, logic, medicine, astronomy, and literature. The Cākkiyārs made use of itihāsas, purāṇas, and later Sanskrit works for their Kūḍiyāṭṭam and Kūttu perfor-

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mances (Kunjunni Raja 1958, *passim*). The Bharatanāṭya brought by the brahmins formed the foundation of the dancing skill of dēvadāsis in the temple (Narayanan 1973b, pp. 43–53). In this way brahmin ownership of the temple, coupled with sambandham relations with temple-serving classes, accelerated the dissemination of brahminical Hindu culture to an extent that was not possible outside Kerala. Thus the Grand Alliance that the Nambudiris formed with the kṣatriyas, Sāmantas, and Nāyars on the one hand, and with the Vāriyars, Potuvāḷs, Pishāroṭis, and suchlike on the other, was responsible for their sociopolitical domination and their success in promoting their traditions. It played a historic role in the formation of the essential character and distinctive features of the culture of Kerala that gradually emerged in the middle ages. It may be noted that the legitimization, at an unspecified date, of the loose form of unorthodox conjugal relationship called sambandham, which brought the brahmins and upper-class nonbrahmins onto a new plane of social, economic, and political partnership, was the critical choice that set Kerala brahmins apart from brahmins elsewhere in the country and set Kerala society on a new course through the Grand Alliance. Although it is difficult to account for such a complex development, one might venture an explanatory hypothesis based on the ecology of the hill country, which favored both the retention of archaic tribal matriliny and the rise of the dispersed pattern of rural settlement in place of the usual nucleated pattern seen in other parts of India. This form of alliance came to be the source of both strength and weakness for the brahmins of Kerala.

Positive and Negative Roles

The medieval period has been described as the orgiastic season of the Nambudiris (Kunjan Pillai 1963, p. 81). However, to concentrate our attention on the decadent forms of the arts and the degenerate aspects of Nambudiri culture in medieval Kerala would be to misrepresent the facts, for creative activity of a high standard existed in science, philosophy, the arts, and literature (Kunjunni Raja 1958). Taking their cue from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa's *Laghubhāskarīya Vyākhyā* in the ninth century, a long line of commentaries on important astronomical works were produced, culminating in the revolutionary new treatise on dṛggaṇita by Vaḍaśśeri Paramēśvara. The tradition of campūs, exemplified by Kulaśēkhara's *Āścaryamañjari*, which followed in the footsteps of the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin, produced a series of scholarly campūs in Sanskrit, crowned by the prabandhas of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, which in turn supplied an inexhaustible repertoire of scholarship, wit, and romance for the Cakkiyārs in their Kūttu performances. Although the inhabitants of Kerala had in general followed the Indian pattern of temple ritual and architecture in the earlier centuries, a typical Kerala manual was composed by Cēnnāss Nārāyaṇa, the *Tantrasamuccaya*. From Śaktibhadra's *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* and Kulaśēkhara's twin plays in the

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ninth century there was a steady development of dramatic literature and performance. In addition to these, many Sanskrit plays, old and new (including the plays of Bhāsa) were adapted to the requirements of the local audience by standardizing the abhinaya or gesture and incorporating the role of the vidūṣaka, who explained everything in a humorous manner in Malayalam. This was known as Kūṭiyāṭṭam or group play, a tradition of theatrical reform that attained a new peak of excellence with the evolution of Kathakaḷi and its literature. From Śaṅkara in the ninth century and Sarvajñātman, the author of *Saṃkṣepaśārīrika*, in the eleventh, the stream of philosophical thought in Kerala was widened by the contributions of the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools, especially those of the Bhaṭṭas of Payyūr Mana, including Maharṣi Paramēśvara. *Līlātilakam*, the "manual of Maṇipravāḷam," represented a leap of the intellect in an attempt to comprehend developments in language and literature through the formation of new rules of grammar, prosody, and poetics, and opened an area of endeavor that continued up to the *Prakriyāsarvasvam* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The *Bhāṣākauṭalīyam*, the early Malayalam translation and commentary on the *Arthaśāstra*, was the first of its type in regional languages and denotes the growing interest of the cultured elite in the theory of government and social organization. A tangible expression of medieval Kerala genius is also found in the late medieval temple architecture and sculpture. In all these spheres the Kerala brahmins and the brahmin-inspired kṣatriyas and ampalavāsis played a dynamic role.

At the same time, the growth of feudal power and the resulting dominance of the Nambudiris produced a tendency on the part of the brahmin landlords to deal more harshly with their tenants. For instance, a twelfth-century inscription of Tiruvambāḍi temple in Trivandrum prescribes the confiscation of all the property of a tenant if he failed to remit his dues to the temple even once (*T.A.S.*, III, p. 51). There are several inscriptions of this type in Harippad temple (*T.A.S.*, VI, nos. 25–31). The same kind of cruelty was perpetrated on women, as illustrated by the institution on a large scale of smārtavicāram, a trial imposed on Nambudiri women accused of adultery (Mathur 1975). The large number of sale deeds and mortgage deeds relating to serfs reveal the miserable condition of the Pulayas, Paṟayas, and others who were condemned to permanent servitude (*K.S.P.*, V: 275–285). To this period may also be attributed the growing rigidity of caste and growth in the number of subcastes. The *Kēraḷōlpatti*, in its present form a product of about the seventeenth century, contains a list of the numerous castes and subcastes that obtained in Kerala and, in its eagerness to standardize and legitimize the institution along with all its ramifications, attributes it to the great Śaṅkarācārya.

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CHALLENGE OF THE MODERN AGE

Though the Arabs and their native Muslim followers played an increasingly important role in Kerala politics from the twelfth century onwards, they never upset the sociopolitical balance of Nambudiri dominance. For one thing they confined their activities to coastal trade and the conversion of outcastes. Though they supported certain rulers like the zamorin of Calicut, they did not possess a common army or an independent political base. On the other hand, the advent of Portuguese power on the Malabar coast at the close of the fifteenth century dealt the first real blow to the feudal order dominated by the brahmins in Kerala. Armed with huge cannons and supported by a powerful Christian state, the Portuguese were prepared to interfere extensively in local politics. Their power grew day by day as they played a decisive role in the Calicut-Cochin wars and in the economy of the region, which had become increasingly oriented toward commerce. The traditional Nāyar militia, loyal to the rājās and brahmins, lost their superiority. Gradually the Portuguese were superseded by the Dutch in Cochin, and then the French and the English entered the fray. Some enterprising local rājas like Mārtāṇḍa Varma of Travancore were emboldened to launch a policy of conquest with European-trained forces. He defied Kerala brahmin power in many respects, but when he later tried to placate them the brahmins found it more profitable to acquiesce. The Travancore dynasty, with its affiliations with the Tamil country, began increasingly to patronize the Tamil brahmins.

Failure of Leadership

In spite of these danger signals, the Nambudiri hold on Kerala society remained fairly strong as long as they possessed the major part of the cultivated paddy land and influenced behavior and beliefs through the management of temples. However, a real shock was administered to their complacency by the Mysore invasions and the occupation of Malabar in the second half of the eighteenth century. Large numbers of Nambudiris left their ancestral homes and lands to become refugees in Travancore. The many petty local rājās who patronized Nambudiris did likewise, and their Nāyar military groups were either forcibly disbanded, massacred, or converted. The temple authorities were discredited and the temples often looted. The damage done was so great that even the partial restoration of the old order by the British could not bring back the old climate, although many of the brahmin landlords and their dependents returned from Travancore.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century the firm establishment of British rule in Malabar and British supremacy in Cochin and Travancore took political, social, and cultural initiative out of Nambudiri hands. The Nambudiris withdrew more and more into their own shell of old world

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rituals and beliefs in the seclusion of the villages, leaving government and politics in alien hands. This was especially true of Malabar, where even the loyal groups of Nāyars, who had lost their traditional military functions, discovered new opportunities in English education and the British administrative setup. Thus, these Nāyars were increasingly alienated from their Nambudiri mentors and masters. Chandu Menon's *Indulekha* (1889), the first significant social novel in Malayalam, depicts the educated Nāyar community in revolt against its own traditional Nambudiri alliance. Moreover, the network of traditional caste occupations and caste cultures was weakened by the impact of modern transport, education and commerce. By the turn of the century, the wind of social reform unleashed by Dr. Palpu and Sri Narayana Guru among the Izhavas of Travancore shook the very foundations of the caste hierarchy over which the Nambudiri had presided for so many centuries. While Nāyars agitated for the abolition of taṟavād, marumakkattāyam, and sambandham, Christian missionary work among lower communities accelerated the dissolution of caste. Even in Cochin and Travancore, where the native rulers still exhibited special consideration towards brahmins, the latter had now been dismissed from all positions of power at the court and the palace. In short, Nambudiri dominance continued only in rural agricultural life and in the religious life of the orthodox sections of the people.

However, the straw that broke the camel's back was the reform of land tenure. This came under discussion first in British Malabar, whence it spread to Cochin and Travancore. Step by step the nonbrahmin tenants established their privileges until the Nambudiri landlords were finally deprived of their holdings.

Stagnation of Culture

Following the loss of political control and socioeconomic supremacy, the Nambudiris were fast becoming relics of the old world. For as long as they could, they clung to their lands, temples, and caste privileges and turned their back on the "mleccha" system of modern English education. They could not participate in the social reform movement, since it was largely directed against their dominance; and with their aversion to manual labor they were strangers in the world of industry and commerce. Even in matters connected with their landed property they had become dependent on a professional class of lawyers, composed of their tenants and caste subordinates. With their sensitivity sharpened by misfortune, they grew more and more cynical and sought refuge in the palliatives of archaic faith and culture in the timeless heaven of Kūṭiyāṭṭam, Kathakaḷi, and the feasts and festivals associated with the temple; and in purificatory rituals, as if to shut out the noises of modern society by chanting mantras and ward off its sights by closing their eyes in meditation. In spite of a small fanatical group of reformers, the majority of Nambudiris observed the rigid caste rules, including

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the 64 anācāras or injunctions (Padmanabha Menon 1912, pp. 162–176) with increasing religious fervor. The picture presented by writers from the Nambudiri community is one of harsh treatment of women and compulsive ritual observance (Nambudiripad 1969; Bhattathiripad 1957, 1970).

Today the typical Nambudiri-owned temples are found in dilapidated condition in remote villages. In spite of modern encroachments, Nambudiris still continue to live in their twilit houses and offer prayers at their ancestral shrines. Daily worship in temples continues, but the management of all prosperous temples has gone out of Nambudiri hands. Even the very recent wave of religious and spiritual revivalism has found leaders other than the Nambudiris in Kerala. The social reform movement set in motion among Nambudiris themselves by the Yogakshema society, with its slogan of making Nambudiris into human beings, had turned a group of Nambudiris gradually to English education, business, industry, the professions, and political activity by the middle of this century (Nambudiripad 1969; Bhattathiripad 1970). However, many others had decided to stay where they were. Many young girls were still given in marriage to old men by the practice of adhivēdana; many widows were still pushed into the darkness of the kitchen. However, a few stray Vedic yajñas are still performed, and even the Chātrakkaḷi, the conventional semireligious entertainment of students in medieval Vedic colleges, has occasionally been given before rural audiences.

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THE NAMBUDIRI RITUAL TRADITION
(With Special Reference to the Kollengode Archives)

M. R. Raghava Varier

INTRODUCTION

THE VEDIC HERITAGE in Kerala can claim an almost continuous history of about two thousand years, from the age of the Sangam literature onward. While the antiquity of these poems is a subject of controversy,[1] scholars generally date them to "the period of a few centuries immediately preceding or succeeding the Christian era" (Subramanian 1966, p. 25) and agree that they were composed in several phases. A song in *Akanānūṟu*, attributed to an early period, contains a reference to the ritual performed by the sage Paraśurāma at Cellūr (modern Taḷipaṟamba, Cannanore District) in northern Kerala.[2] A later work, *Patiṟṟuppattu*, deals exclusively with the glory and achievements of the early Cēra kings, who are frequently described as patrons of Vedic culture and ritual. Palyānai Cēlkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan, mentioned in the third decad of this anthology, apparently performed nine yāgas (Vedic rituals) for the merit of his court poet, Pālai Gautamanār, who accordingly attained heaven along with his wife (*Patiṟṟuppattu*, III Patikam). The hero of the eighth decad, Peruñcēral Irumpoṟai, is said to have performed a Putrakāmēṣṭi (*Patiṟṟuppattu*, VIII, 4. See also III, 1, 11: 5–7; VII, 4, 14; VIII, 4, 12), and Iḷam Cēral Irumpoṟai, of the following decad, is praised in the famous Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram*, which dates from a later period, as a patron of the Soma ritual, Madukkōḷ Vēḷvi (*Cilappatikāram*, XXVIII, 147, 148).

One significant feature of this early ritual tradition in Kerala was the symbolic identification of the yajamāna king with Vedic or purāṇic deities, such as Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Subrahmaṇya or Muruka, Śiva, and so on. The word *tiṟai*, in Sangam poetry, denoted both a tax levied by the king and an offering owed to the gods, while the term *vēndan* meant both "Indra"

[1] For various opinions about the problem see V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (Madras, 1904), pp. 2–3; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., (London, 1914), p. 445; V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* (Madras, 1936), p. 21; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* (London, 1929), p. 24; idem., *The Cōlas* (Madras, 1955), p. 3; K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Delhi, 1972), p. 293; and M.G.S. Narayanan, "The Mauryan Problem in Sangam Works," in *Re-interpretations in South Indian History* (Trivandrum, 1977).

[2] *Akanānūṟu*, 220. For the identification of Cellūr, see Kesavan Veluthat (1979).

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and "king." Such identification served a dual purpose: it legitimized the supreme right of the tribal chieftains over their territory, and it also served to elevate the status of the ruler by making him the "principal of the ritual." Moreover, from the Sangam age onward, crowned monarchs in South India typically claimed to have conquered the entire region from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—an apparent echo of the concept of cakravartikṣetra found in early Buddhist and Brahmanical texts—and consequently attempted to trace their lineage to the solar or lunar kṣatriya dynasties.

Traditionally the kṣatriya had two duties: protection of the people and acquisition of wealth. For both purposes, battles, violence, and murder are essential. With reference to the latter duty in particular, the sacred texts emphasized that the sin inherent in the kṣatra dharma creates a need for rituals as a "necessary antidote" (Drekmeier 1962, pp. 49–50). However, owing to the practice of ritual gift-giving,[3] especially to brahmins, the ritual also served as an efficient means to redistribute the plundered wealth, and as a result, large amounts of gold, land, and cattle began to flow into the hands of the priestly class. Such gifts, to which references occur in Sangam poems and which were considered meritorious acts, permitted the emergence of a new, noncultivating, landowning class. They also marked the beginning of the agrahāras, or brahmin settlements, throughout South India. In Kerala these agricultural brahmin caste corporations later grew into oligarchies that controlled the immense wealth of the temples, a change that suggests the growing influence of brahminical religion and the dominance of brahmins in the caste hierarchy (Gurukal 1978, p. 28). Moreover, one could also infer that one cause of the gradual weakening and eventual fall of the three crowned monarchs of the Sangam period could be traced to their relative impoverishment.

The Sangam age was followed by a so-called dark period, associated primarily with a warlike tribal group known as the Kaḷabhras. They are believed to have been followers of Jainism, which was reorganized in South India during this period on the basis of a powerful network of landed monasteries that enjoyed royal patronage (Raghava Varier 1978). Jainism and Buddhism, both of which "had made substantial inroads in the Tamil country during the period of the 'Kaḷabhra interregnum,' " (Spencer 1969, p. 47) attracted large numbers of people, chiefly from the lower social strata, by adopting popular cults and practices. Thus, by the time of the rise of the Pāṇḍya and Pallava dynasties, the challenge of the heterodox religions, coupled with the social and doctrinal exclusivity of the brahmin elite, had

[3] The original practice of giving a gift to the brahmin priest at the time of the performance of a ritual gradually gave way to the custom of ritual gifts to brahmins. See Nicholas B. Dirks, "Merit and Prosperity: From Ritual as Gift Giving to Gift Giving as Ritual in Early South Indian Kingship." Quoted by A. Appadurai, "Kings, Sects and Temples in South India, 1350–1700 A.D., *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 14 (1977), p. 48 n. 3.

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paved the way for the emergence of a popular revival movement.

Accordingly, the center of gravity of Brahmanical religion shifted to the temple, which became the center of dissemination of the bhakti ideology, employing the powerful media of myth, music, and theater, as well as its control over economic resources.[4] With the resulting spread of bhakti, the Vedic gods were relegated to the background and replaced by the Āgamaic deities such as Kṛṣṇa, Muruka, Bhagavati, Śiva, and others. Similarly, Vedic rituals were superseded by the Āgamaic mode of worship. This change of focus in the religiocultural life of Kerala to the temple and its popular cults also reflects the tremendous changes that occurred in the modes of production and distribution under the system known as "Indian feudalism."

Ideas and institutions, which initially emerge to fulfil certain socio-economic needs, frequently exhibit a tenacity even after they have ceased to be of specific value. Consequently, the bhakti movement did not prevent the occasional performance of a traditional ritual: reference is made to a Sarvakratu Yājiyār Akki in the ninth century Tirupparappu copper plate, and to an Atirātrayājiyār in a Śucīndram temple inscription of about the twelfth century, as well as to a couple of Sōmayājis in the Tiruvalla copper plate of the same period (*T.A.S.*, IV, pp. 126–127; III: pt. I, p. 77; II: pt. III, pp. 142, 162, 196). Moreover, Vedic study and recitation continued in the śālas, educational establishments attached to temples in various parts of South India, including Kerala, where students (Cāttirar or Caṭṭar) received both Vedic instruction and military training. A copper plate grant of the Āy king Karunantaṭakkan, issued in his ninth regnal year (A.D. 864–865), provides detailed information about the regulations laid down for admission to the śāla attached to Pārthivaśekharapuram that he established (*T.A.S.*, I, p. 2). The record refers to the śāla at Kāntaḷūr and states that its rules are binding on the newly constituted śāla as well. A certain number of seats were allotted for different sūtras, e.g., 45 for the Pavaḷiyaccaraṇa (bahvṛcacaraṇa, Ṛgveda), 36 for the Taittirīyacaraṇa (Yajurveda), and 14 for the Talavakāracaraṇa (Sāmadeva). Temples at Tiruvalla and Mūḷikkaḷam (central Kerala) also housed Cāttirar engaged in Vedic studies (*T.A.S.* II, Tiruvalla Copper Plates; 1.410; III, pp. 189–191, line 5). At Tiruvalla, the number of Cāttirar is indicated by the fact that 350 measures of rice were set aside daily for them. The landed property intended for the maintenance of the śāla was called cālappuṛam (Skt. *śālābhogam*) and to this day many places in Kerala bear that name.

The śālas belong roughly to the period of the Cēra kings of Makōtai or Mahōdayapuram (modern Cranganore), from about the ninth to the twelfth

[4] For a study of South Indian bhakti, see the unpublished monograph of M.G.S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat, *The Bhakti Movement in South India*, Calicut University, 1978.

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centuries. Unlike the Cēras of the Sangam songs, the Cēra kings of Makōtai do not seem to have performed Vedic rituals. However, it appears that they extended their patronage to Vedic learning via the temples, which had become the pivot of socioeconomic and cultural activities. Thus, the preservation of Vedic culture came to depend on the centers of Āgamaic worship, and Vedic rituals were fitted into the Āgamaic brahminical system.

Medieval Maṇipravāḷa kāvyas of the period between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries contain references to Vedic rituals, and to the recitation of Vedic hymns. Among them, the *Uṇṇiccirutēvi Caritam*, of about the thirteenth century, describes Śukapuram village, one of the thirty-two traditional brahmin settlements, as a place where the humming sound of Vedic recitation was heard (Krishnan Nair ed., 1973, p. 27). Cōmāyis or Sōmayājis, the sharing of the paṭakāra property that was probably received as a gift after the performance of a ritual, and the churning of the sacrificial firewood are alluded to in another stanza of the same work (Krishnan Nair, ed., 1973, p. 27). *Candrōtsavam*, a sixteenth century work, refers to eighteen groups of Cāttirar. These literary references to the Cāttirar, which depict them more as fighters and lovers of courtesans than as Vedic scholars, suggest the decline of the śālas as centers of Vedic study. The original function of the śālas was probably transferred to the Brahmasvam maṭhams, or brahmin monasteries. Such monasteries exist to this day as Vedic educational institutions, drawing brahmin students from all over Kerala. Most are situated near medieval temple centers. The monasteries at Trichur and Tirunāvāy, the medieval site of the famous Māmāṅkam festival and the place praised as sacred by the Vaiṣṇavite bhakti saints of the early medieval period, are well known throughout Kerala.

Vedic manuals that were apparently intended as "guide books" have been discovered in the possession of various Nambudiri families in Cochin and Malabar.[5] These manuals have not been systematically analyzed, but after an initial examination the present author feels that they can be attributed on linguistic grounds to the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. One significant feature of these works is that they describe every ritual in abbreviated form, giving one or two words that begin a particular hymn at the point where the entire hymn is to be recited. Thus, they appear to confirm the existence of a tradition of Vedic ritual during their period. The valuable information supplied by the manuals is supplemented by a number of palm-leaf manuscripts available in the private archives of the

[5] Vedic manuals in palm-leaf manuscripts obtained from various parts of Kerala are housed in the Kerala University Manuscript Library. I have used two of them: *Agnicayanam* (in Malayalam), no. L 1196 A; and *Agniṣṭomam*, no. T 1093. Recently I also received another manuscript from Māṭampumana, near Trichur, which is complete from Varaṇa to Avabhṛtha. Another manuscript from Veḷḷāmparampu mana in Perumanam (Trichur District) is incomplete. This indicates some departure from the manual followed by the members of the Śukapuram group of brahmins.

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rāja of Kollengode. Thus, an image of the continuity of the Vedic heritage into the modern period begins to emerge, since these latter records, which form part of the correspondence between the Nambudiri priests in Malabar and Cochin and the rāja of Kollengode, belong to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the following pages an attempt is made to analyze the evidence supplied by the Kollengode archives.[6]

THE RĀJA OF KOLLENGODE

The rāja of Kollengode (Kollaṅkōḍ) is known by different names. In the correspondence he is addressed as Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Mūppil, while in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, a traditional chronicle of about the eighteenth century A.D., he is called Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi. "Mūppil" literally means the eldest member of a family, usually of a ruling family or chieftaincy, "mūppu" being the position of the eldest member. "Nampiṭi" is the title given at the time of investiture. Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭis use a common title, Vīran Iravi, when they correspond with others.

The nampiṭis enjoyed an important position among the local chieftains of Kerala owing to their close association with Vedic ritual. It is the solemn duty and exclusive monopoly of the nampiṭis to supply Soma (*Sarcostemma brevistigma*), kariññāli (*Mimosa catechu*), and kṛṣṇājina, the black antelope skin, all of which are essential for performing Vedic sacrifices. No king or chieftain in Kerala other than Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi is entitled to supply these articles, and furthermore it is considered a sin on the part of the nampiṭis to give these articles to those who have no right to perform yāgas (CU/KPPM, no. 15) The sacrificial articles are to be obtained from the nampiṭi's own hands at the temple of Kāccāṅkuṛicci, of which the nampiṭi is the supreme authority (Kāś., XVI).

According to the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, Veṅṅunnāṭu was one of the administrative divisions in Kerala. The territory of Veṅṅunnāṭu comprised five dēśams (villages), namely Kollengode, Vaṭṭakkāḍ, Vaṭavaṉṉūr, Eḷavañcēri, and Payyālūr. A legendary chronicle of Kāccāṅkuṛicci temple states that Veṅkaṭa (Veṅṅunnāṭu) is 4 yojanas in length and 4 yojanas in breadth (Krishna Iyer 1942, pp. 41ff.). The political importance of the territory lies in the fact that, situated at the mouth of the Palghat gap, it served as an outpost and a strategic position in the prevention of invasions from the other side of the Western Ghats. The palace of the Nampiṭi is in the village of Kollengode, hence the name Kollengode Rāja. The Nampiṭi was allowed certain privileges otherwise enjoyed only by kings and chieftains in Kerala, such as the

[6] The author is indebted to the present rāja of Kollengode, Venugopala Varma, for having provided the manuscripts available for reference and study. The palm leaves are now kept in the Department of History, Calicut University.

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use of a palanquin, the Camari whisk, a white umbrella, a lighted lamp during the daytime, and a black and white carpet. In addition, he was permitted to enter the maṇḍapa, the porch in front of the central shrine in temples, and to ring the holy bell, privileges that were usually accorded exclusively to brahmins. Moreover, he had the right of sākṣibhōjana, i.e., the right to dine with brahmins in the same hall, although not in the same line. While this might appear to indicate his inferiority to brahmins, he also wore metiyaṭi, a sort of wooden footwear, inside the temple, which even brahmins were not permitted to do.

We do not know whether Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi was ever an independent ruler. It is known that he was a vassal of the zamorin of Calicut. The fact that the presence of the nampiṭi was essential at the time of the consecration of the zamorin and that the nampiṭi had a role in the duodecennial Māmāṅkam festival at Tirunāvāy along with the other vassals of the zamorin suggest his feudatory position. At the time of the investiture of Kutiravaṭṭattu Nāyar, another local chieftain under Calicut, the zamorin made him take an oath that he would protect Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Appacci, the female member of the Veṅṅunnāṭṭu family. Professor K.V. Krishna Iyer, the author of *The Zamorins of Calicut*, quotes a letter of Vīran Iravi, a Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi, which demonstrates the control of the zamorins over the latter. Once the zamorin removed Ceṛuvaḷḷi Accan from Veṅṅunnāṭu and caused Cakkumpaṛambil Uṇiccanta Nampiyār, the junior Peruventa Mūkkil Kiḻakke Nampiṭi to be adopted and invested as Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi, an incident which clearly indicates the subordinate status of Veṅṅunnāṭu. Iyer also mentions that in A.D. 1504 and in A.D. 1550 Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi was present with the zamorin during his fight against Cochin. When Hyder Ali conquered Malabar, he recognized the rāja of Kollengode as the kōyma or owner of Kāccāṅkuṛicci temple and an inām was sanctioned to him. When Malabar fell into the hands of the British, the Kollengode family was recognized as a chieftaincy, and Sthānam and Nāyarship, as well as a privy purse of Rs. 854/-, were bestowed upon the rāja (Krishna Iyer 1942, pp. 42 ff.).

ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY

Like many other problems in the history of Kerala the origin of the Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi and his spiritual status are shrouded in obscurity. The only sources from which the origin and history of the Veṅṅunnāṭṭu family can be traced are the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, the *Kāśyapakṣētramāhātmyam* (another legend that was claimed as part of the Skandapurāṇa), some folksongs popular in Palghat district, and an undated inscription, attributed to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries A.D., in Tamil Grantha and Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters on the adhiṣṭhāna of the Śrīmūlasthānam shrine in Vaṭakkunnāthan temple at Trichur.

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According to the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi was given the rights over his territory by Cēramān Perumāḷ. However, the *Kāśyapakṣētramāhātmyam* states that the nampiṭi obtained the territory of Veṅṅunnāṭu from the sage Paraśurāma, who created the Palghat gap. This text tells an interesting story about the origin of the nampiṭis. Dharmavartmā, the king of Nicuḷapura, was a leper, and he came with his wife Drōṇavatī to Kāśyapakṣētra. Paraśurāma advised him to take a bath in the healing water of the tank in front of the temple. As soon as the king dipped himself in the water he was cured, and before long he begot a son due to the blessings of Prajāpati. The king and his wife then returned to Nicuḷa with their son Hēmāṅga. On the way, they lost the son in the river Ikṣumatī, the modern Malampuḷa. A blacksmith found the child and brought him up. When he grew up he left the blacksmith and went to the forests of the Western Ghats, where he lived by hunting animals. One day he met the sage Paraśurāma, who was lying in the forest, wounded by the rākṣasa Bali. Hēmāṅga killed the rākṣasa with the handax of Paraśurāma, who gave him the territory of Veṅṅunnāṭu in gratitude (*Kāś.*, XVI). Hēmāṅga ruled the country for many years. By this time Drōṇavatī had come to Veṅkaṭa (Veṅṅunnāṭu) following the death of Dharmavartmā. When Hēmāṅga died, there was nobody to succeed him on the throne, since he was brahmacārin, or celibate, throughout his life. At this point Paraśurāma summoned all the brahmins of sixty-four villages and installed Drōṇavatī as Hēmāṅga's successor (*Kāś.*, XIX). Once Sūrya, the sun god, saw the queen and fell in love with her. Disguised as a brahmin, he requested her hand in marriage from the sage Paraśurāma, who gave Drōṇavatī to the sun god. By Sūrya Drōṇavatī begot a child named Vīra Ravi.

Some points in this story are intriguing. First of all, the prince Hēmāṅga is related to the family of a blacksmith. Kollengode, the seat of the nampiṭi, literally means a settlement of blacksmiths. This name is Sanskritized in the *Kāśyapakṣētramāhātmyam* as Ayaskārapura, ayaskāra being a word for blacksmith. Even today Kollengode is referred to as Aykara by the people beyond the river Malampuḷa. Secondly, the legend would suggest a matrilineal succession in the ruling family of the Veṅṅunnāṭu Nampiṭis. Thirdly, there is a clear attempt in this story to connect the family of the nampiṭis with the solar race of kings. It was a common practice among the medieval chroniclers of local Hindu dynasties to relate their patron's family to the solar or lunar race in order to legitimize them by elevating their status. It may be pointed out in this connection that matrilineal succession is followed in the family of Veṅṅunnāṭu, and that as soon as the eldest male member of the family becomes the nampiṭi, he accepts the name Vīra Ravi. In the earlier records the suffix '-varma' was not added to the nampiṭi's name, though in some later records it is used. Furthermore, a significant feature of the legend is that it connects the family with a brahmin by means of the story of the marriage of the princess Drōṇavatī with the sun god disguised

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as a brahmin. Probably it might also point to some kind of early adoption or acculturation of a local tribe by the brahmin settlers, which was in fact a common practice in early and medieval India. Though the *Kāśyapakṣē-tramāhātmyam* might be a late composition, the legend could well have been retained as a distant memory of an actual event.

The spiritual status of the nampiṭi is considered to be much more important than his political status. All the legends about this family relate them to Vedic rituals, although they have no right to study Vedas. It was Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi who brought Darbha and Sruva for a ritual conducted by the brahmins of Kerala. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* categorically states that Soma and sruva are to be supplied by Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi (*Ker.*, p. 59). The *Kāśyapakṣētramāhātmyam* contains a story about the monopoly of the nampiṭis regarding the supply of these ritual implements, a right which was supposedly granted by Indra. When Vīra Iravi was ruling, the brahmins of Kerala began a great ritual to which they did not invite Paraśurāma or other gods. Paraśurāma complained to Indra about the matter and Indra carried away Soma, kariññāli, and kṛṣṇājina and even the sacrificial fire to the temple at Kāccāṅkuṛicci, where he was welcomed by Vīra Iravi. Indra told Iravi: "Thou shalt be on earth as I am in heaven. These articles will remain with thou. Thou shalt be the only authority to give these things to the brahmins. Thou shalt give them when Paraśurāma comes. Thou shalt get the one-sixth portion of the result of Yajñas." Then he invoked the Āgnēyamantra on his feet and, warning him against walking barefooted, Indra departed. Consequently, it is believed that the earth might be burnt if the nampiṭi touches it with his feet. Paraśurāma then came and, making Iravi sit on the maṇḍapa in the Kāccāṅkuṛicci temple, told him: "You yourself will give Soma, kariññāli, and kṛṣṇājina to the vaidikas and karmis (priests) of the three villages of Panniyūṛ, Covvaram, and Peruvanam with your own hands from this porch." Besides this, the sage gave him further instructions that he must assume dīkṣā, he must abstain from shaving and trimming his hair, he must not chew betel leaves and nuts, he must avoid the company of women and observe strict brahmacārya, he must observe aindravrata, and must always wear wooden footwear. He also wanted Drōṇavatī and other female members of the family to observe aindravrata and give clothes and turmeric to brahmin women (Krishna Iyer 1942, p. 46). Thus this story is clearly an attempt to legitimize the monopoly of the nampiṭi. Another version of the legend says that Paraśurāma engaged a gandharva who lived in Tenmala-Vaṭamala region to protect the brahmins in Kerala, and the nampiṭis are the descendants of that gandharva. This story is reminiscent of the similar Vedic and Brāhmaṇic statement that the gandharvas should bring the articles for sacrifice (Mackenzie, mss. 17, 5, 44, 2). According to legends, this is the reason why the women of the nampiṭi's family are called appacci, the Malayalam rendering of apsarastrī, a

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nymph. In fact, appacci is a local kinship term that means father's sister. The importance given to appaccis again suggests the matrilineal inheritance pattern in the family.

The Avarōdha or investiture ceremony of the nampiṭi clearly reveals the nature of his spiritual status.[7] At the end of the death pollution of the deceased nampiṭi, which lasts for fifteen days, his nephew, the incoming nampiṭi, takes leave of the family and walks along to the Kāccāṅkuṛicci temple. Tantri, the priest, invokes upon him the spirit of Indra by āvāhana and then gives him the consecrated pearl necklace. After this the priest performs ṣōḍaśōpacāra, the sixteen modes of worship as to a god. A golden chain that is a characteristic ornament of the chieftains of Kerala is given to him, and he wears it on his right leg. Again, the priest writes the bījākṣara, mystic letters of Agni, Indra, and Varuṇa, on his feet, palm, and head, respectively, and invokes these deities on him. Thus transformed into the Vedic triad, he can cause no touch pollution thereafter. He is permitted to enter the sacrificial hall when the rites are taking place, where he will be provided with a respectable seat transcending his social status.

On an auspicious day during the Avarōdha, the nampiṭi wears the wooden sandals consecrated by certain pūjā ceremonies. From then on he is expected never to part with them and to wear them in the temple. After this comes the most interesting part of the Avarōdha ceremony. Tantri, the priest, makes the nampiṭi swear that he will give Soma, kariññāli, and kṛṣṇājina to *every* brahmin who seeks them for sacrifice and will always protect brahmins and cows. After this oath the priest takes out ponti, the club, vāḷ, the sword, and parica, the shield, which were kept in the sanctum sanctorum, and gives them to the nampiṭi. He is then taken by palanquin in a procession to Kollengode, followed by his 999 Nāyar soldiers. After worshiping the deity of the kaḷari or gymnasium, he returns to the Kāccāṅkuṛicci temple, where he should live for the rest of his life. He is not expected to leave the temple except to collect the articles for sacrifices from a tribe of Tenmala in the range of Western Ghats. This can be related to a certain stage of the Avarōdha ceremony during which the priest gives him twelve measures of rice. At this moment the priest's hand is connected with the hand of the deity by a darbha cord, and it is supposed that the nampiṭi becomes the serf of the deity after this rite. Consequently he never leaves the temple. He takes care of temple administration with the help of kōvil karmis, temple officials. It is the second and third heirs of the nampiṭi who look after the secular matters of the territory on behalf of the nampiṭi.

The investiture ceremony is significant in more than one respect. Primarily, it is a rite that purifies one who formerly belonged to an impure lower stratum. After the rite his touch does not cause pollution, i.e., his

[7] For the description of the Avarōdha rites, the author has relied upon Professor K. V. Krishna Iyer, "Venganad Nampitis," *RVRIB*, 10, pp. 90ff.

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social hierarchy is elevated to a status almost equal to that of a brahmin. But it should be noted that he is not given the right of dining with brahmins in the same row. This clearly shows that he is not included in their social group, probably due to the fact that he formerly belonged to a lower group. Another reason might be the military character of his function, which is symbolized by giving him the club, the sword, and the shield consecrated in the shrine of his tutelar deity. Still another reason might be his very solemn duty of supplying the skin of a black antelope, for which he has to kill the animal and skin it, which is taboo for brahmins. The ceremony as a whole seems to be a contract between the Nambudiris and the nampiṭi. The Nambudiris required sacrificial articles that are found only in the forest that belongs to the nampiṭi. To assure a ready supply of those articles, the brahmins conferred a certain social stature and privileges upon the nampiṭi.

FORMAL ACQUISITION OF THE SACRIFICIAL ARTICLES

Vedic rituals are performed during vasanta, the spring. The first fortnight is preferred, although on rare occasions the rituals have been performed during the second fortnight.[8] A letter should be sent to the Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi through his finance secretary sufficiently early informing him about the proposed yāga. Another letter from the priests is also necessary; without it the nampiṭi would not release the articles (CU/KPPM, no. 1). The priest should certify that the articles applied for are intended to be used in the sacrifice of the applicant himself. Again, if the articles are to be handed over to a person other than the applicant, he should bring a letter of identification with him (CU/KPPM, no. 3). All these restrictions presuppose the ritual status that qualifies a brahmin to perform a yāga.

Along with the application for the sacrificial articles, a certain sum is to be remitted in advance by the applicant. The articles will be released only after the balance is received. It seems that the cost of the articles varied from time to time. An undated receipt shows that the price of a kṛṣṇājina was 175 paṇas, equal to about 48.75 rupees (CU/KPPM, no. 19). Another letter of the year 1032 K.E. (A.D. 1857) mentions a smaller amount of 31 rupees, 6 annas, 5 1/2 paisa as the price of the articles (CU/KPPM, no. 21). Still another letter of 1043 K.E. (A.D. 1868) states that the total amount received was 21 rupees, 4 annas, 17 1/2 paisa (CU/KPPM, no. 24). It may be pointed out in this connection that some Vedic texts describe selling Soma as evil (Keith 1920, p. 113). However, we do not know whether Soma was supplied free of cost, for separate receipts are not available to verify the

[8] Almost all records testify to this. According to a letter dated 2nd Tulam 1102 K.E., the yāga of Mēppoyilattu Aṭiśśeri was performed during the second fortnight (see CU/KPPM, no. 92).

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case. It is said that the nampiṭi returns the nominal price of one paṇa received as the cost of the articles with a handsome amount of contribution but there is no evidence to prove this statement (Krishna Iyer 1942, p. 41n.). Once payment has been received, the nampiṭi takes it as his most important responsibility to supply the articles (CU/KPPM, no. 11). He sends his men to obtain the skin of the black antelope. The animal is drowned, and the skin is carefully removed so that no damage is done to it. The skin must have portions of head, horns, eyes, ears, teeth, forelegs and hindlegs, hoofs, tail, and body (CU/KPPM, no. 18).

THE RIGHT TO PERFORM YĀGAS

We have seen that some formalities are to be observed for procuring Soma, kariññāli, and kṛṣṇājina involving restrictions that presuppose a brahmin's eligibility for ritual status. A letter from the Vaidikas of Covvaram, Peruvanam, and Iriññālakkuṭa categorically states that only certain families of those villages and their subsidiary villages of Ālattūr, Peruñcellūr, and Karikkāṭ have the right to perform Vedic ritual (CU/KPPM, no. 10). All the above-mentioned six villages are referred to in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* as separate and independent brahmin settlements. For some unknown reason the second group of villages mentioned in the letter became subsidiary to the former ones. It is highly probable that the tradition might have been a later invention of the orthodox brahmin families of the first group of villages, because in the solemn oath taken by the nampiṭis before their tutelar deity at the temple of Kāccāṅkuṛicci, the supply of the sacrificial articles is not restricted to any particular section or group of brahmins in Kerala. The restriction is explained in a legend popular among the Vedic scholars in Kerala according to which the Nambudiris in Kuṛumbranāḍ in the north and those living beyond the river Periyār in the south did not take part in the sacrifices of Mēḷattōḷ Agnihōtri, and so they were denied Vedic rights (Vedaratnam Erkkara Raman Nambudiri, private letter). This Agnihōtri is a legendary figure who is said to have performed ninety-nine yāgas. The reason that the two groups of brahmins boycott the yāgas of Agnihōtri is not clarified in the story.

There is an interesting set of letters among the Kollengode palm-leaf manuscripts regarding a dispute over the Vedic right of the brahmins of Kuṛumbranāḍ. It began when two Nambudiris who belonged to the six-village assembly (grāmayoga) of Kuṛumbranāḍ decided to perform a yāga and applied for Soma, kariññāli, and kṛṣṇājina (CU/KPPM, no. 10). The Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi was suspicious and consequently referred the case to two vaidikas, Kariyannūr Cōmātiri and Kūkkampāṛa Cōmātiri (CU/KPPM, no. 2). A great controversy ensued, in which the vaidikas and priests of the villages of Covvaram, Perumanam and Iriññālakkuṭa divided into

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two camps, arguing for and against the proposed yāga. Those who supported the Nambudiris of Kuṛumbranāḍ were led by Ceṛumukku Sōmayāji and Taikkāṭu Vaidika, two priests of the village of Covvaram. Those who opposed the yāga consisted of priests from all the three villages of Covvaram, Perumanam, and Iriññālakkuṭa. In a letter to Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi they strongly protested against any attempt to supply Soma, kariññāli, and kṛṣṇājina to the Nambudiris of Kuṛumbranāḍ on the grounds that there was no tradition of yāgas among those brahmins (CU/KPPM, no. 15). In the same letter they also pointed out that the Nambudiris of Kuṛumbranāḍ did not belong to the three major or subsidiary brahmin villages that had the exclusive right of performing Vedic sacrifices. At the same time the supporters argued on the basis of tradition that the Nambudiris of Kuṛumbranāḍ had the right to perform sacrifices and, referring to the aged and the wise among them, they quoted the example of the Puttillam family, a member of which had performed a sacrifice (CU/KPPM, no. 10). At a certain stage in the dispute the rāja of Kuṛumbranāḍ and the svāmiyār of Koraṭṭikkara, a spiritual leader, interfered in the matter. The six-village assembly of Kuṛumbranāḍ also presented the case to Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi (CU/KPPM, no. 14). Ultimately the case was decided by the svāmiyār of Koraṭṭikkara in favor of the Nambudiris of Kuṛumbranāḍ (CU/KPPM, no. 8). The dispute came to an end when in a letter dated 27th Kanni of 1037 M.E. (A.D. 1862), Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi undertook to supply Soma, kariññāli and kṛṣṇājina, referring to the letter of the svāmiyār of Koraṭṭikkara (CU/KPPM, no. 7). However, Vedaratnam Erkkara Raman Nambudiri writes that in 1069 or 1070 M.E. (A.D. 1894 or 1895) a certain Nambudiri of Kuṛumbranāḍ decided to perform a sacrifice and managed to get Soma, kariññāli and kṛṣṇājina, but he could not actually perform the yāga because of the protest of some other Nambudiris. The two black antelope skins he obtained were used for the Agni of Patiññāṛe Kuttuḷḷi Aṭīri that took place in 1074 M.E. (A.D. 1899), since the articles requested for that celebration were not received from Kollengode in time.

Another interesting point to be noted in this connection is that the village of Panniyūr is not included in the list of those who have the right of sacrifice, despite the fact that it was one of the early important and influential settlements of brahmins in Kerala. Along with Covvaram (Śukapuram), this village figures as a witness in the copper-plate grant of Vīrarāghava in the year A.D. 1225. A feud between these two villages is alluded to in some Malayalam literary works of the medieval period. At last the people of Panniyūr, who worshiped the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, were defeated and driven away by the people of Covvaram, who worshiped Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Professor K. V. Krishna Iyer writes that the Panniyūr brahmins escaped to Kollengode and settled down there with the patronage of Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭi, but there is no evidence to prove this statement (Krishna Iyer 1942, p. 41). He adds that at present not even a single family of brahmins can be found

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there. W. Logan, the author of *Malabar Manual*, mentions Veṅṅunnāḍ as one of the pure and important brahmin settlements of his time (Logan 1898, p. 118). He might have been referring to the orthodox Tamil brahmins in this place who enjoyed the patronage of the Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Nampiṭis. Probably some families of Panniyūr might have gone to distant places like Kuṛumbranāḍ in the north and beyond the river Periyār in the south. If so, this would account for the denial of Vedic rights to the brahmins of those places. However, at present this is only an inference, yet to be substantiated.

The spread of the bhakti movement and the proliferation of the temple cult seem to have influenced the Vedic ritual system, as testified by some private family records of the Nambudiris. Before commencing the sacrificial rites, the yajamāna (the sacrificer) and the officiating priests would invoke and propitiate their tutelary deities in order to procure blessings from them for the successful performance of the ritual. A yajamāna from the Śukapuram village would thus invoke Dakṣiṇāmūrti of his village temple. Further, a lamp would be lit in the sacrificial hut as a symbol of the presence of the deity at the ritual. Similarly, a Nambudiri of Perumanam village would worship the Śāstā of Tiruvaḷḷakkāvu temple. This appears to amount to a link between the conduct of the Vedic rituals and the institutionalized aborginal systems of worship in the respective localities. Not only did the Āgamaic deities of the temple-centered brahmin society supersede the Vedic gods, but even aboriginal local gods like Śāstā or Ayyappan were granted higher status than the celestial beings propitiated in the Vedic rituals. However, it is not unlikely that the gods of a seminomadic pastoral society would be replaced by the deities of a sedentary agricultural group.

Even since the Atharva Veda, it would appear that there was infiltration of aboriginal occult practices into the Vedic rites. This becomes clear in some practices related to the menstruation taboo of the Nambudiris. In an interesting example of a yajamāna of Veḷḷāmpaṛampumana of Perumanam village, private records of the family state that the priest Kālaṭi Bhaṭṭatiri offered each of the three wives of the yajamāna a ring charged with a magical spell in order to check their menstruation until the expiry of the ritual. In spite of the magical ring one woman menstruated. Magical rings were again given to the other two in order that they might have their menses. This time the rings proved to be successful.

The economic implications of the Vedic rituals of this period need to be emphasized. Medieval Maṇipravāḷa texts like the *Uṇṇiccirutēvi Caritam* refer to the institution of paṭakāram, or the sharing of the corporate wealth of a village or a group among the members who have the qualification with special ritual status. The period between paṭakārams varied in different villages. Thus, in Śukapuram village it was once in twelve years, whereas in Perumanam it took place every year. Only those who performed rituals were entitled to a share in paṭakāram. The family records of the Nambudiris of Perumanam village indicate that every year new members came forward

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to perform sacrifices. In Śukapuram village new aspirants appeared in the last two or three years of the stipulated twelve-year period, which would explain the sudden boom in the number of applications for sacrificial materials received by the Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Mūppil towards the end of every twelve years.

The economic function of the institution of paṭakāram seems to have been to redistribute resources. Through paṭakārams the corporate wealth of the brahmin groups was allocated to individuals, along with the transfer of proprietory rights from the former to the latter. Such transfer of rights from corporate bodies to individuals increased private land holdings and other forms of personal wealth. To the casual observer the performance of a ritual simply conferred a certain status upon the performer, but at a less obvious level it also bestowed upon him a proprietory right over a share of the corporate wealth. At the same time, the institution of paṭakāram appears to have been the source of an internal division that fostered centrifugal tendencies within the corporate groups.

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APPENDIX

CU/KPPM 1

The letter from Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Mūppil. The situation as it should be understood by Eṭamaṉa Aṭiśśēri[1] of Kaṇṇanūr in the village of Perumanam.[2] It has been decided to perform the yāga of Aṭiśṣēri in the pūrvapakṣa of Vasanta of this year and for this purpose Rs. 32/—have been remitted here towards the cost of Sōma,[3] kariññāli,[4] kṛṣṇājina.[5] To know that the articles are for the Aṭiśśēri's yāga itself, a letter either from the Vaidika or from the karmi is necessary according to the existing rules. As it has not been produced, it should be brought (at the time) when he comes for collecting Sōma, kariññāli, etc. as said by Aṭiśśēri, and Sōma, kariññāli, kṛṣṇājina are to be collected only after this. That which has to be entrusted and brought here shall also be entrusted and brought. In this way written on 25th Tulām, 1025 K.E. [A.D. 1850].

[1] Aṭiśśēri denotes the Nambudiri who has performed the ritual of Ādhāna. The terms Aṭitiri and Aṭīri are variants of Aṭiśśeri. All these terms are derived from the Sanskrit Ādhātṛ.
[2] One of the early brahmin settlements in Kerala. The village is in Trichur District, about seven miles to the south of Trichur.
[3] *Sarcostemma brevistigma.*
[4] *Mimosa catechu.*
[5] Skin of a black antelope.

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CU/KPPM 10

Letter from Taikkāṭu.[1] The situation as it should be informed to Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Mūppil[2] by Krishna Menon.[3] It was decided to conduct the yāgas of Eṭaśśēri Aṭiśśeri and Puttūr Aṭiśśēri of six-village yoga of Kuṛumbranāḍ in the last Vasanta,[4] and the above-mentioned persons were sent with a letter to remit the advance for tōl[5] and, as there are yāgas in several places and the date was too soon, and as Aṭīri[6] and Eṭaśśēri informed us that the reply concerning the supply of tōl had not been received, it has been decided that the yāga may be performed in the ensuing Vasanta. Since the experienced and the wise say that the villagers can perform the yāga and that, after the yāga of Puttillam, nobody could perform yāga, and as there is no other objection, the supply of tōl may be undertaken and a reply may be sent. In this way, on 17th Ciṅṅam, 1022 M.E. [A.D. 1847].

[1] Name of a Vaidikan family (see Vol. I, page 175). It is the custom of the Kerala Nambudiris to call themselves by their family name.
[2] The rāja of Kollengode.
[3] Finance secretary of the rāja. Nobody is permitted to correspond directly with the rāja. Instead, all correspondence should be routed through the finance secretary (Paṇḍārattil Mēnōn).
[4] Usually yāgas are performed in Vasanta. This may be due to the fact that Soma is suitable for sacrifice only in the spring when it is in flower. All the yāgas mentioned in the Kollengode manuscripts were performed in Vasanta.
[5] "Tōl" literally means skin. Here it signified the skin of a black antelope.
[6] See App., CU/KPPM 1, n. 1.

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CU/KPPM 14

The letter of Tōṭṭupuṛattu Sōmayāji, Karuvātu Sōmayāji, Kaupra Aṭiśśēri, and Paṭiññāṛe Kuttuḷḷi Aṭiśśēri. To be read out by Krishna Menon before Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Mūppil. After receiving the letters of the rāja of Kuṛumbranāḍ[1] and the six-village assembly at Taikkāṭu and Ceṛumukku [stating] that the yāgas of Eṭaśśēri Aṭiśśēri and Puttūr Aṭiśśēri of the six-village group were to be performed in the last Vasanta, Puttūr Aṭiśśēri and Eṭaśśēri Aṭiśśēri were sent in order to remit the advance so that the supply of tōl and Sōma may be undertaken and a reply may be sent. But they were sent back for want of the letter of the four karmis. Then that also was sent. Since Puttūr Aṭiśśēri etc. have come here and explained the matter, and as it has been heard from the experienced and the wise that they were permitted by the tradition to perform yāgas, we have decided that there is no objection in accepting the advance and undertaking the supply of tōl and Sōma and also in sending the reply at the time when they reach there according to the letter of Taikkāṭu and Ceṛumukku. So the advance payment and the previous letter may be acknowledged. In this way, written on 21st Ciṅṅam 1023 M.E. [A.D. 1848]. [Witnesses?]. Signature of Mēppoyilattu Sōmayāji, Karattaḷiyattu Sōmayāji, Kaupra Aṭiśśēri, and Kiḷuprakkāṭ Sōmayāji.

[1] Kuṛumbranāḍ was another nāḍu, or administrative division, at least since the time of the Cēras of Mahōdayapuram. The ruling family of this nāḍu is believed to have been kṣatriyas related to the family of Kōlattiris, the rulers of Kōlattunāḍ.

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CU/KPPM 15

The letter written by Akkittattu Cōmātiri, Kūkkampāṛa Cōmātiri, Tiyyaṉṉūr Cōmātiri, and Kṛṣnattu Cōmātiri of Covvaram village;[1] Mānnāṉampaṛṛa Aṭiśśeri of Perumanam village;[2] and Ceṛukuḷaṅṅara Cōmātiri and Pālappuṛattu Tekkiniyēṭattu Aṭiśśēri of Iriṅṅālakkuṭa village.[3] The situation as it should be informed to Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Mūppil by Paṇḍārattil Mēnōn. The vaidikas of Taikkāṭu and Ceṛumukku and some karmis wrote (to you) that Sōma and kariṅṅāli might be supplied for the yāgas of Eṭaśśēri and Puttūr Aṭiśśēri of Kuṛumbranāḍ, and we informed [you] then that it was against traditional customs and that [Sōma and kariṅṅāli] should not be given. As we were asked to produce an original document, this letter is being sent. Details of yāgas: as a matter of rule certain Nambudiri families of the villages of Covvaram, Perumanam, and Iriṅṅālakkuṭa and of the villages of Ālattūr,[4] Periñcellūr[5], and Karikkāṭu,[6] which belong to the above village, have the right to perform yāgas. And this custom is also followed. Apart from these, neither have we known nor have we heard from our aged ancestors that the Nambudiris of Kuṛumbranāḍ have the right to perform yāgas. And they do not belong to these [above-mentioned] three villages. We have also heard that Koraṭṭikkara Tirumumpu[7] has sent a letter to your excellency, asking to supply Sōma and kariṅṅāli to such people violating the tradition. Therefore we think that your excellency will act only according to the traditional custom.

In this way 16th Kaṉṉi 1023 M.E. [A.D. 1848].

[1] One of the thirty-two early brahmin settlements in Kerala. The legendary feud between the villages of Covvaram and Panniyūr is famous in traditional lore as well as in medieval Malayalam literature. The brahmins of Covvaram worshipped Dakṣināmūrti as their temple deity, while the brahmins of Panniyūr worshiped the boar incarnation of Vishnu. The *Uṇṇiccirutēvi Caritam*, a thirteenth century Maṇipravāḷa campū, refers to the Vedic practices of priests living in the village of Covvaram.

[2] Another early brahmin settlement in Trichur District.

[3] Another early brahmin settlement, also in Trichur District. In a granite inscription of Sthāṇuravi (844–887 A.D.) in the temple at Iriṅṅālakkuṭa, the place name is given as Iruṅkāṭikkūṭal. The brahmin assembly of the temple is also mentioned in this record.

[4] The *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle mentions Ālattūr as an independent village. It is in Malappuram District.

[5] Periñcellūr was one of the earliest brahmin settlements in Kerala. A Vedic ritual performed in this village by the sage Paraśurāma is mentioned in *Akanānūṛu*, 220. Periñcellūr is modern Taḷipaṛamba in Cannanore District.

[6] Another brahmin settlement, mentioned in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle as an independent settlement, near Manjeri in Malappuram District.

[7] The letter is highly damaged due to an attack of white ants and only a part of it could be restored.

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CU/KPPM 18

The letter of Ēṛaṉṉūr Krishnan Nambūdiri in Mukundapuram of Cochin. The situation as it should be informed to the Veṅṅunnāṭṭu Mūppil by Kuñju. I have given to you the letter from Kaimukku[1] Sōmayāji stating that the Sōma, kariññāli, and tōl for the Agni of Poraḷi[2] may be handed over to me. I have also given 75 paṇams, which was in balance after paying an advance of 15 paṇams. I have received a tōl without any injury to its head, horns, eyes, ears, teeth, hind legs, forelegs, hoofs, tail, and body. I have also received Sōma and kariññāli.

Thus written on 10th Meeṉam, 1028 [A.D. 1853].

[1] Vaidikan family of Perumanam village.
[2] Name of a Nambudiri family.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CU/KPPM	Calicut University Collection/Kollengode Palace Palm Leaf Manuscript
IESHR	*Indian Economic and Social History Review*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
Kāś.	*Kāśyapakṣētramāhātmyam*
Kēr.	*Kēraḷōlpatti*
ME	Malayalam Era (Kollam Era)
RVRIB	*Rama Varma Research Institute Bulletin*
TAS.	Travancore Archaeological Series

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SANSKRIT AND MALAYALAM REFERENCES FROM KERALA

K. Kunjunni Raja

KERALA, THE LAND OF the Malayalam-speaking people, is the narrow coastal strip on the southwest of India bounded by the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west. With luxuriant forests fed by both the southwest and northeast monsoons, extensive lagoons on the coastal areas surrounded by coconut palms, hills and dales, and swift-flowing rivers, ever-green paddy fields, and gardens, it is one of the most beautiful regions of India. With the Western Ghats standing as a barrier to easy regular contact with the people on the east, it has evolved a unique pattern of Indian culture, preserving many ancient customs not surviving elsewhere, and adapting other customs in its own characteristic ways.

According to the ancient Tamil literature belonging to the early centuries A.D., a common language and culture once united the three great divisions of South India: Cēra or Kerala on the west coast, Pāṇḍya in the extreme south and Cōḷa in the east. However, Āryan influence had permeated the land even before the beginning of the Christian era. At least four of the eight early Tamil poets who sang the praise of Cēra kings were brahmins: Kumattūr Kaṇṇanār, who wrote about Imayavaramban Neḍumceralātan; Pālai Gautamanār, who sang about Palyānai Cēlkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan; Paraṇar, author of a song about Cēran Ceṅkuṭṭuvan; and Kapilar, who praised Selvakkaḍuṅko Valīyadan. Brahmins are described in the Sangam literature as well versed in the four Vedas and as receiving the patronage of kings in the form of lands and gifts. Vedic rituals were also being conducted by brahmin priests. Pālai Gautamanār performed ten sacrifices under the patronage of Palyānai Cēlkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan. The condition in the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms was similar, and there is nothing in the early Tamil Sangam literature to indicate that the brahmins of Kerala were at that time significantly different in customs and manners from those in the eastern region.

According to the later popular traditions of Kerala—preserved in the Malayalam work *Kēraḷōlpatti* and the Sanskrit work *Keralamāhātmyam*, and referred to in other works like the *Mūṣakavaṃśa* and the *Śukasandeśa*—Paraśurāma, the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu, reclaimed from the sea the land from Gōkarṇa to Kanyākumāri (Cape Comorin) and donated it to the brahmins to organize a theocratic government. It is said that the brahmins settled in sixty-four grāmas, thirty-two in Tuḷunāḍu in the north and the

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other thirty-two in Kerala proper, and instituted special laws regarding the social and religious life of the people. The story of the ocean receding westward from Sahya mountain at the behest of Paraśurāma is at least as old as Kālidāsa, who refers to it in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV.53):

> *rāmāstrotsāritāpyāsīt sahyalagna ivārṇavaḥ*
>
> The army of Raghu seemed to be the ocean which came towards the Sahya, though previously driven away by the arrows of Rāma.

The name of Mayūravarman, the Kadamba king (A.D. 345–370) figures in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition, and this suggests that the immigration of brahmins in large numbers to Kerala began in the fourth century. Perhaps several waves of brahmins migrated to Kerala at different times from different parts of India, from the north as well as the east.

The Paraśurāma tradition is not very popular in the Tamil Sangam works. However, there is one significant early Tamil reference to Vedic rituals performed by Paraśurāma, the wielder of the axe and the destroyer of kṣatriyas, at Cellūr in North Kerala. In *Akanānūṟu* 220, Madurai Marutan Iḷanākanār speaks of the sacrificial pillar erected by Paraśurāma and the continuously kindling sacrificial fire. This Cellūr is identified with Periñcellūr, in modern Taḷipaṟamba in Cannanore District. Periñcellūr is the northernmost of the thirty-two brahmin settlements of Kerala according to the Kerala tradition. In the *Mūṣakavaṃśa*, a historical mahākāvya by Atula of the twelfth century, King Śatasoma or Sutasoma of Mūṣaka country is said to have performed several sacrifices at Cellūr and founded the Śiva temple there. This story is corroborated by the Malayalam poet Nīlakaṇṭha in the seventeenth century in his Malayalam campū, *Cellūranāthodaya*.

The emergence of Kerala as a distinct cultural unit and the evolution of Malayalam as a separate language may be said to coincide roughly with the starting of the Kollam Era in A.D. 825. The Nambudiri brahmins, though small in number, were at the top of the spiritual and social hierarchy and were well versed in the arts of both war and peace. Many rulers like the kings of Ampalappuḷa, Parūr, and Iḍappaḷḷi were themselves brahmins, and most of the aristocratic Nambudiris were major landowners who wielded great power and influence. Their peculiar system of primogeniture—confining inheritance to the eldest son of the family, who alone could marry in his own caste, and allowing the younger brothers to enter into alliances (sambandha) with the women of matrilinear kṣatriyas, Nāyars, or Ampalavāsis like the Vāriyars—helped not only to preserve the landed property of the Nambudiris intact, but also to create a leisured class of intellectual brahmins free from the worries of day-to-day existence, who could thus devote their entire time and energy to the performance of religious rites and to the cultivation of literature and the fine arts. This system of hypergamy per-

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mitted the study of Sanskrit to filter down to the lower strata of society, to the Ampalavāsis and Nāyars, in contrast to the situation in other parts of India, where it was confined to the brahmins and kṣatriyas.

While most of this volume is concerned with the Vedic culture of the Nambudiris, it should not be forgotten that many Nambudiris are excluded from the pursuit of Vedic studies. We shall first pay attention to this latter group. Those who did not study the Vedas fully were known as Ōttilāttavar. Among them were the Cāttira brahmins (or Caṭṭas) who studied and practiced the use of arms, and the Aṣṭavaidyas, who specialized in Āyurveda medicine with its eight branches (aṣṭāṅga). Those who specialized in medicine had to study the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa, a Buddhist, and had to come into contact with a wide variety of patients belonging to different castes. Consequently, they had very little time for a secluded religious life of study and rituals and hence were exempted from the study of the Vedas. They had only to repeat the Vedic text once as it had been recited by the teacher. Among those privileged to study the Vedas, the aristocratic brahmins were called Nambūtirippāḍ or Bhaṭṭatirippāḍ. They were not to receive gifts nor attend festivals uninvited, and did not perform rituals, although they were to be eligible. It is said that their ancestors had performed enough rituals for the sake of their descendants as well. Bhaṭṭatiri and Bhaṭṭatirippāḍ are the terms by which members of families where great śāstraic scholars once flourished are known. There are six vaidika families in charge of the śrauta tradition, all in central Kerala: Taikkāṭ, Kapliṅṅāṭ, Pandal, Perumpaṭappu, Kaimukku and Ceṟumukku (see Vol. I, page 175).

The case of the Cāttira brahmins is quite interesting, and therefore we shall deal with them in some detail. The circumstances that led to the origin of the military Cāttira brahmins are not known, but in all probability they rose to prominence during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when there was no strong central power wielding authority in the land, and the petty local chieftains, though powerless, took the law into their own hands and harassed the people, including the brahmins. There were various centers of education for the brahmins specializing in Vedic studies as well as in Vyākaraṇa and the two systems of Mīmāṃsā. Many of these were associated with temples like Kāntaḷūr, Pārthivapuram, Mūḷikkaḷam, and Tiruvalla. In an inscription dated A.D. 865 it is said that the school or śāla at Pārthivapuram temple was established on the model of the school of Kāntaḷūr. Among the disciplinary rules mentioned are those prohibiting students from fighting with weapons in the class, from carrying weapons to the class, from keeping women in the hostel and from gambling within the temple precincts. From this information we can conclude that by that time the brahmin students had begun to use weapons, at least outside the temple. During the emergency period following the Cōḷa invasions, the śālas may have been converted into military schools. The Cāttira brahmins who neglected Vedic studies and con-

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centrated on the use of weapons and their descendants came to be known as the Cāttira Nambudiris. From the Malayalam literary works belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we know that the Cāttira brahmins had established themselves firmly in the land. Interested primarily in wars and women, these brahmins are described as well-dressed gallants carrying with them the sword or the dagger, as well as palm-leaf manuscripts and stylus. They are often described as adept in the art of writing love-songs about the beautiful women of the land and in coining literary surnames for them. The Sanskrit poem *Śukasandeśa* of the late thirteenth century refers to Kerala as the land where brahmins are the rulers (brahmakṣatra), and where the brahmins were, like Paraśurāma, experts in both śastra (weapon) and śāstra (the orthodox systems of thought, such as Mīmāṃsā and Vyākaraṇa).

These military brahmins, descendants of the early Vedic students who had had to neglect their studies and take to arms, were divided into eighteen troops or saṅghas, each having its own area of jurisdiction. The names of these saṅghas are given in the sixteenth-century Malayalam poem called the *Candrōtsavam*; the eighteen saṅghas were grouped into three sections, the Vaiyākaraṇas or grammarians, the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas, and the Prābhākara Mimāṃsakas. Perhaps these classifications are quite old, dating from before the time when the brahmins began to specialize in the military art. According to the *Candrōtsavam* (Chapter IV, verses 24–34) the eighteen saṅghas are the Vaiyākaraṇas: (1) Kaṇḍarāma, (2) Pulikkīḷ, (3) Veḷapparamb, (4) Puṟappaṭiññakam, (5) Tattamaṅgalam, and (6) Puḷḷipulam; the Prābhākaras: (7) Kīḷvīti, (8) Veḷḷāṅṅallūr, (9) Bhāskara, (10) Tiṭṭappaḷḷi, (11) Cāḷikkāṭ, and (12) Pālekkāṭ; and the Bhāṭṭas: (13) Nāṭṭiyamaṅgalam, (14) Cuṇḍakkaṇṇa, (15) Cokiram, (16) Āṯṯupuram, (17) Tamaraśśeri, and (18) Nenmeni.

The poem tells us that all the saṅghas assembled at the house of the heroine Mānavīmeṇakā during the celebration of the Candrōtsava festival. They are all described as having a special headdress and a red flag, and carrying weapons like the sword and the shield, as well as the spear or the dagger. They came in procession separately, playing on the drum, and displaying their weapons.

The names of these eighteen saṅghas are also given in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, but the terms used are corrupt forms of the original given in the *Candrōtsavam*. Many of these families still exist, mostly in central Kerala. A full saṅgha must include a high-class Nambudiri brahmin to hold the post of vākyavṛtti, a term that may be a corruption of vāddhyavṛtti, the teaching profession. (The term *vāddhyār* is the Dravidianized form of *upādhyāya*.) He is the leader of the saṅgha and has at present no function in the performance of the festival except to receive some money. Another must hold the office of the treasurer, or kiḷippuṟam. Others are the pariṣa, or the ordinary Cāttira Nambudiris, whose number should not be less than four. These eighteen saṅghas might have extended all over Kerala in ancient times,

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but later most of them flourished in central Kerala. Each saṅgha had its own favorite deity—Kālī, Śāsta (Ayyappan), or Veṭṭekkaran (a special deity of Kerala supposed to be the son of Śiva, as the hunter)—of a particular temple in its area of jurisdiction. In addition, Śiva of the temple at Tṛkkāriyūr was the common deity for all the saṅghas.

The Saṅghakkaḷi, an ancient form of variety entertainment of a dramatic nature, was performed by these military saṅghas on important festive occasions. The tradition concerning its origin is given in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. During a debate between the brahmins and the Buddhists, the brahmins, who were about to be defeated, propitiated the deity of the temple at Tṛkkāriyūr in a certain manner according to the advice of a sage and consequently came out victorious. The nālupāda, one of the main items of Saṅghakkaḷi, is said to be performed even now in the same manner. This story, suggesting a religious origin for the drama, may not be authentic, because it is clear that by the time of the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, Saṅghakkaḷi had become an established form of entertainment. In any case, one thing is clear: Saṅghakkaḷi was started by the military brahmins of Kerala as a form of entertainment and was not completely dissociated from religion, even though it may have been chiefly secular in origin. The brahmin students imitated and parodied the nonbrahmins, especially the Nāyar chiefs of the land, reciting the Malayalam stotras used to propitiate Kālī or Ayyappan in a peculiar way with accents as in Vedic recitation. They also imitated the Veḷiccappāḍ (shaman) of the Kālī temples in a humorous fashion. Feats with weapons also formed an important item of the entertainment. In another item the brahmins, who were strict vegetarians, made fun of the Nāyars, who were fond of fish, by songs purporting to praise the importance of fish.

According to popular tradition the first person to perform sacrifices in Kerala was Mēḷattōḷ Agnihotri, the son of the legendary sage Vararuci. It is said that Vararuci married a low-caste girl unwittingly and had twelve children by her, each being brought up in a different community. The eldest child, Mēḷattōḷ Agnihotri, performed 99 sacrifices on the banks of the Nilā (Bhāratappuḷa). The dates of his birth and death are traditionally given as 343 and 378 (represented by the Kali dates given in the chronograms *yajñasthānam saṃrakṣyam* and *purudhīsamāśrayaḥ*). Much credence cannot be given to the tradition about Vararuci, although a similar scandal about Vararuci is mentioned by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. (See V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Madras, 1963, p. 829.) A similar story is also popular in Tamilnāḍ. In Kerala this Vararuci is said to be the author of the *Candravākyas* that give, in 248 formulaic phrases using the Kaṭapayādi notation, the position of the moon for each day of the 248-day cycle.

Mēḷattōḷ Agnihotri is also referred to as Yajñeśvara, and the present Kūḍallūr family of Nāreri claims to have descended from him. This is clear from the statement of Nīlakaṇṭha of Kūḍallūr in his commentary on Śaṅkara's *Viṣṇusahasranāmabhāṣya*:

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jajñe yajñeśvaraḥ prāg upanilam adhipo yajvanām āhitāgnis
tadvaṃśodbhūtanārāyaṇabudhāvarajād gotrajād gādhisūnoḥ
nāgaśreṇyākhyadeśodbhavabhavanajuṣo brahmadattadvijendrāj-
jāto nāmnāṃ sahasraṃ vyavṛṇuta gurukāruṇyato nīlakaṇṭhaḥ

Formerly Yajñeśvara Agnihotri, the leader of the Yajvans, performed rituals on the banks of the Nilā; Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Brahmadatta, a descendant of that Yajñeśvara, and belonging to the family of Nāgaśreṇi (Nāreri) and the gotra of Viśvāmitra, commented on the *Sahasranāmastotra* by the grace of his teacher.

The brahmins of Kerala who live in the region between the rivers Vallī and Kauṇī are praised by Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, a Tamil brahmin scholar and poet of the fifteenth century. Born in Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala on the east coast, he migrated to Kerala seeking patronage and settled there, participating in literary discussions and writing Sanskrit poems like the *Kokilasandeśa* and the drama *Mallikāmāruta*:

sarvotkṛṣṭā jagati viditā keraleṣu dvijendrā
vallīkauṇyos tadapi mahimā kāpi madhyaśritānām
tatrāpy asyās salilapavanā yatra yatra prathante
teṣāṃ teṣām atiśayajuṣaś śīlavidyānubhāvāḥ
(*Kokilasandeśa* 1–76)

The brahmins of Kerala are well known in this world as best; even among them those who live between the Vallī and the Kauṇī have a special excellence. Even there the places blessed by the cool breeze from the river have brahmins well known for their character and education.

A similar statement is given by Nārāyaṇa—of the Akkittam family of Vennanāṭ in Perumpaḷḷy near Trippuṇittura—in his *Dīpaprabhā* commentary on Kaiyaṭa's *Mahābhāṣyapradīpa*:

brahmakṣatro jayati vipulo bhūpradeśo mahānto
yatrācāryāḥ śrutiṣu niratāś śaṅkarādyāḥ babhūvuḥ
tatra vallīkaviṇayor nadyor madhye dvijātayaḥ
praśastagrāmavāstavyā antarvāṇaya uttamāḥ
cūrṇīnilāmāhānadyo yatra stas tatra ye dvijāḥ
vasanti teṣāṃ māhātmyaṃ ko vaktuṃ śaknuyād bhuvi
varṇāśramāṇām ācāro nityaṃ yatra pravartate
agniṣṭoma prabhṛtayaḥ kratavo vitatās sadā
anugrahe nigrahe ca teṣāṃ sāmarthyam adbhutam

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> There is the vast and great land ruled by the brahmins, where flourished teachers like Śaṅkara well versed in the Vedas. There the brahmins living between the Vallī and the Kaviṇā are great scholars; who on earth can fully describe the greatness of those living in the vicinity of the Cūrṇī and the Nilā? They follow the rules of behavior pertaining to the caste and the stage of life. Rituals like the Agniṣṭoma are performed regularly there. They have wonderful powers for blessing or cursing.

Special sanctity is thus given to the brahmins living near the Cūrṇī (Alwaye) River and the Nilā (Bhāratappuḷa). The identity of the rivers Vallī and Kauṇī (Kaviṇī) is not certain; they are said to be the Kaṭaluṇḍi River near Calicut and Kumāranallūr river near Vaikkam. The *Uṇṇinīlasandeśa* describes the river Tiruvāñcaippuḷa (Meenachil) as the boundary of the region of pious brahmins: *viprendrāṇām abhijanavatāṃ vāsasaṅketasīmā* (verse 130).

In the *Kāmasandeśa* (verse 60), Iṣṭakroḍa or Tirumiṯṯakkoḍ on the Nilā River is described as the abode of high-class brahmins whose ancestors performed sacrifices for years:

> *iṣṭakroḍas tadanu bhavatā gamyatām āttavegaṃ*
> *yad bhūdeveṣvajani mahiteṣvābhijātyordhvasīmā*
> *yeṣāṃ pūrve kratubhir ayutaṃ vatsarān iṣṭavantas*
> *tretāvahnīr atha dadur amī teṣu jātyunnatatvam*

> Then you must go quickly to Tirumiṯṯakkoḍ. The highest acme of aristocracy goes to the brahmins of this land. For thousands of years they have been performing rituals, and it is because of this that they are considered to have belonged to a high family.

In the poem *Candrōtsavam* of the fifteenth century the brahmins of Iriñjālakkuḍa grāma are said to have performed several sacrifices and thereby made the gods pot-bellied. We come across sporadic references in literature to the brahmins performing rituals and the description of the smoke rising from their fires appearing as clouds. Thus Śrīkaṇṭha Vāriyar of Deśamaṅgalam describes his native place as

> *vaitānāgniviloladhūmapaṭalīsaugandhanairantara*

> Dense with the fragrance of sacrificial smoke moving up from the vaitāna fire.

Among the Sanskrit authors of Kerala some Somayājins are well known. Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji of Keḷallūr, author of a bhāṣya on the *Ārya-*

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bhaṭīya and original works on astronomy like the *Tantrasaṅgraha* (A.D. 1443–1543) belonged to Trikkaṇṭiyūr in Ponnani Taluk. Another astronomer was Putumana Somayāji (A.D. 1700–1760), author of the *Karaṇapaddhati*. The author of the *Pūrṇapuruṣārthacandrodaya*, an allegorical play, tells us that his father, Jātavedas, had performed a Somayāga; his house was also on the banks of the Nilā. Nīlakaṇṭha, alias Padmapādācārya, author of the *Niruktavārttika*, was from Koṇṭayūr near Deśamaṅgalam on the banks of the Nilā. He too says that the brahmins of the village were famous for performing Soma sacrifices. His father, Kīraśarman, performed a sacrifice and was an expert on rituals (*yajvā yajñaviśāradaḥ*), and his grandfather, Rudraśarman, had performed several yāgas. Payyūr Parameśvara Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Sūtrārthasaṅgraha*, pays obeisance to the five sacrifices:

> *agnihotraṃ darśapūrṇamāseṣṭiḥ paśubandhanam*
> *cāturmāsyāni somaś ca yajñāḥ pañcāpy avantu naḥ*

Mādhava, author of the *Uttaranaiṣadha*, was an Aṭitiri (Āhitāgni) of the Ārūr family and flourished in the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the Malayalam poem *Kucelavṛttam* by Rāmapurattu Vāiryar, Kucela, the classmate of Kṛṣṇa, is described as a Somayāji (or Comātiri).

Kerala brahmins began to specialize in Vedic studies and Vedic exegesis from very early times. In the seventh century Daṇḍin refers in his *Avantisundarīkathā* to some brahmin friends in Kerala such as Mātṛdatta, a poet who wrote some commentaries, and his father, Bhavatrāta, commentator on some Kalpasūtras. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, well-known author of the commentaries *Vedārthadīpikā* on the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, *Sukhapradā* on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, *Mokṣapradā* on the Aitareyāraṇyaka, and *Abhyudayapradā* on the Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra, also refers to some Malayalam words, indicating thereby his association with Kerala:

> *saṃhitā caṅṅatā gṛhyaṃ kirihyaṃ dakṣiṇā tathā*
> *takaṇā tavaṇā mulaṃ mutal munpuṃ punas tu pin*
> (*Āitareyāraṇyaka*, TSS 167, p. 265)

Ṣaḍguruśiṣya was active during the twelfth century A.D.

Udaya of the Muriyamaṅgalam family of Brahmakkalam, son of Nārāyaṇa Yajvan and Sāvitrī, wrote the *Sukhadā* commentary on the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, which is not only a textual exegesis but also elucidates the ritual application and demonstrates Udaya's intimate knowledge of rituals. His father had performed a Soma sacrifice, as the title Yajvan suggests. Udaya seems to have been a nephew of Ṛṣi, probably of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family, and flourished in the fifteenth century. Śaunaka's *Sarvānukramaṇī* has another commentary, *Dīpaprabhā*, by Nārāyaṇa of the Akkittam family of Vennanāḍ near Trippunittura. He also wrote the *Dīpaprabhā* commentaries on

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Kaiyaṭa's *Bhāṣyapradīpa* and *Vārarucasaṅgraha*. Another elaborate metrical commentary on the *Sarvānukramaṇikā* called *Sarvānukramaṇīpadyavivṛtti* was written by a Kerala scholar whose name is not known. (Kunhan Raja's manuscript is in my possession.) Nīlakaṇṭha Yogiār of the Taikkāṭ vaidika family, who was active during the sixteenth century, wrote the *Śrautaprāyaścittasaṅgraha* on the śrauta expiatory rites. Another very important work on Vedic exegesis is the *Niruktavārttika*, a metrical commentary on Yāska's *Nirukta*, by Padmapādācārya, who before becoming a saṃnyāsi was a Nīlakaṇṭha of a family in Koṇṭayūr on the banks of the Nilā. He is quoted as an authority by Payyūr Parameśvara in his commentary on the *Sphoṭasiddhi* and by Kelallūr Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Āryabhaṭīya*, and hence must have written before the fourteenth century. Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote a short poem, the *Sūktaśloka*, which, while praising the Goddess, gives statistical details relating to the Aṣṭaka-adhyāya-varga classification of the Ṛgveda using the Kaṭapayādi notation. Godavarma, yuvarāja of Cranganore (1800–1850), wrote a *Garuḍacayana pramāṇa* on the construction of the vedi for the Garuḍacayana.

Besides these, there are several Malayalam works that also deal with ritual exegesis, as for example the *Cerumukkil Pacca* by Cerumukku Parameśvaran Nambūtiri.

In a Malayalam campū work called the *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam* dating to the thirteenth century, there is a long description of Cōkiram village, which is compared to the lotus flower arising from the navel of Viṣṇu. Āḷvāñceri Tamprākkaḷ, the most prominent Nambudiri brahmin in Kerala, is equated with Brahmā, who resides in the lotus, and the eight aristocratic brahmin families (āḍhyas or aṣṭagṛha) form its petals. The other brahmin families form its sepals; the brahmins are the bees that hover around it. The chanting of the Vedic hymns is compared to the humming of the bees, and knowledge is, of course, the honey. Moreover, this lotus flower is being fondled by Lakṣmī, the goddess of prosperity and beauty, and the consort of Viṣṇu.

In a village called Poyilam, there were several Somayājins (Cōmāyis) whom the poet compares to soldiers by the clever use of double entendre. They prepare food with rice obtained as a gift; they use the skin of the deer; they attend rituals where the goat is killed; they perform rituals flawlessly; they use the darbha grass; they have installed the sacred fire by churning the araṇi woods; they drink the Soma juice; they are called by the term aḍikal; they use tricks and curses against the haughty brahmins of the Panniyūr grāma and are enthusiastic in protecting the interests of the Cōkiram grāma.

The story of the *Pañcarātra*, one of the thirteen Trivandrum plays ascribed to Bhāsa by T. Ganapati Sastri, begins with some young brahmin boys setting fire to the yāgaśālā before the final avabhṛthasnāna ablution was over, thereby creating confusion as the fire spreads to neighboring trees.

In the stotra poem *Nārāyaṇīya* by Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (section

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94, verse 2), teaching is explained on the analogy of the kindling of the fire by the use of araṇis. The teacher is the lower araṇi, and the student the upper araṇi, and by the process of drilling, knowledge is produced in the form of fire, which burns up the wood of ignorance. This analogy is taken from the *Bhāgavata* and can be traced to the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad.

The *Nārāyaṇīya* also contains some stray references to brahmins who perform the sacrificial rituals out of greed: "These haughty brahmins perform sacrificial rituals for the sake of livelihood alone" (*vṛttyarthaṃ te yajantaḥ*, section 92, verse 3).

The Malayalam poet, Pūntānam, a contemporary of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, also criticizes brahmins who perform the Agnihotra and other rituals only in order to be entitled to receive gifts. ("Some perform Agnihotra, etc., in order to become qualified to receive money" [*jñānappana*].)

Among modern Malayalam poets, K. K. Raja wrote a sonnet on an Agnihotri in which a similar idea is expressed:

> I have no *patnī*, I have not performed an *agnyādhāna*,
> I have not till now kindled the new fire for money,
> by drilling. Nobody has offered money at my feet in
> venerable prostration. Still I am an excellent *agnihotrin* with the fire of knowledge in me.

The *Rājasūyaprabandha* by Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa contains a detailed description of the Rājasūya sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira, which gives evidence of the author's intimate acquaintance with sacrificial rituals. The sumptuous feast arranged under the direction of Bhīmasena occupies a considerable part of the description, which conforms to actual practice in Kerala, where the feast is an important feature of the sacrifice. Since Yājñavalkya is the priest for the Rājasūya, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is followed, although in Kerala the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa is more generally followed.

The *Rājasūyaprabandha* introduces several technical terms connected with the rituals, and the poet often indulges in the use of double entendre in association with various aspects of the rituals. Some of the bricks are called Yaśodā, which is the name of Kṛṣṇa's foster mother; some are called Prāṇabhṛt, some Sṛṣṭi, some Nākasad, some Vikarṇi, etc. The agniciti is compared to a sweet pudding made of ghee, jaggery, and rice: *paramānnam iva ghṛtāktabahuśarkaropetam* (*śarkarā* means pebbles and jaggery). In addition to the technical terms, the order of sequence in the procedure for the various rituals is indicated in this text in detail.

It must, however, be noted that the *Rājasūyaprabandha* is the only text where such details regarding the performance of rituals are mentioned. Generally poets of Kerala, including the Nambudiri brahmins, do not seem interested in divulging such details. Hence this particular text is of extreme importance for students of the ritual in Kerala.

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THE MUSIC OF NAMBUDIRI UNEXPRESSED CHANT (ANIRUKTAGĀNA)

Wayne Howard

AN IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTIC of Sāmaveda ritual lauds (stotras) is the substitution of monosyllabic interpolations for certain original syllables of the chants (sāmans). The portion of the sāman that is affected by such replacement is referred to as aniruktagāna ("unexpressed chant" or "unenunciated chant"), a term which "points to something which may be found only beyond *nírukta*, beyond those narrow boundaries which are those of intelligible speech, of the exact representation circumscribed by the word" (Renou and Silburn, p. 76). Therefore "*nírukta* refers to the 'distinct' uttering of the syllables in the chant (*stotra*), *ánirukta* aiming at their being replaced" (*Ibid.*, p. 70). The reasons for these supplantations vary from one chant to the next. The Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya recension of Sāmaveda prescribes in one passage that substitutions are to be made to avoid what is "terrible" in the original words of the gāyatra melody (PB 7.1.8); another sentence warns that failure to sing the rathaṃtara unexpressedly will cause the chanter to be struck by a thunderbolt (PB 7.7.11); one excerpt declares that failure to chant unexpressedly in the vāmadevya will obtain cattle for the god Rudra, who may slay them in the course of the year (PB 7.9.16–18).

This syllable substitution, which takes several forms, has musical as well as verbal ramifications. The nature of these changes in Nambudiri sacrificial chants will be discussed presently, but first it is necessary to review the ritualistic structure of the Sāmaveda lauds and to describe the musical attributes of Nambudiri sāmans. The examination of aniruktagāna will focus first on the gāyatra melody, then on the rathaṃtara and yajñāyajñīya, and finally on the remaining chants. The study treats only the practical aspects of Nambudiri ritual music as it has been passed down through oral tradition. Therefore no attempt will be made to justify findings by alluding to relevant passages in the Brāhmaṇas, the Śrautasūtras and auxiliary texts, the instructions of which are often contradictory or enigmatic. Such references will be made here and there to emphasize particular points, but the task of assembling and comparing all the literature on aniruktagāna is far beyond the scope of the present effort.

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RITUALISTIC SĀMAVEDA

Nambudiri Sāmavedins belong to the Jaiminīya school of this Veda. The texts upon which they base their ritual chants (which they call stutis rather than stotras) are drawn from the uttarārcika of the Jaiminīya Saṃhitā, where verses are arranged in groups of two (pragāthas) or three (tṛcas). The actual chants are found in two songbooks (gānas), Ūhagāna and Rahasyagāna (Ūhyagāna); the Nambudiris avoid the term *rahasya* and refer to the chants of the latter compilation as *ūṣāṇi*. The Jaiminīya gānas have not appeared in print.

The pragāthas and tṛcas are used as text sources for sāmans; the former are changed into the latter by an overlapping process described in CH 307 and NVR 71–72. Each sāman is therefore stated three times to different texts; each statement is called a stotriyā. The verses do not appear exactly as they are found in the JS; they are modified so as to fit the requirements of the melody. Every stotriyā is comprised of five sections (bhaktis): prastāva, udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava, and nidhana. Three Sāmavedic priests are required to chant these five sections. The prastāva is performed by the prastotar; the udgītha and upadrava are sung by the udgātar; the pratihāra is chanted by the pratihartar; the nidhana is performed by the three as a trio.

A stuti (stotra) may consist of one or several sāmans. Nevertheless, the number (stoma) of stotriyās is fixed for each stuti. Some stutis require that the stotriyās be gone through once without repetition. Examples of this type are the three pavamāna stutis, each consisting of several tṛcas. Other stutis, those derived from a single tṛca, require repetitions according to certain patterns called viṣṭutis. A viṣṭuti is comprised of three rounds (paryāyas); each paryāya must include at least one statement of each stotriyā of the tṛca. At the commencement of every paryāya is chanted the hiṃkāra (the syllable *hum*, pronounced *ham* by the Nambudiris). In addition to this, an okāra (the vowel *o*) is intoned by the Nambudiris at the beginning of each stuti prior to the first hiṃkāra. Solo chants (parisāman) are performed as well, but principally at auxiliary rites such as the Pravargya ceremony. The stutis, however, are Sāmavedic chant par excellence, and in them alone is the ritualistic application of aniruktagāna realized.

MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NAMBUDIRI SĀMAVEDA

The chants of the Nambudiris differ substantially from those of other Sāmavedic traditions in India. Listening to one of their sāmans produces an impression of something quite primeval. This is admittedly a subjective reflection, but the musical traits tend to reinforce such an opinion: the com-

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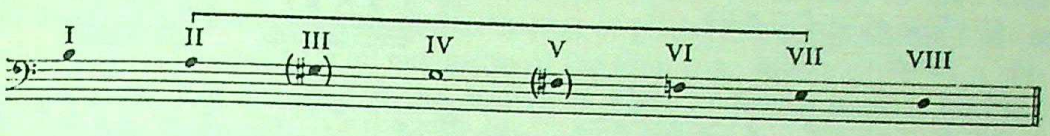
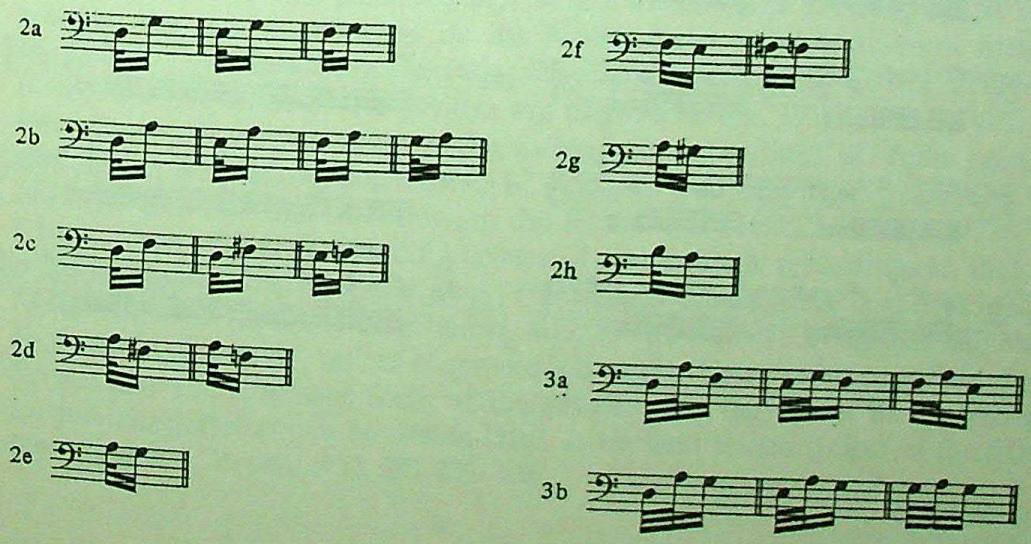
pass is rather narrow; it spans no more than a major sixth and usually does not exceed a perfect fourth (bracketed below).



Some upper tone (usually II) and some lower tone (V, VI, VII or VIII) are sounded in rapid alternation to form certain motives (short pitch patterns); most, but not all, of these conclude with the pivotal pitch IV (see SC 201–202). The motives, consisting of from two to fifteen tones, are combined in different ways in the course of a sāman. The chant is therefore extremely repetitive, for most of the motives merely alternate pitch II with some lower tone; there is no change in dynamic level. Whereas kampa (wavering, vacillation) is found to some degree in all Sāmavedic chants, in the Nambudiri sāmans it is an end in itself. Thus the chants are very melismatic, with some textual syllables held an inordinate length of time, so a certain amount of physical stamina is a definite prerequisite. The sāmagas cultivate full resonant voices; as a result there is a great amount of natural vocal vibrato, which occurs almost entirely on the central pitch IV.

The motives, presented in SC 202–208, are repeated below for the convenience of the reader. They are represented, for analytical purposes, by 2a, 3b, 4c, and so on, the symbols referring to specific motives with two, three, and four pitches, respectively. Nonmotivic tones (single pitches) are represented in this way: 1a = tone IV, 1b = II, 1c = VI, 1d = VII, le = VIII, 1f = I.



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3c

3d

3e

4a

4b

4c

4d

4e

5a

5b

5c

6a

6b

6c

7a

7b

7c

8a

8b

9a

10a

10b

12a

15a

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The final tones of the above motives are given always as sixteenth notes, but in practice these pitches vary in duration. In order to accurately depict the musical content of the chants, some system had to be devised to take into account the element of time as well as that of pitch. For this purpose I use a plus sign (+) to designate an extension of the final tone of a motive by a sixteenth note. For example, if the motive 2a has a sixteenth note as its final pitch, then the motive is listed simply as 2a without the addition of a plus sign. If the final pitch is an eighth note (twice the value of a sixteenth), then the motive is given as 2a+. Continuing in this manner, 2a++ has a dotted eighth (three times the value of a sixteenth) as its final tone, 2a+++ concludes with a quarter note, and so on. Fractions of a sixteenth are not taken into account.

The symbolic representations of sāmans given below make use of few additional signs. Asterisks mark the spots where breath is taken. A dash indicates that the final tone of a motive is repeated as the first tone of the following textual syllable. Some motives are divided between two or more syllables of text; in these cases the tones associated with each syllable are given in parentheses. For example, the designation 3b(1) (2–3) shows that the first pitch of motive 3b belongs to one syllable, the second and third pitches to the following syllable.

ANIRUKTAGĀNA APPLIED TO THE GĀYATRA MELODY

The gāyatra sāman is encountered most often as the melody that carries the well-known Sāvitrī verse (JS 4.3.8), a mantra set in the gāyatrī meter that invokes the blessing of the sun deity, Savitṛ. The verse is repeated daily by every orthodox brāhmiṇ: *tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi/ dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt//*. When these words are adapted to the melody, the text (as chanted by the Nambudiris) takes a different form: *tat savitur vareṇyom bhargo devasya dhīmāhāyi/ dhīyo yo nāḥ prācā ham bhā o vā//*. Two versions of the gāyatra are aligned below. The letters *H* and *S* preceding each version refer to the catalogs of recordings of Vedic recitation and chant that I published in SC 455–500 and that Staal published in NVR 87–97. The figures following the letters cite sections of tape sides. I wish to thank Staal for sending copies of some of his recordings so that I could compare them with my own. The Sāmavedin in both instances is Śrī Muṭṭatukkāṭṭu Itti Ravi Nambudiri, who is the chanter of all the sāmans analyzed in this study, unless otherwise indicated. These versions, of course, do not give the ritualistic form of the gāyatra, but they must be presented so that comparisons can be drawn later. A musical transcription of the first recording can be found in SC 438–439.

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Nambudiri gāyatra

HIXb(2): [PRASTĀVA] 1a+ 1b – –+ 2a(1) (2)+ 4c 3d+
SXX(2) : 1a+ 1b – –+ 2a(1) (2)+ 3d+
Text : *ta tsa vi tu rva re*

–+ 3e 5a 3e 3b+++ 4c 2e 2e 3d+++++ – * [UDGĪTHA] –+ 2h+ –+ –+ 1e
–+ 3e 5a 3e 3b 3b 3d+++ – * –+ 2h – – 1c
ṇyo *m* *bha rgo de va sya*

1a+ 3d+ –+ 4c 3d+ –+ 4c 3b 3d+ –++ 2e(1) (2) 3d –+ 5b 3b(1) (2–3) 3b
1a 3d+ –+ 4c 3d –+ 4c 3b 3d –+ 2e(1) (2) 3d –+ 5b 2a(1) (2)
dhī mā hā yi dhī yo yo

3d – 2e 4a 3b++ 4c 3d 3e 3b+++* 1d 1a+++++ 6a 2a++ 2e 4c 2e
4b (1–3) (4) 3d 3b+ 1b 3b 1d 1a++ 4a 2a+ 4c 2e
nā *ḥprā*

3d 11(?) 3b 5b 3b 2e 2e 3d+ 4c 4c++ 4c 6a 2a(1) (2) 4c 2e
5b 3b 2e 1b 5a 2e 2e(1)* (2)+ 5b 3b 3d 5a 3d(1–2) (3)+ 4c
cā

3d [PRATIHĀRA] –+ 4c 3d* –++ 4c++ 7c 3d++++ [UPADRAVA] 1d+ 1a+ 4c 1b
–+ 4c 3d –+ 4c 3b 3d+++ 1d 1a+ 3e
ham bhā *o*

5a 3e 3b+++ 4c 2e 3d++ [NIDHANA] – 2e 6a 3b+++ 4c 2e 2e 3d+++ //
5a 3e 3b 3b 3d – 3b 3b 3d+ //
vā

The two versions are remarkably similar, but the first contains a few more motives and hence is of slightly longer duration. This is probably because the chanter takes three breaths here but only two in his second interpretation. By breathing more he has the energy to include more motives and also to hold tones longer. Since the chanter breathes in the same place only at the conclusion of the prastāva, it can be inferred that in theory udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava and nidhana are to be sung in a single breath. A noteworthy textual feature is the incorporation of the sacred syllable *om* at the end of the prastāva: *tat savitur vareṇyOM*. All prastāvas of all settings of the gāyatra conclude with this syllable, regardless of the school of the Sāmavedin.

In the rituals (yāgas) celebrated by the Nambudiris, Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra-Agnicayana, the gāyatra is chanted in seven stutis: bahiṣpavamāna (stomas 1–9), all four ājyas (stomas 1–15 in each case), mādhyaṃdinapavamāna (stomas 1–3), and ārbhavapavamāna (stomas 1–3). Hence the melody is heard seventy-five times in the course of the sacrifice and is set to twenty-seven different texts. Aniruktagāna is employed on each occasion. To illustrate the

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textual and musical changes which take place, an analysis of the first paryāya of the third ā̆ya stuti of the Agniṣṭoma is now given. The paryāya is comprised of five statements of the gāyatra with texts from JS 3.2.7–9; for comparative purposes the five versions are presented concurrently. Performance rules for the gāyatra sāman apparently deviate from the standard practices: the prastotar chants the prastāva, as he does ordinarily, but the remaining four bhaktis are sung only by the udgātar, who in this instance is Śrī Nĕllikkāṭṭu Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripād. A musical transcription of the first stotriyā is supplied at the end of this article, together with the first stotriyās of the rathaṃtara and vāmadevya.

First Paryāya of Third Ājya Stuti (Aniruktagāna) HXXVIIb(1)	1.	1a+	1b++	–	–	–	2a(1)	(2)+	3d++
		ā	*yā*	*hi*	*su*	*ṣu*		*mā*	
	2.	1a++	1b++	–	–	–	2a(1)	(2)+	3d+
		ā	*yā*	*hi*	*su*	*ṣu*		*mā*	
	3. [PRASTĀVA]	1a+	1b++	–	–	–	2a(1)	(2)+	3d++
		ā	*yā*	*hi*	*su*	*ṣu*		*mā*	
	4.	1a+	1b++	–+	–	–	2a(1)	(2)+	3d++
		ā	*tvā*	*bra*	*hma*	*yu*		*jā*	
	5.	1a+	1b+	–+	–+	–	2a(1)	(2)+	3d+++
		bra	*hmā*	*ṇa*	*stvā*	*yu*		*jā*	

1.	–+	–++	3e	5a	3e	3b++++	4c	2e	3d++++	– *		–++++	2a+
	hi	*to*								*m*		*o*	
2.	–	–+	3e	5a	3e	3b+++++	4c	2e	3d+++	– *		–+++	2a+
	hi	*to*								*m*		*o*	
3.	–+	–++	3e	5a	3e	3d+++++	4c	2e	3d+++++	– *	[UDGĪTHA]	–++++	2a+
	hi	*to*								*m*		*o*	
4.	–+	–+	3e	5a	1b	3b++++	4c	2e	3d++++	– *		–++++	2a+
	ha	*ro*								*m*		*o*	
5.	–+	–+	3e	5a	1b	3b++++	4c	2e	3d+++	– *		–++++	2a+
	va	*yo*								*m*		*o*	

1.	2e	5a(1–4)	(5)+	5c++	3d+	6b+	6c		–++	2a+	2e	5a(1–4)	(5)	
			vā						*o*				*vā*	
2.	3d	5a(1–4)	(5)+	5c++	3d+	6b+	2b	2b 2a	–++	2a+	3d	5a(1–4)	(5)+	
			vā						*o*				*vā*	
3.	2e	5a(1–4)	(5)+	5c	3d+	6b+	6c		–++	2a+	3d	5a(1–4)	(5)+	
			vā						*o*				*vā*	
4.	2e	5a(1–4)	(5)+	5c+	3d+	6b+	6c		–++	2a+	2e	5a(1–4)	(5)+	
			vā						*o*				*vā*	
5.	2e	5a(1–4)	(5)+	5c++	3d+	6b+	6c		–++	2a++	3d	5a(1–4)	(5)+	
			vā						*o*				*vā*	

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1. 6c† 3d† 6b† 6c 1d 1a†† 2b 2b 2a†† 15a 3b† 3d
o *vā*
2. 5c† 3d† 6b† 6c 1d 1a†† 4b †† 15a 3b† 3d
o *vā*
3. 5c†† 3d† 6b† 6c†† 1d 1a††† 2b 2b 2a†† 12a 3e 2b 2b 2b 3b†† 4c
o *vā*
4. 2e 3d† 3d† 6b† 6c 2a †† 4b †† 15a 3b 3d
o *vā*
5. 5c†† 3d 6b† 6c 2a †† 6c †† 15a 3b† 3d
o *vā*

1. 7a(1–6) (7) †† 4c 3d –† 4c† 6c
ham *bhā*
2. 7a(1–6) (7) †† 4c 3d –† 4c† 6c††† *
ham *bhā*
3. 5a 3b (1–2) [PRATIHĀRA] (3) †† 4c† 3d –† 4c† 6c *
ham *bhā*
4. 7a (1–6) (7) †† 4c 3d –† 4c† 6c
ham *bhā*
5. 6a – la† 4c† 3d –† 4c† 6c
ham *bhā*

1. 1e 1a† 6b† 3b 3d† – 2e 3b† 6c †
o *vā*
2. 1d 1a† 6b† 6c – 2e 3b† 3b 3d††
o *vā*
3. [UPADRAVA] 1e 1a† 6b† 6c [NIDHANA] – 2e 3b† 6c †††
o *vā*
4. 1e 1a† 6b† 6c † – 2e 3b† 3b 3d††
o *vā*
5. 1e 1a† 6b† 6c – 2e 3b† 3b 3d†††
o *vā*

When the gāyatra is chanted unexpressedly, the udgītha contains none of the words of the original text. Rather the syllables *o vā o vā o vā* are substituted, as they are in the above performance. A comparison of the motives of this interpretation of the udgītha with those of the ordinary gāyatra reveals that the two are completely different. The music of the anirukta version has, like the text, a tripartite structure:

1. la†††† 2a† 2e 5a(1–4) (5)† 5c†† 3d† 6b† 6c
o *vā*
2. la†† 2a† 2e 5a(1–4) (5)† 5c†† 3d† 6b† 6c
o *vā*

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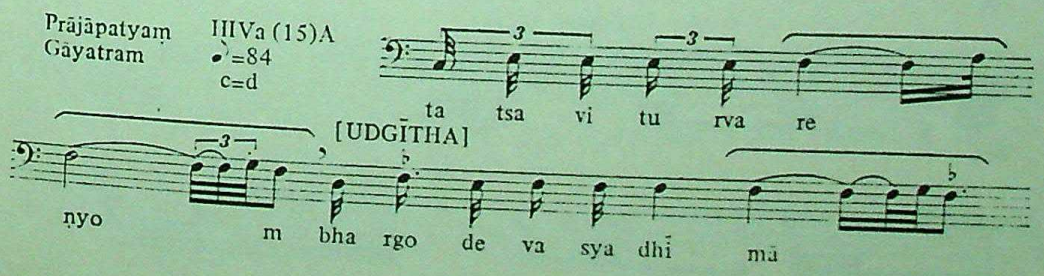
3. 1d 1a†† 2b 2b 2a†† 15a 3b 3d 7a(1–6)
o *vā*

The first two parts are sung exactly alike, but the music of the third is not the same. Therefore the udgītha has the musical structure AAB. These divisions are perhaps the three āvṛts referred to in JUB 3.3.1.5: *tad etad tryāvṛd gāyatraṃ gāyati* (see B. R. Sharma's edition, p. 105). An āvṛt is a section of the udgītha (see Caland's note on PB 7.1.1; see also Renou, p. 31). An exception to the general rule is the first stoma of the first ājya stuti, where the udgītha has different words and music (see Staal, "Twelve Ritual Chants," p. 417; I have used for the analysis the Levy and Staal record album "The Four Vedas."):

1a† –† 4c† 4c –†† 1b – 5a 3d† 3d 5b 3b – 2a† 5b 3b 3d –† 2e 4a 2a(1)
da dā ta tā haṃ ta[bhā?]

Ritualistic traditions have all but died out in the non-Nambudiri Jaiminīya communities of Tamiḻnāṭu and Keraḷa. However, some paṇḍits continue to sing the gāyatra in both its forms, but set apparently only to the Sāvitrī verse. A musical transcription of the gāyatra without aniruktagāna—called prājāpatyaṃ gāyatram by the Vaidikas—is given below, based upon a performance by Tiru U. V. Nārāyaṇan Upādhyāya, who is originally from the village Tĕntirupperai in the Tirunĕlveli District of Tamiḻnāṭu. This is followed by the anirukta version, which is termed the prayoga form of the chant. Here two renditions are presented simultaneously; the first is by the sāmaga mentioned above, the second by Tiru Veṅkaṭācala Upādhyāya of Tĕntirupperai. In these and subsequent musical examples, the first note is set equal to the actual sung pitch; metronomic readings also are given. A comma (,) designates a spot where breath is taken; flats (*b*) and sharps (#) placed above the notes indicate that these tones are somewhat lower or higher, respectively. The signs ⁄ and \ show ascending or descending glides from one tone to the next. Phrase markings (⌒) are used above individual syllables wherever notes have the value of a quarter note (♩) or more. The symbol ∿∿ shows where natural vocal vibrato occurs.

[PRASTĀVA]



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hā i dhi yo

[PRATIHĀRA]

yo na ḥ prā cā him bhā

[UPADRAVA] [NIDHANA]

o vā

Gāyatra
(Prayoga)

[PRASTĀVA]

HIVa (15)B
♪=84
c=d

ta tsa vi tu rva re

HVIIIb (18)
♪=84
c=c

ta tsa vi tu rva re

[UDGĪTHA]

ṇyo m o vā o

ṇyo m o vā o

[PRATIHĀRA]

vā o vā hiṃ

vā o vā hiṃ

[UPADRAVA] [NIDHANA]

bhā o vā

bhā o vā

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Here also the udgītha of the unexpressed sāman deviates both textually and musically from the prototype. The replacement syllables *o vā o vā o vā* are the same as in the Nambudiri tradition, but a close comparison of the two interpretations reveals that the musical form here is AAA (the same music for each *o vā*) instead of AAB. By examining the spots where breath is taken, we can assume that, like the Nambudiri habit, the ideal is to sing everything after the prastāva in a single breath.

A different version of the prājāpatyaṃ gāyatram is encountered in other Tamiḻ-speaking areas (Kŏṭuntiṟappuḷḷi, near Pālakkāṭu [Palghat], and Śrīraṅgam, near Tiruccirāppaḷḷi). A Kŏṭuntiṟappuḷḷi manuscript preserves this reading with the Jaiminīya musical syllable notation (written above the text), with which the Nambudiris are not familiar (the notation and the accompanying hand and arm gestures are described in SC 142–152; see also Parpola, "Jaiminīya Sāmaveda," pp. 19–20; the Nambudiris employ different movements, discussed in SC 220–233).

ca śū ṭe ca ka ṭi
tat savitur vareṇyom/bhargo devasya dhīmāhā/ ī dhiyo yo naḥ
saṭ ca śa kac ṭāc ṭāc sa ṭac kāc ca śa
prācā hum bhā o vā o vā o vā hum bhā o vā

This seems to combine features of both the nirukta and anirukta types; the full text of the Prajāpati chant is used, as well as the three successive *o vā* statements (the Śrīraṅgam Sāmavedins use only two). The musical notation of this extract (*ṭāc/ṭāc/sa ṭac*) reveals a structure similar to that of the Nambudiri udgītha: AAB. But elsewhere different symbols are found (see, for example, the gāyatra chants in ŚK 2S/1; a manuscript of the JUB gives the notation as *ṭyac ṭyac ṭyac* [see B. R. Sharma edition, p. 9, n. 2]).

It may be useful to compare the practices of the Jaiminīyas with those of the Kauthumas, who notate with numbers instead of syllables. The Kauthuma chants in ŚK 2S/1 were edited by Śrī Ṛṣiśaṅkar Tripāṭhī Agnihotrī of Vārāṇasī, whose family comes from Gujarāt. Consequently these sāmans must be viewed as representing the tradition of northern and not of southern Kauthumas; textually and notationally, however, the two practices are probably rather close, or perhaps identical. The model continues to be the gāyatra with the Sāvitrī mantra.

1 r 1 r r
PRASTĀVA: *tat savitur vareṇiyom*/UDGĪTHA: *bhārgo devasya*
r 2 1r r 2 1
dhīmāhī 2̄/*dhiyo yo naḥ praco* 1 2 1 2/PRATIHĀRA: *hum ā* 2̄/
1 2 1 1 1
UPADRAVA: *dāyo*/NIDHANA: *ā* 3 4 5//

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The numeral notation is explained by Simon (pp. 309–321) and by me (SC 29–75). We disagree on several details, but some general information will suffice to make the system clear for this particular sāman. Numbers are notated both above and within the line of text. Once notated, a number holds true for all subsequent syllables until a different number appears. The letter *r* means that the syllable over which it appears is held for two mātrās (time units). I have proven in my book that the numbers do not stand for specific tones. In other words, the number sequence $1\bar{2}$ (the number 1 above the text, the number 2 within the textual line) does not imply that only two pitches are to be sung; it is rather a symbol for a specific kind of melisma (embellishment), which in this case consists of more than two tones. In the udgītha, the only bhakti that will concern us here, two of these number sequences are found: $1\bar{2}$ and 2_{1212}. The first is called preṅkha (an older term is karṣaṇa), the second avanardana (see Simon, pp. 313–314, n. 6). Therefore the musical material of the gāyatra udgītha can be represented symbolically in this way:

$$1\bar{2}212_{1212}$$

Aniruktagāna is applied to udgītha and upadrava; the Kauthumas replace each syllable of the original texts by the vowel *o* (see CH 180). This, as we have seen, is different from the Jaiminīya traditions, where *o vā* (stated three times) is substituted. Another notable difference is that the Kauthumas usually retain the gāyatra melody in its original form, without modifying the music of the udgītha. However, changes do occur in certain stomas of the bahiṣpavamāna and ājya stotras. A modification of the melody of the gāyatra—which takes place always in the udgītha—is called a dhur (see Bollée on ṢB 2.1.1, n. 4; see also his quotation of LŚS 7.12.1: "The dhurs of the gāyatra are a modification of the gīti [melody]" [note on ṢB 2.2.3]). There are five dhurs; their notational schemes (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 279, 328 n. 1, 340 n. 1, 345 n. 1), which differ of course from the udgītha prototype cited above, are:

1. $1\bar{2}2\bar{2}1\bar{2}212_{1212}$ (bahiṣpavamāna, stoma 1)
2. $1\bar{2}2\bar{2}2\bar{2}21212_{1}1\bar{2}12_{1212}$ (bahiṣpavamāna, stoma 3; third ājya, stoma 1)
3. $1\bar{2}1\bar{2}1\bar{2}12_{1212}$ (bahiṣpavamāna, stoma 4; first ājya, stoma 1)
4. $12_{1212}212_{1212}12_{1212}$ (bahiṣpavamāna, stoma 5; fourth ājya, stoma 1)
5. 1212121212_{1212} (bahiṣpavamāna, stoma 6)

In practice the dhurs of the ājyastotras are sung partly nirukta, partly anirukta. For example, the dhur of the first ājyastotra is chanted as follows (see ŚK 2S/1, p. 328):

1 r r 1 r 1 r r 1 2
om o o o o$\bar{2}$ o o o o$\bar{2}$ nāi hotā sā$\bar{2}$d o o1212

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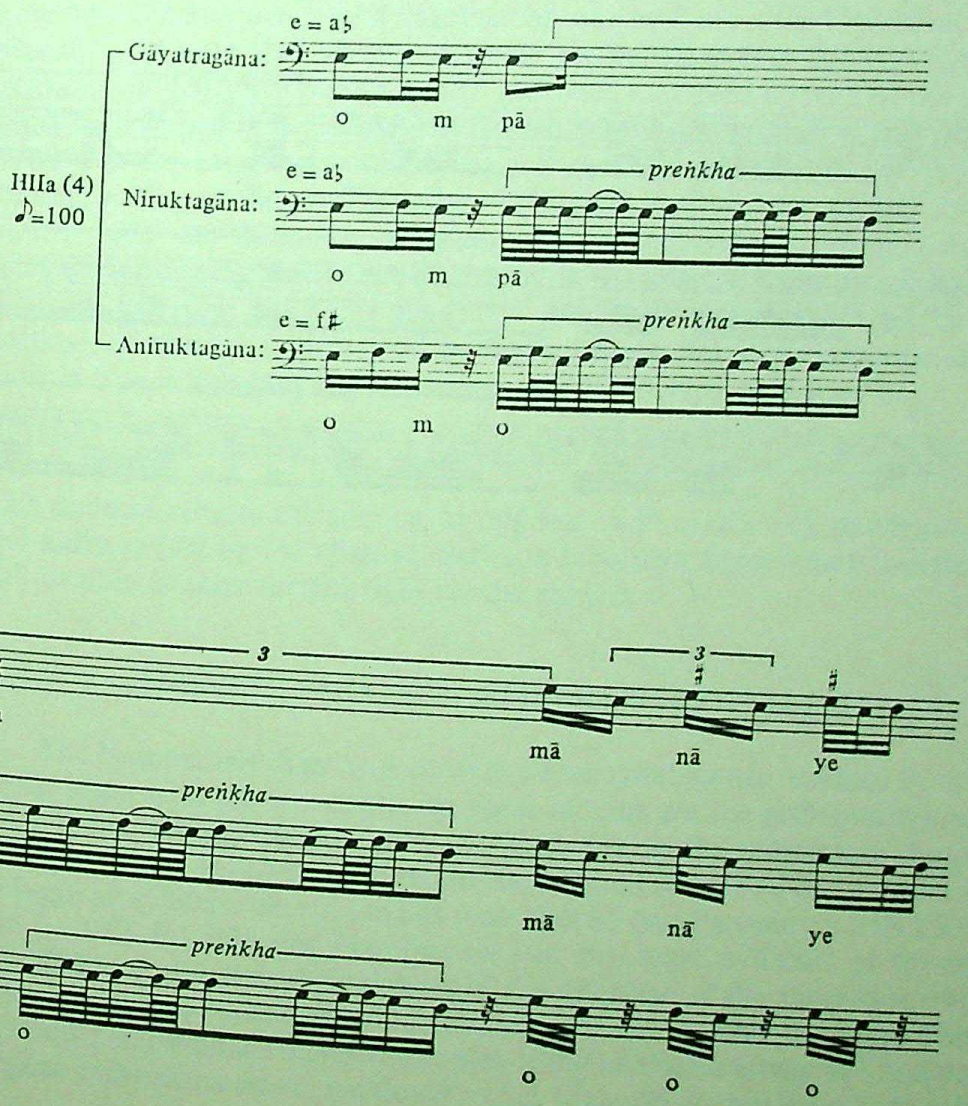
Transcribed below are three versions of the udgītha of the first stotriyā of the bahiṣpavamānastotra. The top version gives the nirukta unmodified form (called gāyatragāna), the middle the nirukta modified form (called niruktagāna), the bottom the anirukta modified form (aniruktagāna). These are evidently three stages which Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmavedins master when they are being initiated as śrautins (sacrificial functionaries). The notational pattern of the last two versions is of course that of the first dhur: $1\bar{2}2\bar{2}1\bar{2}212_{1}212$. The chanter is Śrī Kṛṣṇamūrti Śrauti (see SC 103, n. 1; 277–280), an Aiyar Brāhmaṇ formerly of the village Maraiturai in the Tañcāvūr (Tanjore) District of Tamiḻnāṭu; he now resides in Vārāṇasī.



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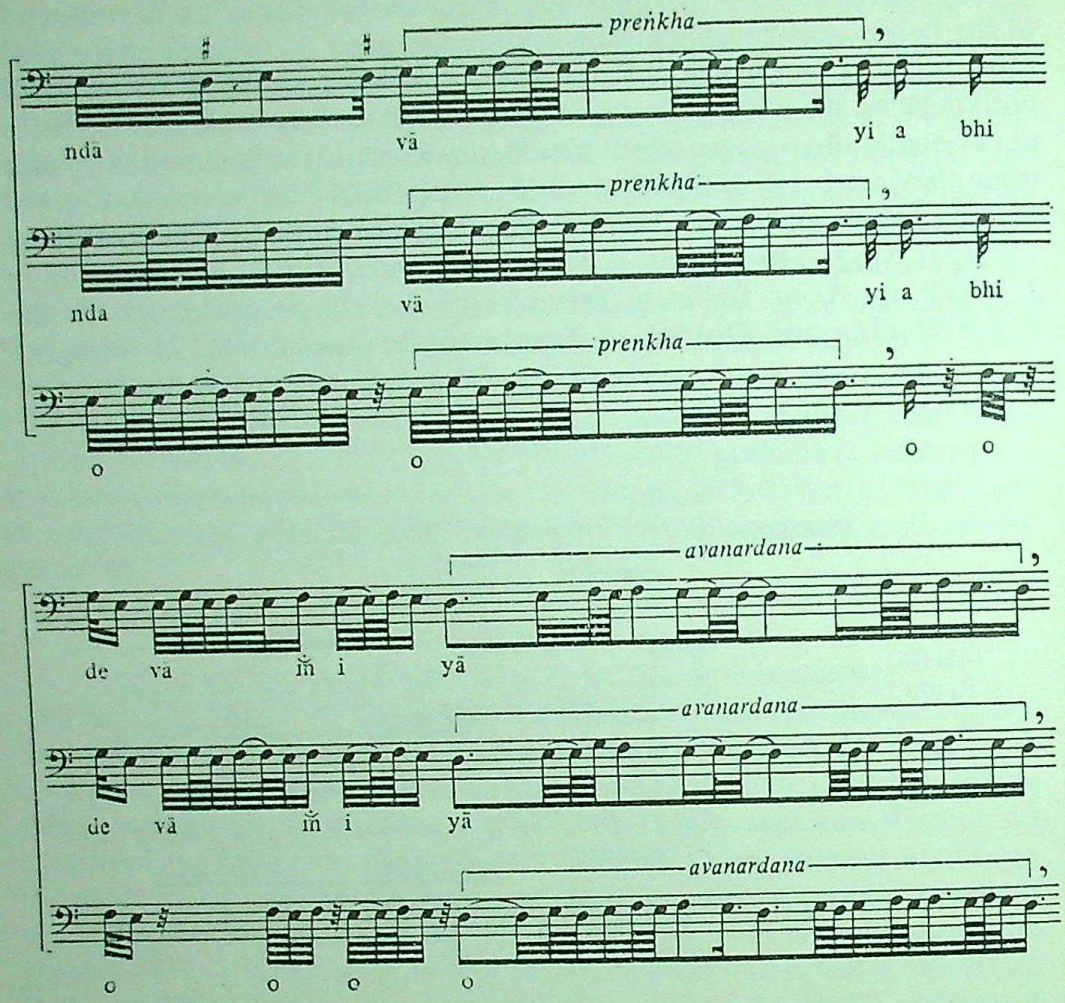

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We are in a better position to determine the actual meaning of the term āvṛt as it relates to the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya recension. Two passages, LŚS 7.10.21 (cited in Renou, p. 31) and the commentary on GVS 1.14–27 (see B. R. Sharma's edition, pp. 8–12) identify the three sections:

1 1r r r 2 1 r r 2 1
pā2̄vā2̄mānāyendāvā2̄[yi] / abhi devāṁ iyā1212 / kṣāto

The quotation is from the first stotriyā, called retasyā, of the bahiṣpavamānastotra—which, as we have seen, is sung unexpressedly in the ritual. Since the three āvṛts are considered sections of the udgītha, it is surprising to find the syllables *kṣāto* as part of this bhakti; they would normally belong to the upadrava. But the pratihāra, the bhakti separating udgītha and upadrava, is not chanted in the first stotriyā (see PB 7.1.5; GVS 1.24–26); hence these two bhaktis are joined together as one and are called udgītha. It is important to note that though it refers to the other four, the GVS never mentions an upadrava bhakti, which has been absorbed as part of the udgītha. The criterion that distinguishes one bhakti from another is that no two of the five are sung consecutively by the same solo chanter. However, with the elimination of the pratihāra the two bhaktis sung by the udgātar appear side by side—an untenable situation that is rectified by calling the two collectively the udgītha. In practice only in the retasyā is the pratihāra not chanted; therefore the term āvṛt may refer only to this stotriyā, the importance of which is underscored by the fact that it has a special name. If the same is true in the Jaiminīya tradition, the three āvṛts here may be:

o vā o vā o vā / o / vā

This division reflects the singing of udgītha (*o vā o vā o vā*), upadrava (*o*), and nidhana (*vā*) by the udgātar. Perhaps Jaimīniya Sāmavedins themselves will be able to shed further light on the subject.

ANIRUKTAGĀNA WITH BHAKĀRA SUBSTITUTIONS

The Nambudiris chant two stutis in which syllables are replaced by those which begin with the consonant *bh*; these sāmans are the rathaṃtara (on JS 3.4.1–2) and the yajñāyajñīya (on JS 3.5.12–13). In the rathaṃtara the procedure normally followed is to retain the original vowels of the udgītha but to begin all syllables except the last four with *bh* (see Parpola on LŚS 2.9.12–14a [= DŚS 6.1.16]); the Nambudiris add two extra syllables at the end: *o yi*. Below I give the original texts of the udgīthas of the three stotriyās—omitting the final syllables, which are not affected by aniruktagāna. I wish to thank Dr. Parpola for sending copies of the bhakāra-rathaṃtara and ārcikagāna-rathaṃtara as written down by Śrī Malamĕl Parameśvaran Nambu-

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diri with the aid of Śrī Muṭṭatukkāṭṭu Itti Ravi Nambudiri. The substitutive syllables are given below the original text; those used by the Nambudiris are presented first (NJ = Nambudiri Jaiminīya), those belonging to the Kauthuma (K) tradition (see ŚK 2S/1, 388–389) are printed beneath.[1]

1. Ā–DU–GDHĀ I–VA DHE–NA–VA Ī– ŚĀ–NAM
NJ: o bhu bhā bhi bha bhe bha bha bhī bhā bha
K: oṃ vāg bhā bhu bhā bhi bha bhe bha bha bhī bhā bha
A– SY– A JA—GA—TAḤ
NJ: bha bhi bha bha bhā bha
K: bha bha bha bha bhaḥ

2. NĀM IN–DRA TA–(SU–)–STHU–*ṢO NA TV–Ā– VAṀ(VĀṀ)
NJ: o bhi bha bha bhu bha bha bhu bhā bhā
K: oṃ vāg bhā bhi bha bhu bhu bho bha bhā bhā
A–*NYO DI– VY–*O (DI– VI– YO)
NJ: bha bha bhī bhī bha
K: bha bho bhi bhi bho

3. TO NA JA–NI–ṢYA–TE [—] A–(')SV–Ā–YA–*NTO
NJ: o bha bha bhi bha bhe bha bhu bhā bhā bhā
K: oṃ vāg bho bha bha bhi bha bhe bha bhā bha bho
MA–GHA–VANN IN
NJ: bha bha bhā bhi
K: bha bha bha bhi

I do not know how to explain why Nambudiri bhakāra replacements for some of the original syllables (marked above with asterisks) have different vowels. It may be that at one time breaths were taken after these syllables; if this is true then *tasthuṣo* would be changed to *tasthuṣaḥ, anyo* to *anyaḥ, divyo* to *divyaḥ*, and *aśvāyanto* to *aśvāyantaḥ*. When this is done, every vowel of every word would belong to the same phonetic class as the corresponding vowels of the padapāṭha.

The udgītha excerpts quoted above are below musically analyzed according to the method previously used for Nambudiri sāmans. Two performances of both the rathaṃtara and bhakāra-rathaṃtara are provided so that accurate conclusions can be drawn. Corresponding syllables are aligned.

[1] *Editor's Note*: This rathaṃtara occurs in the Agniṣṭoma, but not in the Atirātra (see Volume I, page 641).

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[FROM STOTRIYĀ 1]

Rathaṃtara

HIXb(3) : 1c 2a(1) (2)† –†† – –
SXVIII(5): 1c 2a(1) (2)† –† – –
Text : ā du gdhā i va

Bhakāra-Rāthaṃtara

HIXa(15) : le la – –† 3d†† 2e 2e
SXVIII(6): le la – –† 3d† 2e 2e
Text : o bhu bhā bhi bha

1b 1a 1b – 1a† 1b†
1b 1a 1b – 1a† 1b†
dhe na va ī śā

2e 3d† 3d 3d† 2e 3b 3b 3d†† 1e la – 4c –† 4c 3b 3d†† *
2e 3d 3d 3d 2e 3b 3b 3d†† – 2a (1) (2) – 3d† –† 4c 3b 3d†
bhe bha bha bhī bhā

– 2a(1) (2)†† –† 3d(1–2) (3)† 8b(1) (2–8) 1b 3b††
– 2a(1) (2)†† –† 3d(1–2) (3)† 1b 7a 3e 3b††
na ma sya ja ga

–††† 2e† 2e –† 2e –† 3d(1–2) (3)† 1b – 5a 1b 3b††
–†† 2e 2e –† 1b * 1a 2b – 5a 3e 3b††
bha bha bhi bha bha bhā

[FROM STOTRIYĀ 2]

4c† –†† –† 2h – –† – –† 1c 1b†
4c –† –† 2h – – – –† 1c 1b†
taḥ nā mi ndra ta sthu ṣo na tvā

4c 2e(1) (2)† 3d† –† 2e 2e 1b 1e 1a† 2e 1b 1e 1a†
4c – 3d† –† 2e 2e 1b 2a(1) (2) 2e 1b 2a(1) (2)
bha o bhi bha bha bhu bha bha bhu

2e 3e – 1a 4c –† 4c 3d† –† –† 4c
– 1a 2e 1b 1a 3d –† 4c 3d – –† 4c
vam a nyo di vyo

–† 3d† 2e 4a 3b†† 4c –† 3d * –†† –† 3d† –† 4c††
–† 3d† 2e 3b†† –† 3d –†† –† 3d –† 4c†
bhā bhā bha bha bhī bhī

[FROM STOTRIYĀ 3]

3b 3d†† – 2b(1) (2) – – – – 1d
3b 3d – 2b(1) (2) – – – – 1e
to na ja ni ṣya te

5a† –† 3d† – 2e 2e† 2d 2e 1b 1a† 4c –† – 4a 3b†† 4c†
2e(1) (2) 3d 1a 2d 1a† 2d 1a† 1b 1a† 3d – – 4a 3b†††
bha o bha bha bhi bha bhe

1b†
1b†
'śvā – 1a 5b(1–2)(3–5)2a† – –
– 1a 2d 3e 2a – –
ya nto ma gha

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–	3d†	1f	1b		3b†	3b	3d††	* –	2a		–†	3d†	2e	1b	1a†	3d
–†	3d		–	4a	3b	3b	3d†		1c	2a	–†	3d	2e	1b	la	3d
bha		bhu	bhā						bhā		bhā		bha		bha	

2e	3b	3d	–†	4c	3b	3d
2e	3b	3d	–†	4c	3b	3d
vann			in			

–†	4c††	4c	–†	3d†
–	4c†	1b	–	
bhā			bhi	

It has been said that the bhakāra-rathaṃtara is sung in the same way as the nirukta equivalent (this is true in the Kauthuma tradition). The analysis shows, however, that they are different in many respects. The two performances of the rathaṃtara usually agree, as do the two interpretations of its anirukta counterpart; this is astounding considering that the two recordings were made fourteen years apart. For this reason I believe the analysis to be authoritative.

Not much need be written regarding the yajñāyajñīya. Bhakāra substitutions are made only at the first repetition of the first stotriyā in the opening paryāya (see Staal, "Twelve Ritual Chants," p. 428). Four syllables are affected: *popriṃ vāyā* of the original text are replaced by *bha bha bha bha* in the following way:

1b	1a	3d†††	1b	1a	4a	3b†	3b	3d†††	1d	1a†	–††††	4c†††	4c	2b	2b	2b
po			priṃ						vā	yā						

becomes

1a	2a(1)	(2)††	3e	2a(1)	(2)†	3e	2a(1)	(2)	3d†††	[HIXa (16–17)]
bha		bha			bha			bha		

Text and music are also different in the prastāva of the same stoma, but aniruktagāna is not found in this bhakti.

ANIRUKTAGĀNA IN OTHER SĀMANS

Unlike the Kauthumas and Rāṇāyanīyas, the Nambudiris impart aniruktagāna not only to the gāyatra and rathaṃtara but also to other chants. All of the Agniṣṭoma sāmans are sung anirukta; the same probably is true of chants proper to the Atirātra (stutis 13–29), although I have not listened to all of these.

To illustrate the extent to which unexpressed chanting is carried out in some of the sāmans, I supply now analyses of the udgītha of the first stotriyā of the vāmadevya (on JS 3.4.3) in both the nirukta and anirukta forms; these appear in the left and right columns, respectively.

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Vāmadevya — Vāmadevya: Aniruktagāna

Stotriyā 1: Udgītha

SXVIII(7) : la+ 2e –+ 1b – 2b
Text : ū tī sa
2a(1) (2)++++ 4c+ 3b 3d+ – 2e
dā vṛ
–+ 1b – 5a –+ 3b 3d+ 2e 3b+
dha ssa khā au
1b 3b 1c 2a+ –+ 3e 3b –+ 3d –
ho hā yi ka
– 2e 3b+ 1b 3b+ – 2a(1) (2)+
yā śa cā
4c+ 4c –++ *
yi

SXVIII (8) : 1a+ 4d 1b 3b++ 1b 3b
Text : o
3d++ 6b 2e 3d+++++ 2b 2b 2b 2b
2a+++ 1b 3b 3d++ 6b 2e 3d+++++
2c 2a 2a 5a 3e 3b 3d+ 1b 3b
3d++ 2e 2e 2e 4c 3e 5a 3e 3b
3d++ 6b 2e 3d+++ 2b 2b 2b 2b
2a++ 4c 1b * 3b+ 3d++ 6b 3d
3d+++++ 2c 2a 2a 5a 3e 3b 3d++
3d+ 1b 6a 3b+ 3b 3d++ 1e 1a –
ā bu
–+ 3d 2e 4a 4a 2a(1) (2)+++ 5b
hau ho hā
2b 2a 3e 5a 2e 2e 3d+ 5b 3b 3b
3d+ * –+++ 3e 2b 3b+++ 1b 3b
o
3d++ 7b 5a 3d 3e 3b 3d+ 1b 3b+
1b 3b 3d+++ 5b 3b+++ *

Thus the text of the original chant is completely lost; the music too is entirely different in the unenunciated performance, which contains an okāra of extraordinary length. The *Śrautakośa* editors have written six okāras instead of this one (see ŚK 2S/1, p. 399), probably to correspond with the six notational syllables *pa kha ta pa kha ta* (of Baroda Oriental Institute Ms. 286?). From the tape it is clear that the Nambudiris sing only one okāra here. The udgīthas of the other stotriyās have the same text and tonal patterns.

The remaining chants of the Agniṣṭoma are also made unexpressed primarily by the use of okāras, but the placement of these vowels varies from chant to chant. It will be instructive to compare the Nambudiri readings of the udgītha texts in these additional chants with those of the Kauthumas. I use the capital *O* to indicate the anirukta syllables; a broken line shows the syllables of the Kauthuma texts that are not sung by the Nambudiris. The upadrava sections are also sung unexpressedly, but here the pattern is practically always the same: only the first syllable—but occasionally also the second—is replaced by an *O*. Therefore the upadrava texts will be omitted, except in those cases where there are departures from the general rule. The names of the sāmans are supplied in each instance.

Āmahīyava (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 358, 361), on JS 3.3.1–3

1. K : on divāi sād bhūmi yā dadāi
   NJ: 0-vau ṣāḷ bhū0 —— dādāyi

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2. K :oṃ varūṇāyā marūdbhiyāḥ
   NJ : 0 – yā 0– bhāyāḥ
3. K : on dyumnanāi mānuṣāṇām
   NJ : 0 – mā0-ṣānām

Raurava (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 358–59, 362), on JS 3.3.4–5

1. K : om āpo vasāno arṣasy ā ratnadhā yonim ṛtasya sāidasā
   NJ : Opo vasāno arṣasy a ratnadhā yonīo – dadā
   o hā u vā
   o hā vu vā
2. K : om ūtso devo hiraṇyayo duhāna ūdhar divīyam madhū
   NJ : Otso devo hiraṇyayā duhāna ūdhar diviO –
   K : priyām o hā u vā
   NJ : priyām o hā vu vā
3. K : om prātnaṁ sadhastham āsadad āpṛcchyan dharuṇaṃ vājiy ārṣasā
   NJ : 0 – tnaṁ sadhastham āsadad āpṛcchyan dhārūO — rṣāsā
   K : o hā u vā
   NJ : o hā vu vā

Yaudhājaya (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 359, 362), on JS 3.3.4–5

1. *Udgītha* 1
   K : om āpo vasāna ā
   NJ : 0p0 – na yā
   Udgītha 2
   K : ā rātnadhā yonim ṛtāsya sāi
   NJ : O rātnadhā yoṇīO – sya sāyī
2. *Udgītha* 1
   K : om ūtso dāivo hirā
   NJ : OtsO — hirā
   Udgītha 2
   K : duhāna ūdhar diviyām madhū
   NJ : O-hāna ūdhar diviO-m madhū
3. *Udgītha* 1
   K : om prātnāṁ sadhāstham ā
   NJ : O – tnām O – stham ā
   Udgītha 2
   K : āpārchiyān dharuṇaṃ vāji yā
   NJ : Opārchiyān dharūO — ja yā

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Auśana (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 360, 363), on JS 3.3.6–8

1. K : on dravā pari kośān ni ṣīdā nṛbhāiḥ punāno abhi vājam arṣā
   NJ : O –vā O-rī O — ni ṣīdā O–bhāyīḥ / punāno abhi vājam ārṣā
2. K : oṃ yudhāḥ pavate dāivaīndūr aśāsthihā vṛjanā rakṣamāṇāḥ
   NJ : O-dhāO — vāO — vāindur Ośāsthihā /vṛjanā rākṣamāṇāḥ
3. K : oṃ viprāḥ puraeta janānām ṛbhūr ddhīrā uśana / kāviyenā
   NJ : O-prāO – rāO – janānām Obhūḥ / dhīrā uśanā kāviyenā

Rathaṃtara (discussed above; the *upadravas* are introduced by *iḷā*)

Vāmadevya (discussed above; the *upadravas* consist of *vāk o*)

Naudhasa (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 403–405), on JS 3.4.6–7

1. K : oṃ vasor mandānām āndhāsā ābhī vātsan na svasarāiṣū
   NJ : O-sor māndānām āndhāsā Obhāyī / vātsān nū svāsrāyīṣu
   K : dhenāvāḥ
   NJ : dhenāvāḥ
2. K : om indraṅ gīrbhāir nāvāmāhāi dyūkṣāṁ sūdānun
   NJ : Ondrāṅ gāyirbhāyir hāvāmāhāO — kṣam / sūdānūn
   K : taviṣāibhāir āvārttām
   NJ : taviṣāyībhāyīr āvārttām
3. K : oṅ girin na purūbhojāsāṅ kṣūmā – ntaṃ vājaṁ śatināṁ
   NJ : O-rāyin na purubhojānām O – mā / tāṃ vājāṁ śātināṁ
   K : sāhasrāiṇām
   NJ : sāihasrāyiṇam

Kāleya (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 411–412), on JS 3.4.8–9

1. K : om indrāṁ sabādha ūtayāi bṛhad gāyāntāḥ sutasome adhvārāi
   NJ : O – sāO-dha ūO – bṛhāt gāyāO – sutasome ādhvārāyī
2. K : oṁ huvāi bharān na kāriṇan na yan dudhrā vārante na sthirā
   NJ : O – bhāO – su kāO – nā yān dudhrā O-rante sū sthirā
   K : mūrāḥ
   NJ : mūrāḥ
3. K : om madāiṣu śāipram andhasā ya ādṛtyā śāśamānāya sunvātāi
   NJ : O — ṣu O–pram āO — yā ādṛtyā O-śamānāya sūnvātāyī

Saṃhita (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 421, 426), on JS 3.5.1–3

1. K : om pavāsvā soma dhārāyā
   NJ : O – svā soO ———
2. K : om abhāi yonīm ayohātāi
   NJ : O —— yonīm O———
3. K : om maṁhāiṣṭho vārtrahāntāmāḥ
   NJ : O ———ṣṭho vṛ-O ————

Sabha [see ŚK 2S/1, p. 427; the Kauthuma tradition prescribes a different

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mantra, but the *sāman* corresponding to the Nambudiri chant is ŪG 1.2.15 (*Sapha*), found in Dīkṣitar, ŪG/ŪhyG, 36.], on JS 3.5.4

1. *Udgītha*
   K : [oṃ] rebhan pavāitrām pari yāiṣī vāi / śvātāḥ
   NJ : O —— pavāyitrām pāry āyiṣī vāyi – śvātāḥ
   Upadrava
   K : dhārā āsā / kṣāto
   NJ : O — hO —— āto

Pauṣkala [see ŚK 2S/1, p. 427; the Kauthuma tradition prescribes a different *mantra*, but the *sāman* corresponding to the Nambudiri chant is ŪG 2.7.2, found in Dīkṣitar, ŪG/ŪhyG, 289.], on JS 3.5.5

1. K : [om] ati hvarā / sāi raṁhāyā
   NJ : O –hvarāṁ sāyi raṁhāyā

Śyāvāśva (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 423, 427–428), on JS 3.5.6–8

1. *Udgītha*
   K : oṁ sūtāya mādāyitnavā e hi yā apa śvānāṁ śnāthī
   NJ : O-tāyā madāyitnavā O hOi yā apa śvānaṁ śnāthī
   Upadrava
   K : e hā e hi yā sakhāyo dāirghājīhvāyo
   NJ : O hO O hOi yā sākhāO-dāyirghājīhvāyām
2. *Udgītha*
   K : oṃ yo dhārayā pāvakayā e hi yā pariprasyāndātāi
   NJ : O- dhārāyā pāvakayā O hOi yā pariprasyāndātāyi
   Upadrava
   K : e hā e hi yā indur aśvo nā kārtvāyo
   NJ : O hO O hOi yā indūr Ośvās su kārtvāyo
3. *Udgītha*
   K : on tān duroṣam ābhī narā e hi yā soma viśvācīyā
   NJ : O— dūroṣām ābhī narā O hOi yā somaṃ vāyīśvācīyā
   Upadrava
   K : e hā e hi yā yajñāya sāntūv ādrāyo [Some of the *okāras* in
   NJ : O hO O hOi yā yājñāO- sāntū ādrāyo this *sāman* may not be *anirukta* syllables.]

Āndhīgava (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 423–424, 428), on JS 3.5.6–8

1. K : oṁ sutāya mādāyā hum mā
   NJ : O-tāya mādāyā ham mā
2. K : oṃ yo dhārayā pāvā hum mā
   NJ : O-dhārayā pāvā ham mā

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3. K : on tan duroṣam ābhī hum mā
   NJ : O– tan duroṣam abhī ham mā

Kāva (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 424, 428–429), on JS 3.5.9–11

1. *Udgītha*
   K : oṃ priyāṇi pavatāi cano hāitā nāmāni yahvo adhi yāiṣu
   NJ : O—yāṇi pāvātāyi cāno O——māni / yahvo ādhi yāyiṣū
   K : varddhātāi
   NJ : vāO——
   Upadrava
   K : rāthām vāiśvāñcam arūhād vāicākṣā
   NJ : O-thāma vāyiścāñcām āO——yicākṣā
2. *Udgītha*
   K : oṁ sya jihvā pavatāi madhu prāyām vaktā patir ddhiyo
   NJ : O—jihvā pāvātāyi mādhū O—— ktā patīḥ / dhāyo
   K : asyā adābhāyāḥ
   NJ : syā dāO——
   Upadrava
   K : nāmā tārttīyam adhāi rocānān dāi
   NJ : O-mā tārttīyām āO —— nān dāyi
3. *Udgītha*
   K : on dyutānaḥ kalaśāṁ acikrādān nṛbhir yemāṇaḥ kośa ā
   NJ : O – tānaḥ kālāśam acāO —— bhīḥ / yemāṇāḥ kośa
   K : hiraṇyāyāi
   NJ : hīrāO —
   Upadrava
   K : ādhī trāipārṣṭha uṣāso vāi rājā
   NJ : Odhāyi trāyipṛṣṭhā ūO —yi rājā

Yajñāyajñīya (see ŚK 2S/1, pp. 453–454), on JS 3.5.12–13

1. K :om ā irā irā cā dākṣāsāi paprīm vayam amṛtañ jātāvā
   NJ : O yirā ihā cā dākṣāsāyi popriṃ vāyāO amṛtāO — vā
   K : hum mā i
   NJ : ham mā yi
2. K : om māitraṁ sū śāṁsīṣām ūrjjo napātaṁ sa hināyām ā hum
   NJ : O – tran nū śaṁsīṣām ūrjo nupātaṁ sa hy āyum ā ham
   K : ma i
   NJ : mā yi
3. K : om mā hāvyādātāyāi bhuvad vājeṣv avitā bhūvādd hum
   NJ : O- hāvyādātāyāyi bhuvād vājeṣv avitā bhuvādd ham
   K : mā i
   NJ : mā yi

It is interesting to observe that the original first syllables of every udgītha

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and upadrava of every Nambudiri ritual chant are replaced by the vowel *o* in aniruktagāna.

Of the stutis past the twelfth, special mention should be made of the sixteenth, consisting only of one sāman that the Nambudiris appropriately call ṣoḍaśi (see NVR 34, 80, 83; the complete text, along with a musical analysis of the stotriyās, is found in SC 215–218; a transcription of the first stotriyā is presented in SC 445–451); the corresponding Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya chant is named gaurīvita (ŪG 1.5.2; see Dīkṣitar, ŪG/ŪhyG 87–88). Since it is said that a single error in the singing of this laud will cause the chanter to go mad, in the interest of testing the validity of this legend I will compare two recordings of the second half of the udgītha in the first stotriyā. The first, not recorded during a yāga, I made in 1971; the second is from the Atirātra of 1975.

```
From Ṣoḍaśi [HXb(2)        : 1b+ 2a++ 3e  3b++ 4c 3d - 2e 4a 3b 3d++
             1975 Atirātra : 1b  2a++     4c   3b 3d -        3b 3d+
             Text          : sū                      tā

[6b 3d 3d++++++ 2b 2b 2b 2b 2a+++ 1b 3b 3d++ 6b 3d 3d++++ 2c 2a 2a 4a 3b
 ———————————— 2b 2b 2a  ———— 6b ————————————————

[3d+++ 3d+ 1b 4a 3b 3b 3d+ * 2e 4a 3b+ 1b 3b 3d++ 1b 3d++++ - 2a+++++
 ———————————— 2e+  -    3b+ ———— 1b 3b     - 2a+
                   syā                        mā

[2a 2a 4a 3b 3d++ 1b 3b 3d+ 2e 4c 2e 2e 9a 3b 8b 2e 2e 7b   2a+  3e *
   2a ———— 4c   3d ———————— 8b       2b 2b 2a++ ——

[1a+ 3d+++ 6b 3d 3d++++++ 2b 2b 2b 2b+   1a+++ 5b 3b 3d++ 3e 3b -
 ———————————————— 2b 2b 2a(1)  (2)++ ———— 4c    -++
                                tir                  ṇā

[2e 3d++ 1b 3b 1b * 1b 1a 6b 3d 3d+++++ 3a++ 2a 2a 2a 2a 4b++++ 2b 2b 2b
 ———————————————————————————— 2c 2a 2a 4b+  ———

[3b+ -+++ 3e 3b++ 2e+ 3d+ 1b 3b 3d++ 6b 2e 3d++++ 2c 2c 2c 2b (1) (2)
 2e  -++    4c   -+  ———————————————— 2c 2a 2b (1) (2)
     mā          dho                                          ḥ
```

[Duration: approximately 79 seconds]
[Duration: approximately 22 seconds]

Obviously the first recording, not taken during a sacrifice, is more complete than the second, in which lacunae of three or more motives are indicated by the sign ———. The reason for the dissimilarity is that during the rituals the Sāmavedins as a rule sing every section (vacana) in a single breath; this precept takes precedence over the music, which often has to be drastically abbreviated. This is especially true for the ṣoḍaśi, where syllables are exceedingly prolonged. It is in a sense ironic that Nambudiri sāmans can be heard in their authentic musical versions only outside the perimeter of the ritual.

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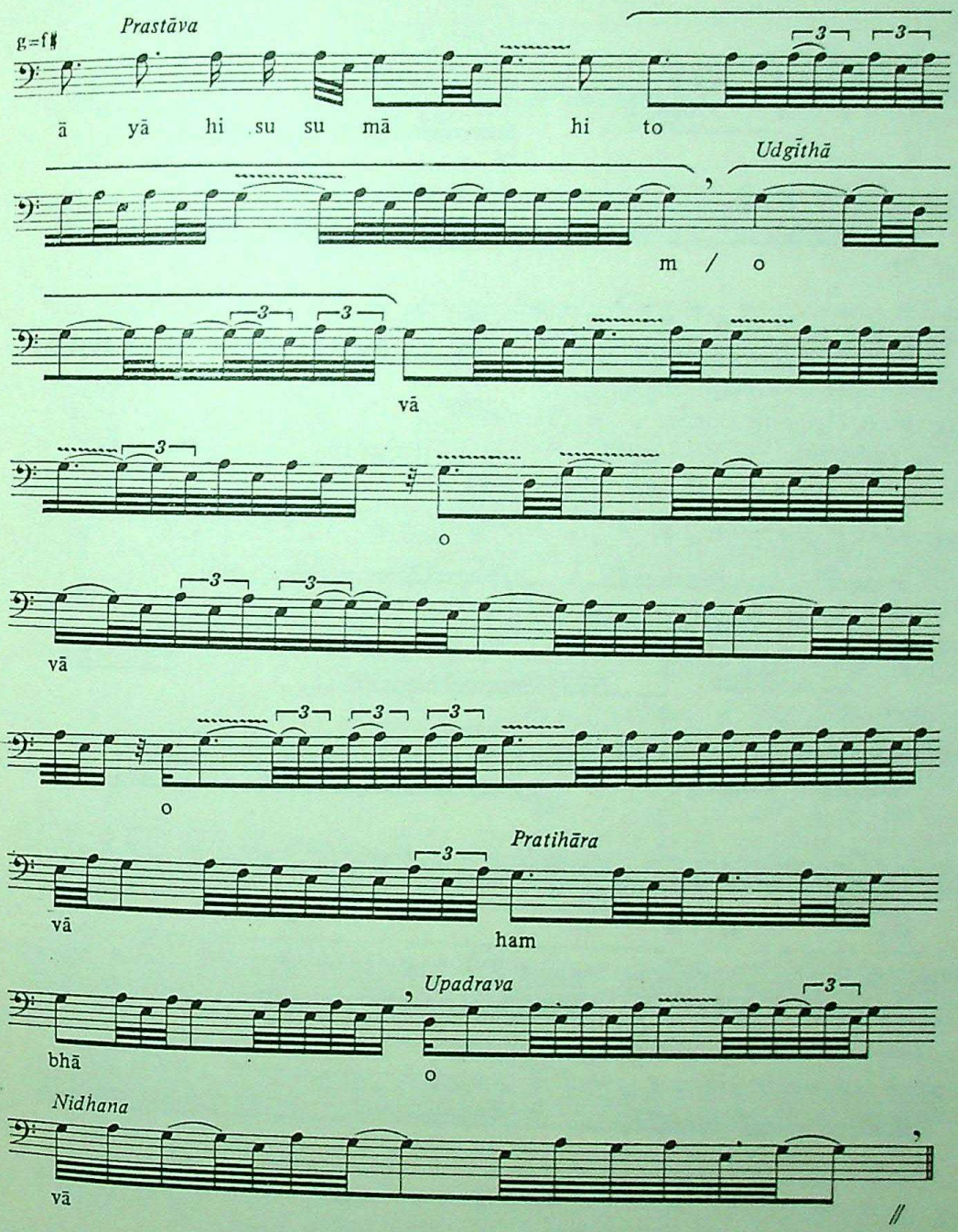
TRANSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMBUDIRI STUTIS

Third Ājya Stuti: Stotriyā 1
[HXXVIIb(1)]



Note: Prastāva performed by Muṭṭatukkāṭṭu Itti Ravi Nambudiri; *Udgītha, Pratihāra, Upadrava* and *Nidhana*, by Nēllikkāṭṭu Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripād.

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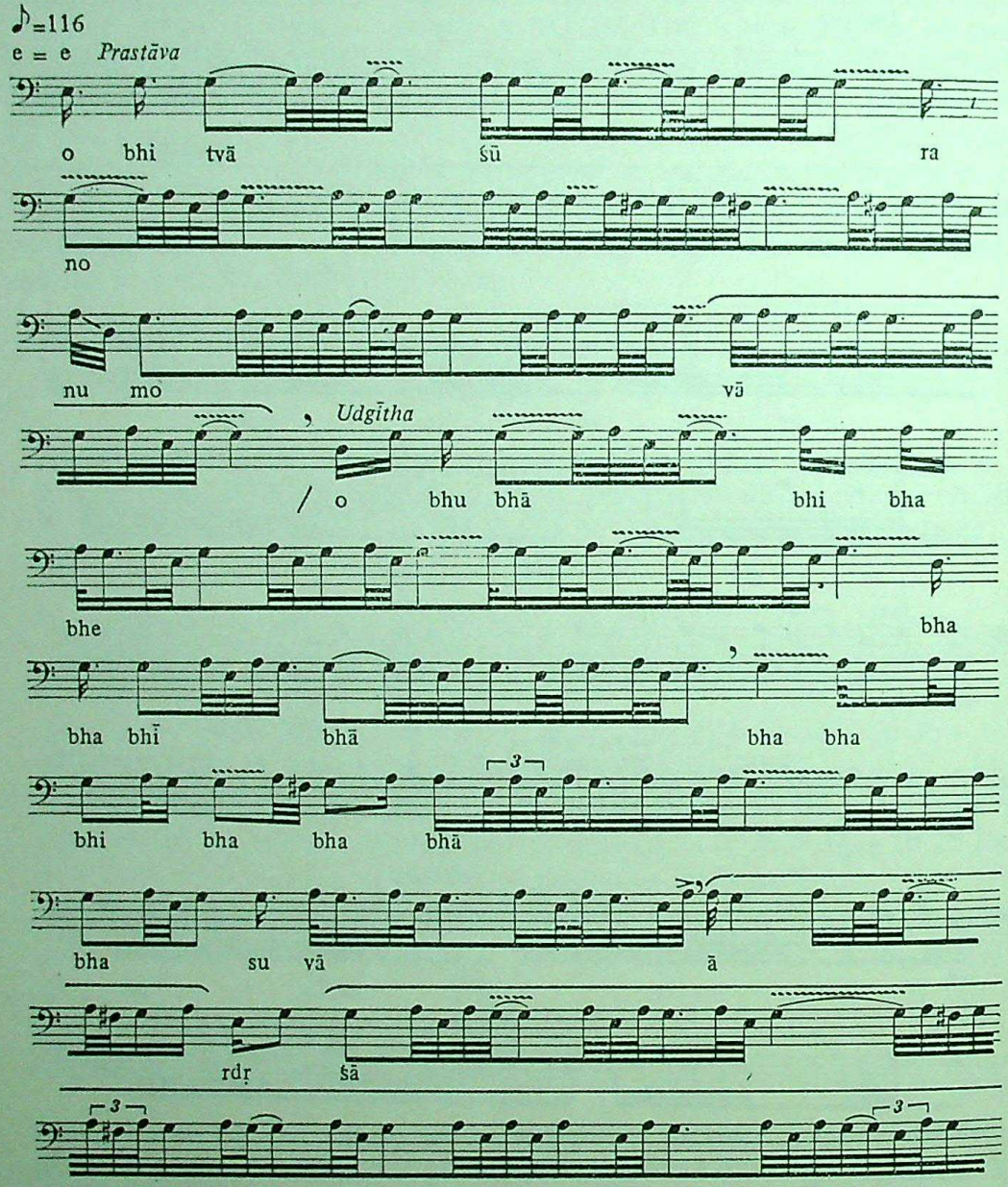
Bhakāra Rathaṃtara: Stotriyā 1
[HIXa(15)]



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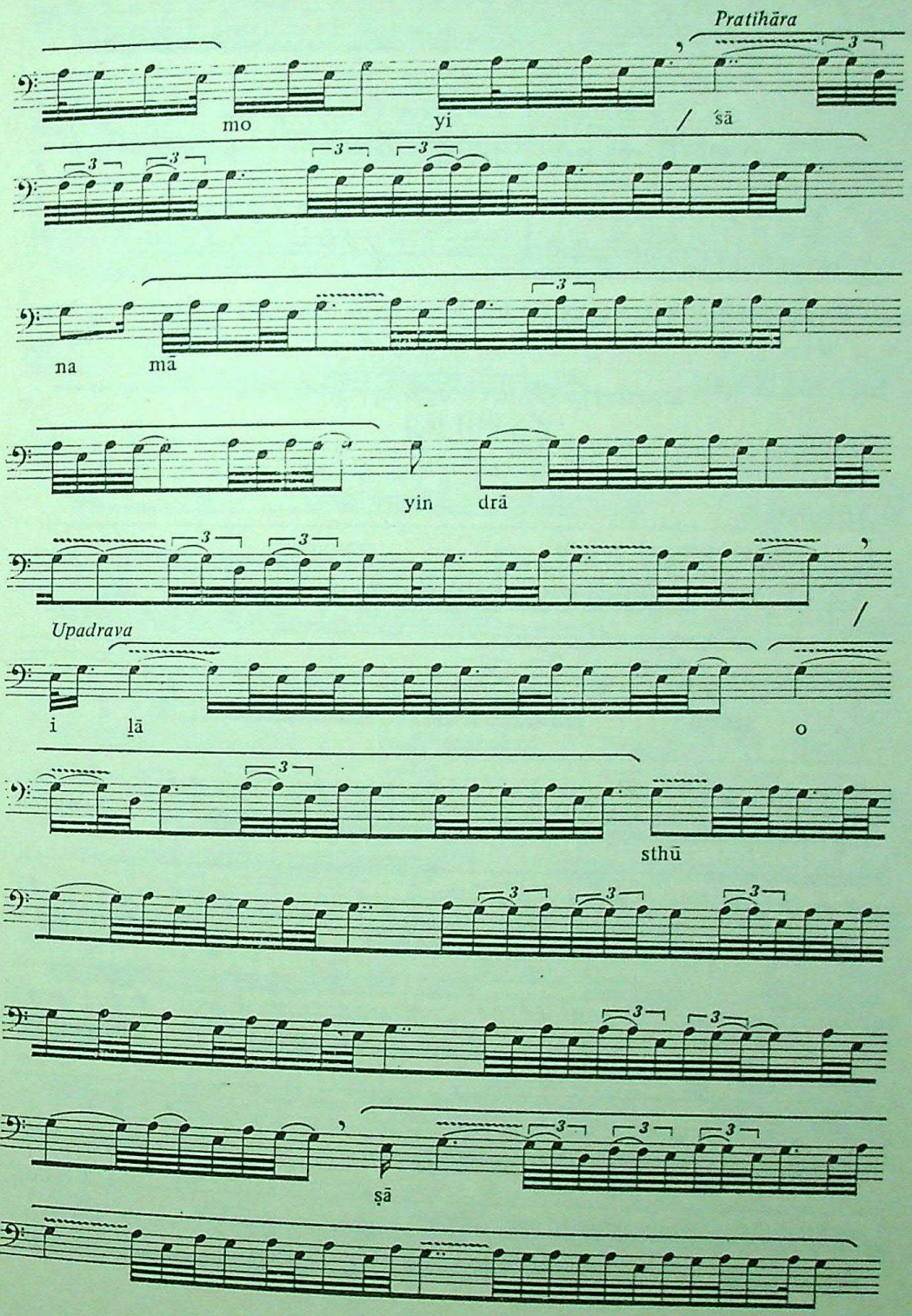

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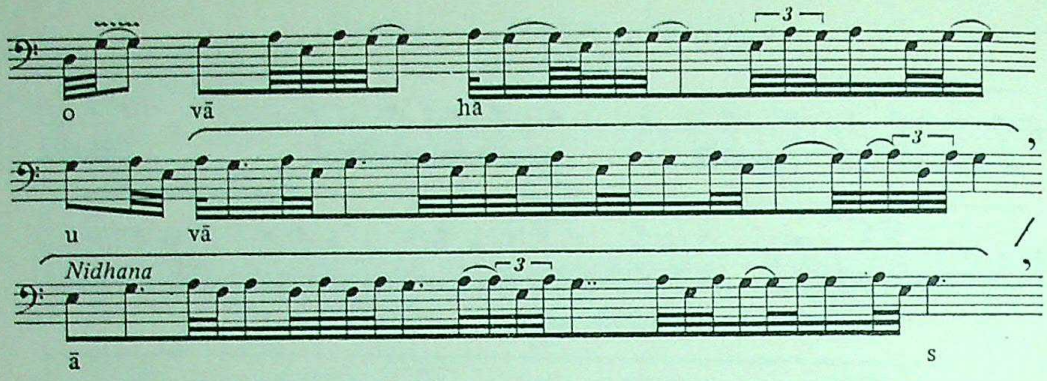
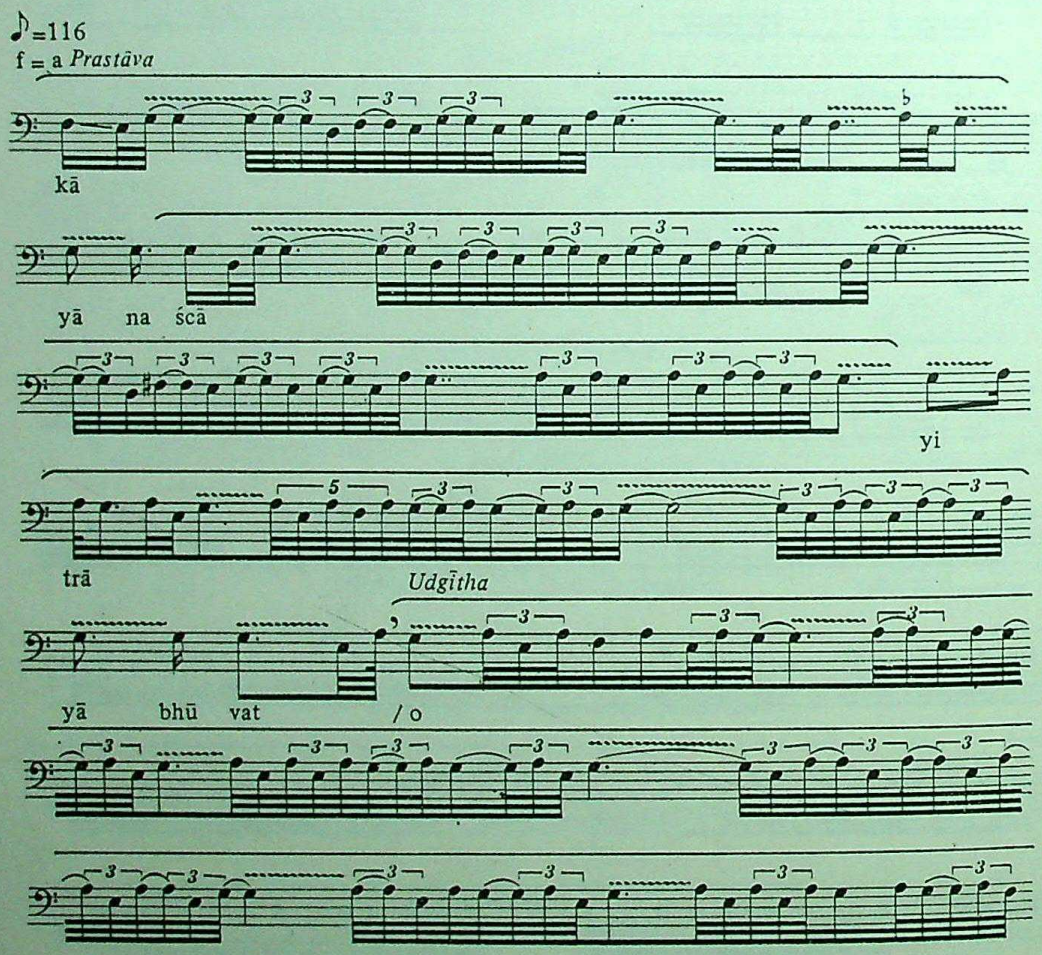


Note: Performed by Muṭṭatukkāṭṭu Itti Ravi Nambudiri.

Vāmadevya (Aniruktagāna): Stotriyā 1
[SXVIII (8)]



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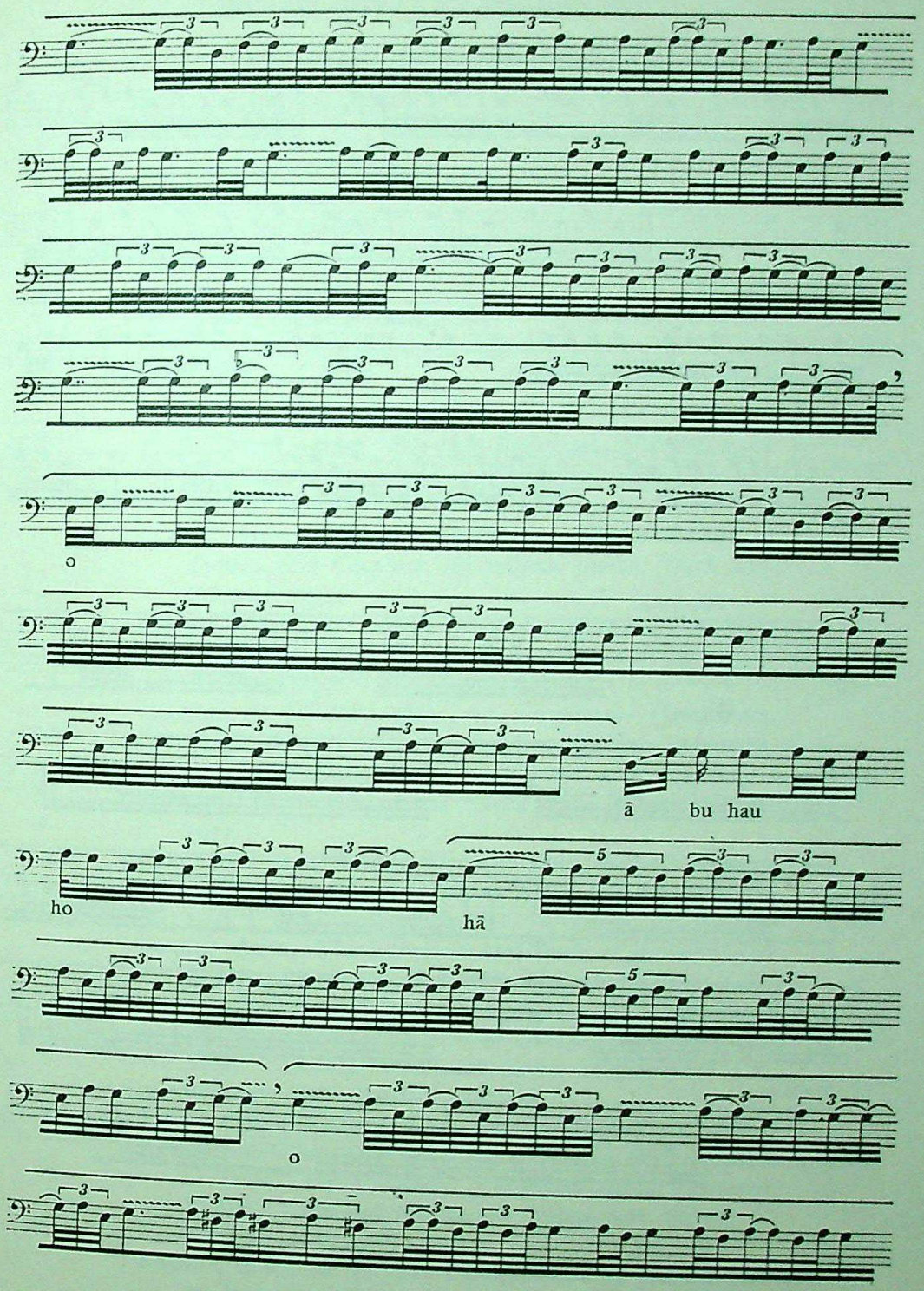

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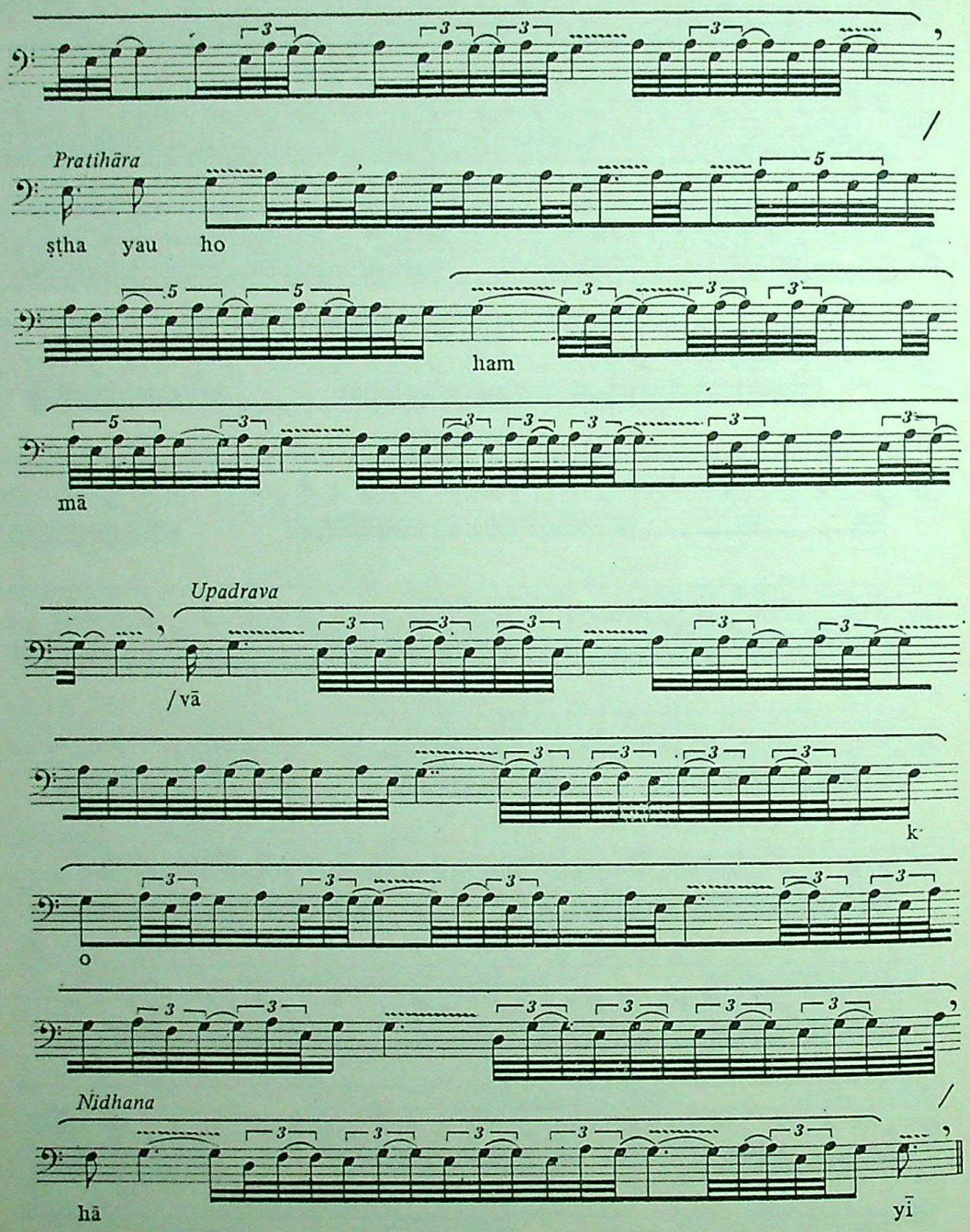

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sanskrit Texts

DŚS Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra
GVS Gāyatra Vidhānasūtra
JUB Jaiminīyopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa
JS Jaiminīya Saṃhitā
LŚS Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra
PB Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
ṢB Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
ŪG Ūhagāna (Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya)
ŪhyG Ūhyagāna (Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya)

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THE FIVE-TIPPED BIRD, THE SQUARE BIRD, AND THE MANY-FACED DOMESTIC ALTAR

C. V. Somayajipad, M. Itti Ravi Nambudiri, and Frits Staal

As we have seen (Volume I, page 182), the six-tipped bird (ṣaṭpatrikā), which is the shape of the 1975 Agni, is one of three Nambudiri traditions—the one that all the six Vaidikans are eligible to adopt. Of the two others, the five-tipped bird (pañcapatrikā) can be adopted by Taikkāṭ, Kapliṅgāṭ, or Pantal, and was adopted once by Taikkāṭ after 1919. The last remaining one, the square bird (pīṭhan), can be adopted by Ceṟumukkū, Perumpaṭappū, or Kaimukkū, and was adopted by Ceṟumukkū some one hundred fifty years ago.

In all three traditions the names of the numbered bricks, and the mantras with which they are consecrated, are the same. Bricks of half-thickness also have the same number. All other rites and recitations are identical. Therefore, if we know the shape, configuration, and order of the bricks, we are in a position to construct the entire Agnicayana in traditions of the five-tipped bird and square bird simply by adapting our description of the Agnicayana for the six-tipped bird.

THE FIVE-TIPPED BIRD (PAÑCAPATRIKĀ)

There are six kinds of bricks. The unit square is a fourth (caturthi) of the yajamāna, measured to the ground from the tips of his fingers when he stands with outstretched arms. The other five are derived from the unit square in accordance with the methods outlined in Figure 15:

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UNIT SQUARE (caturthi) fourth of size of yajamāna
1/2 caturthyardha 1/2 goose-beaked (haṃsamukhi)
1/4 caturthipāda three-cornered quarter (trikoṇapādya)
1/4 1/4 caturthipāda four-cornered quarter (catuṣkoṇapādya)

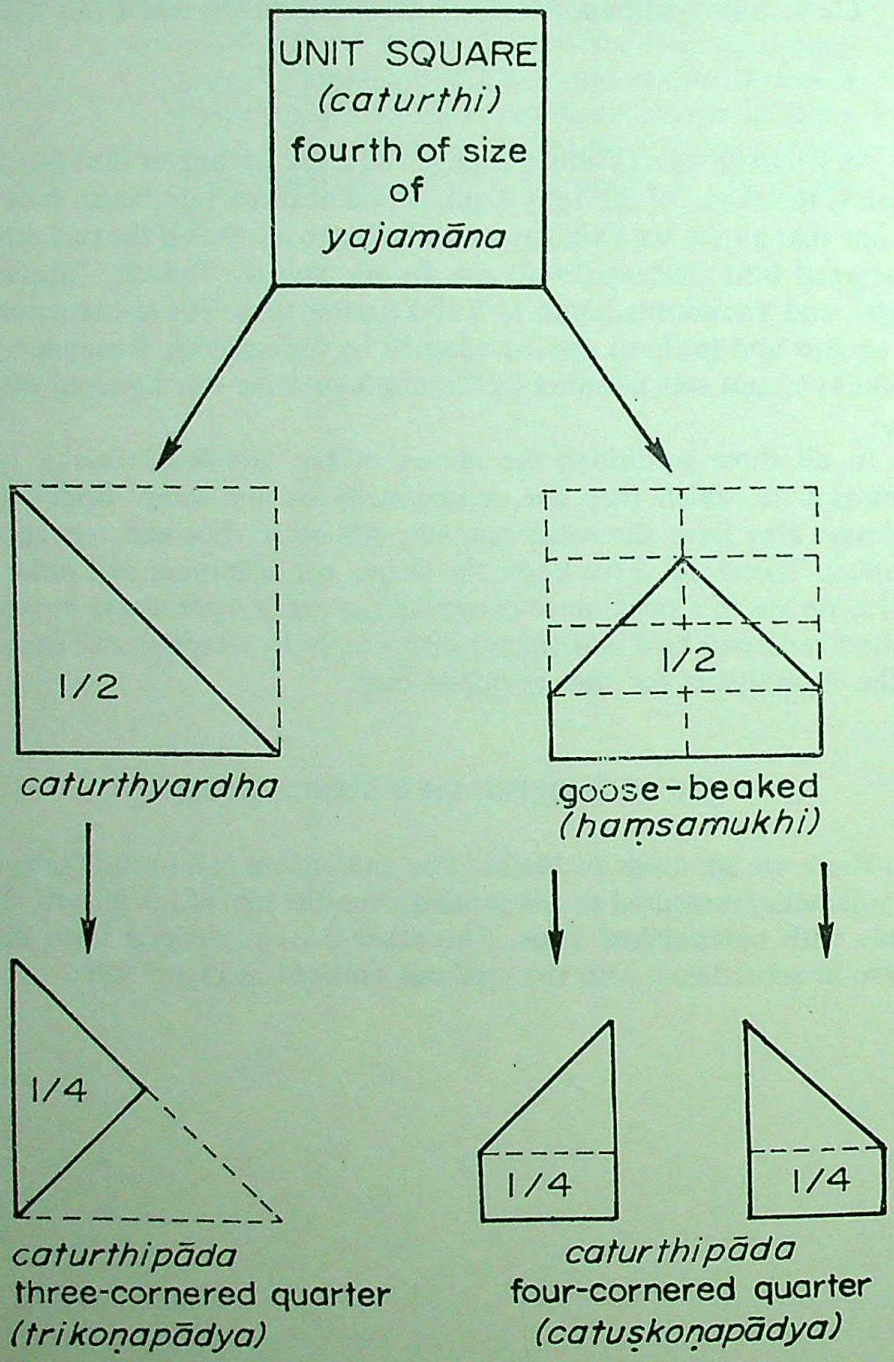

Figure 15—Shapes of Bricks of the Five-Tipped Bird

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Caturthyardha: 1/2 of caturthi
Caturthipāda (in the form of a three-cornered quarter, trikoṇapādya): 1/4 of caturthi
Haṃsamukhi ("goose-beaked"); 1/2 of caturthi
Caturthipāda (in the form of a four-cornered quarter, catuṣkoṇapādya): 1/4 of caturthi.

The last shape comes in two orientations: left-oriented and right-oriented.

The total number of bricks in each layer is two hundred, and the distribution of the six kinds is as follows:

	1st/3rd/5th layer	*2nd/4th layer*
Caturthi	61	72
Caturthyardha	96	64
Caturthipāda (trikoṇa)	36	64
Haṃsamukhi	1	
Caturthipāda (catuṣkoṇa)		
left-oriented	3	
right-oriented	3	
TOTAL	200	200

The surface area of each layer is:

	1st/3rd/5th layer	*2nd/4th layer*
Caturthi	61 × 1 = 61	72 × 1 = 72
Caturthyardha	97 × 1/2 = 48.5	64 × 1/2 = 32
Caturthipāda	42 × 1/4 = 10.5	64 × 1/4 = 16
TOTAL	120	120

120 = 7 1/2 × 16, or 7 1/2 square puruṣas.

Since the size of the bird is different from that of the six-tipped bird, the vṛddha (extended) prakrama of the five-tipped bird is 35 2/3, not 34 1/3, viral (see Volume I, page 195). The configuration and order of bricks in the first through the fifth layers are given in Figures 16–20.

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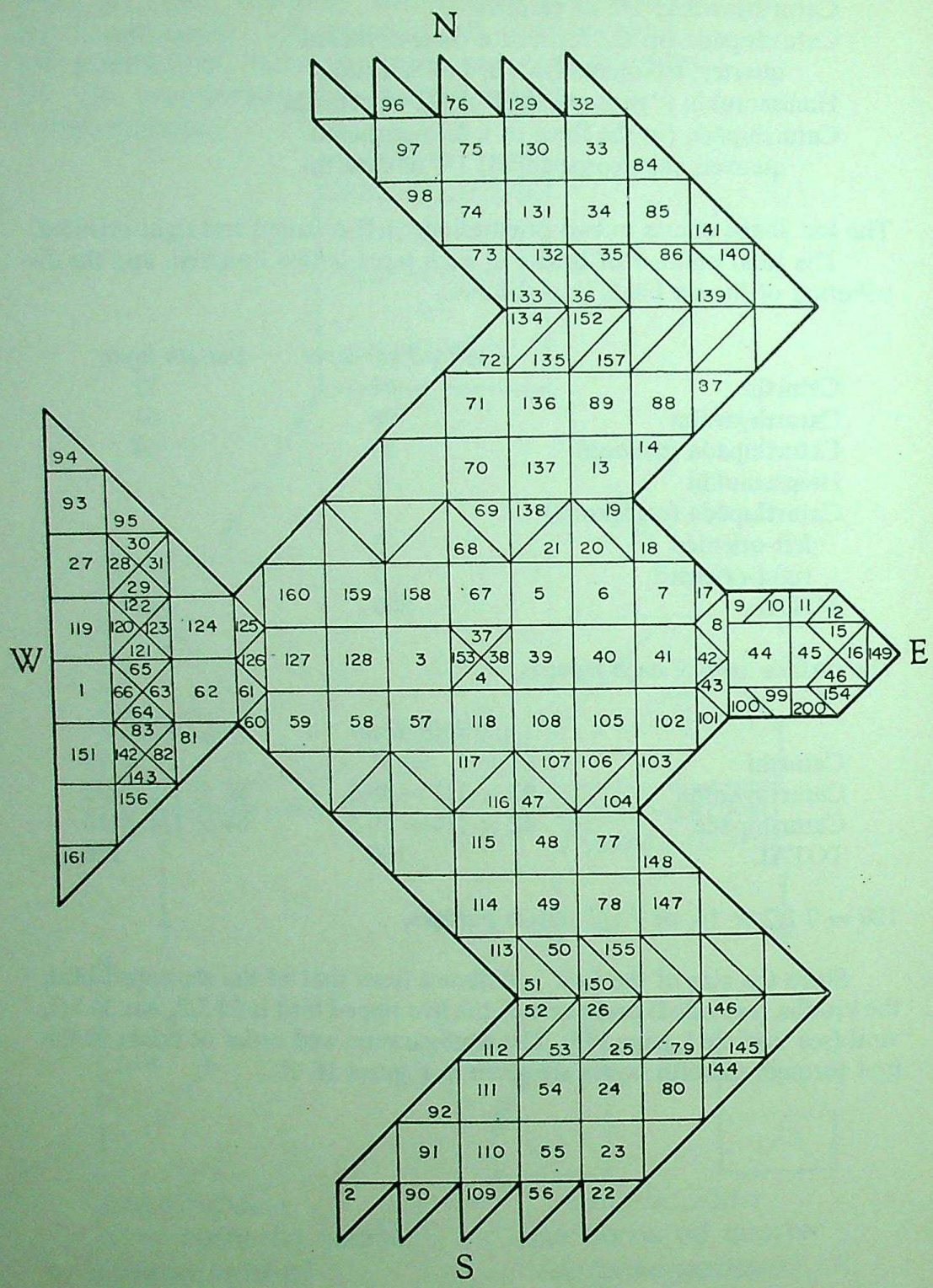

Figure 16—First Layer of the Five-Tipped Bird

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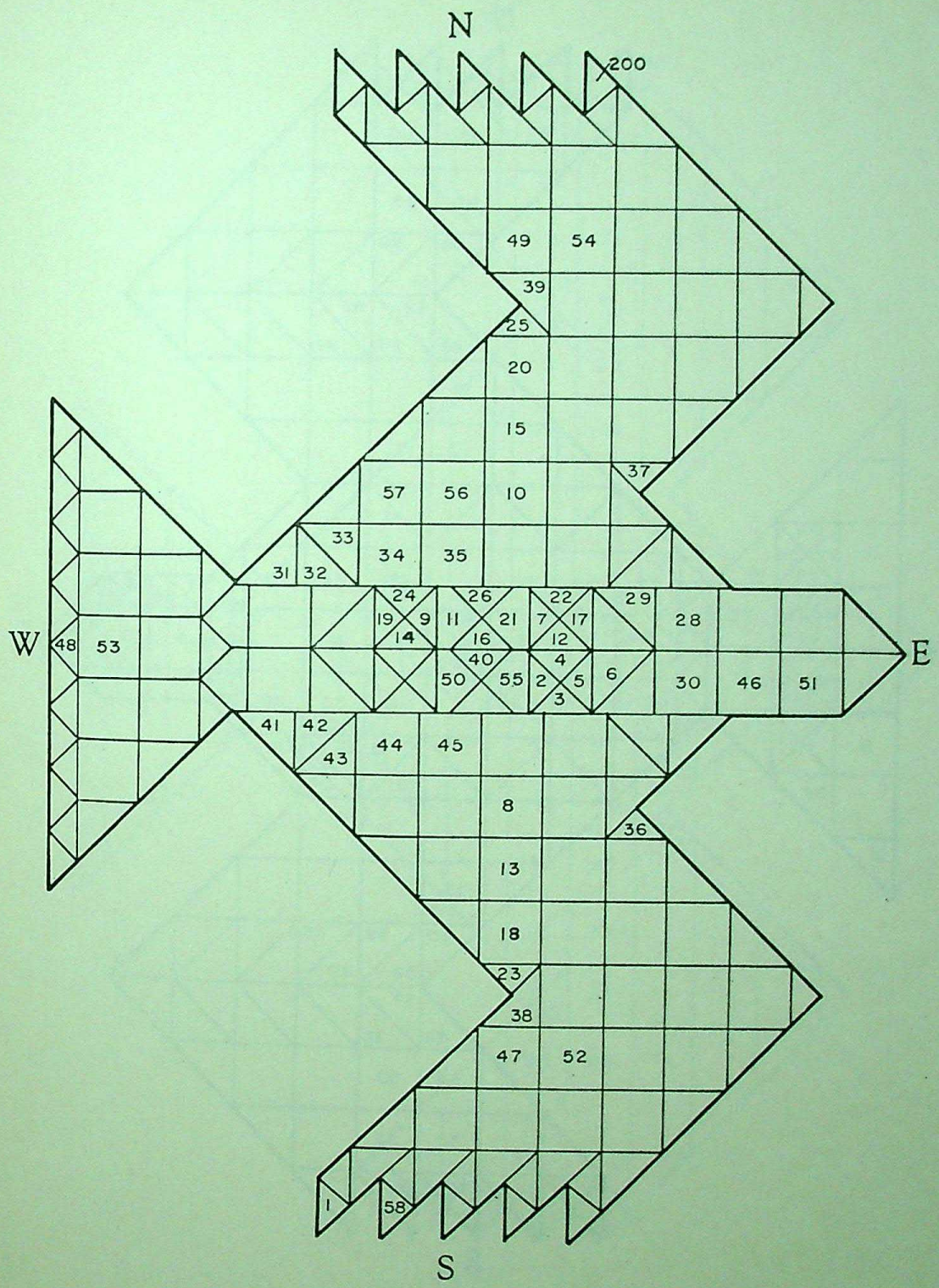

Figure 17—Second Layer of the Five-Tipped Bird

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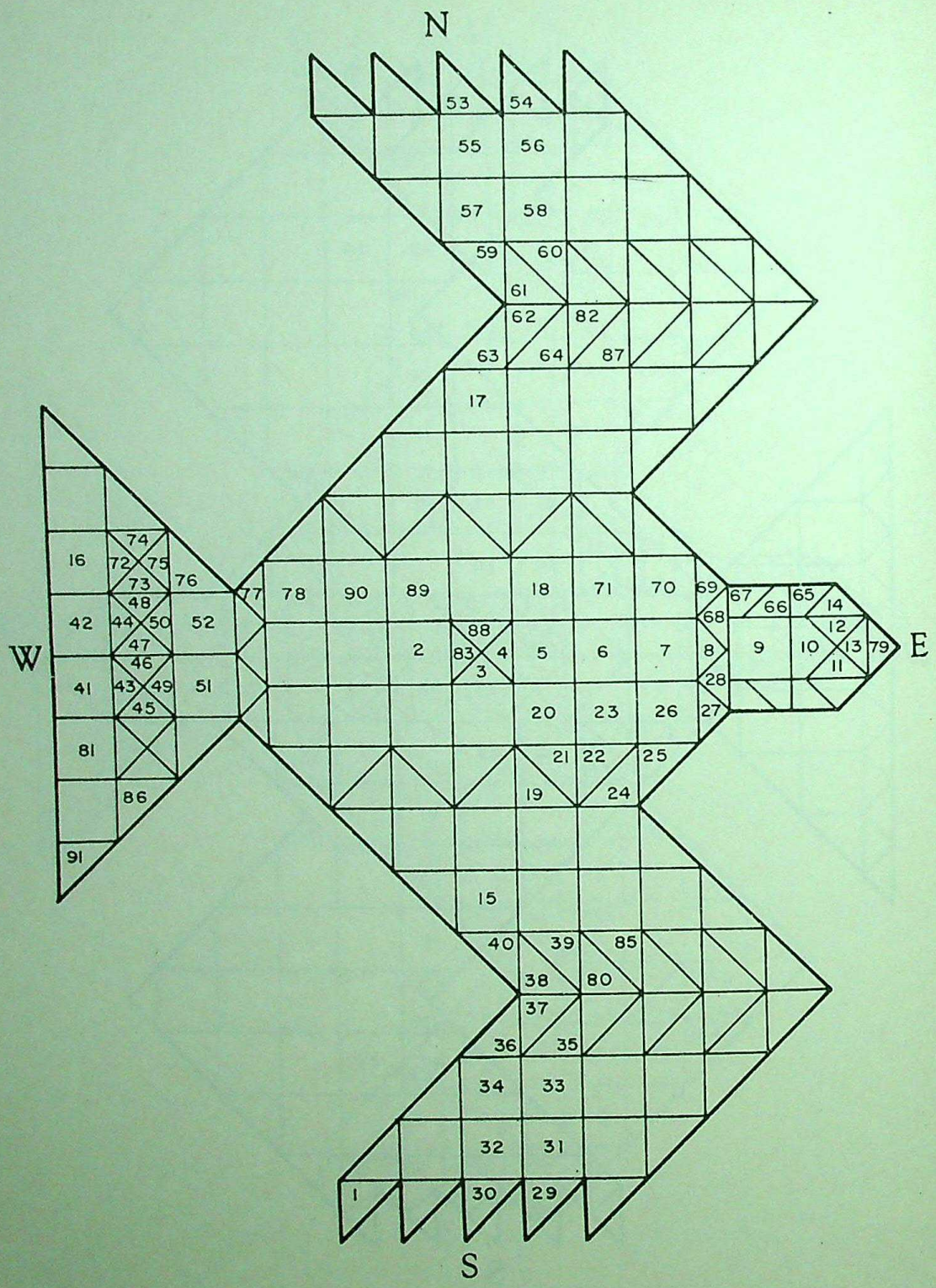

Figure 18—Third Layer of the Five-Tipped Bird

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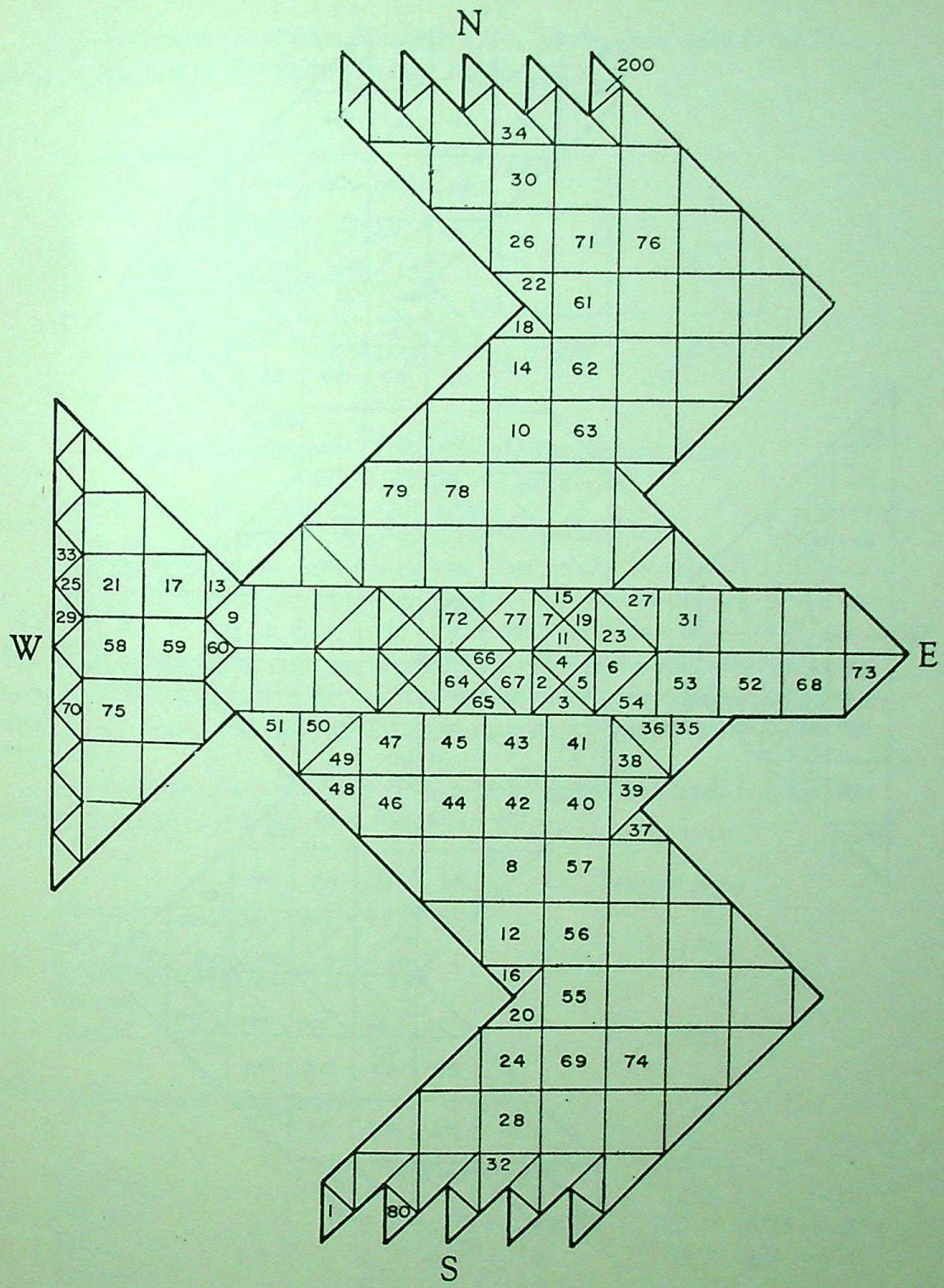

Figure 19—Fourth Layer of the Five-Tipped Bird

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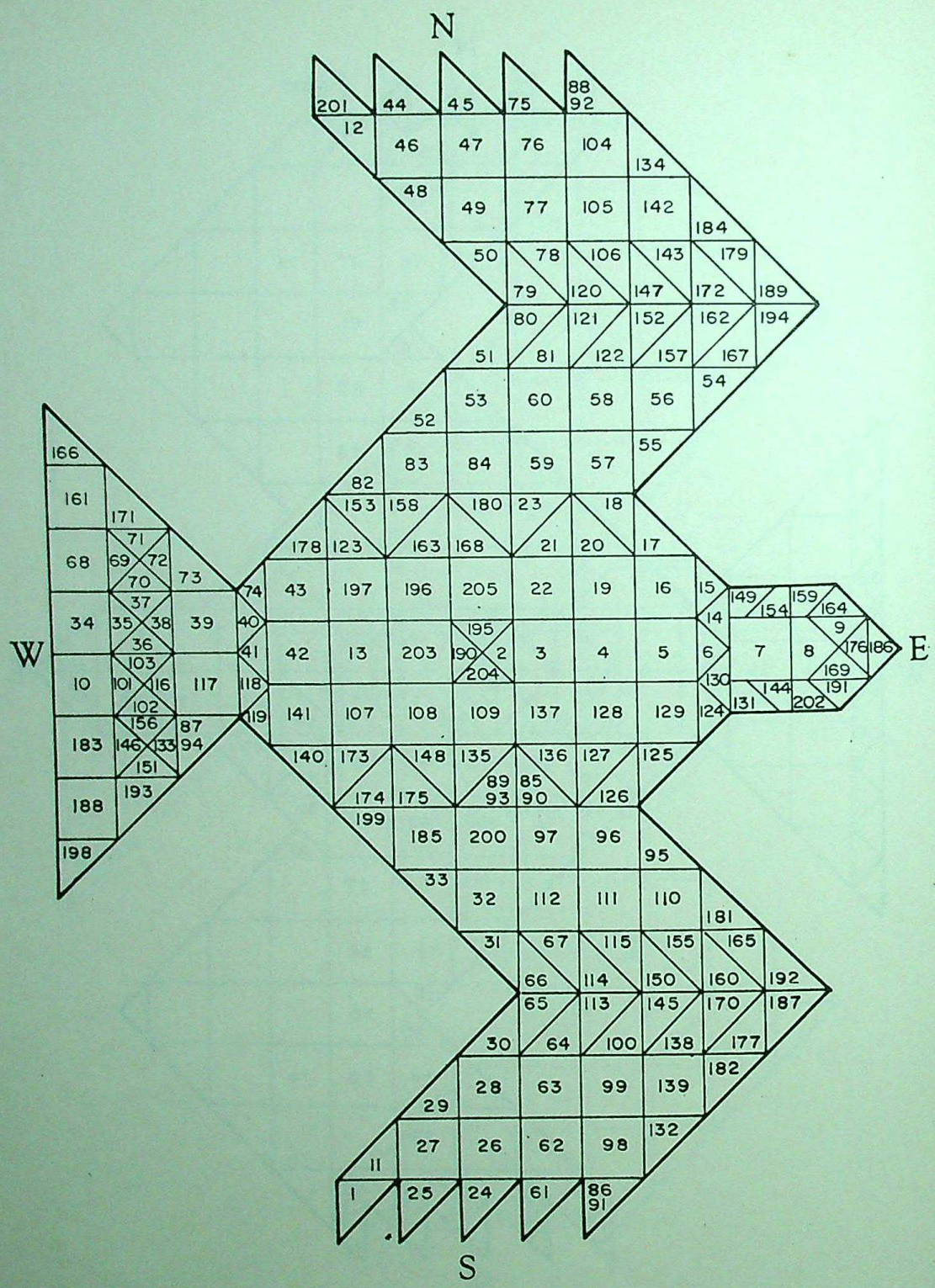

Figure 20—Fifth Layer of the Five-Tipped Bird

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THE SQUARE BIRD (PĪṬHAN)

All the bricks are square. There are four kinds, their sides being functions of the size of the yajamāna (see Figure 21):

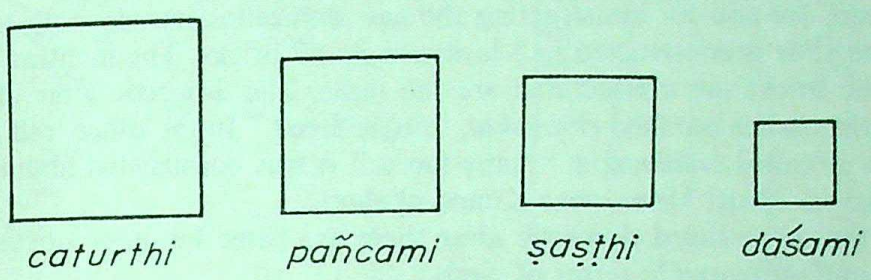

Figure 21—Shapes of Bricks of the Square Bird

Caturthi (fourth): 1/4 is the unit square
Pañcami (fifth): 1/5 = 4/5 of caturthi
Ṣaṣṭhi (sixth): 1/6 = 2/3 of caturthi
Daśami (tenth): 1/10 = 2/5 caturthi.

The sides of the four squares are relative to the size of the yajamāna, but may be approximately measured in terms of the absolute unit of length called the viral. In that case, the sides of the four squares are 30, 24, 20, and 12 viral, respectively.

The total number of bricks in each layer is two hundred, and the distribution of the four kinds is as follows:

	1st/3rd/5th layer	*2nd/4th layer*
Caturthi	24	12
Pañcami	120	125
Ṣaṣṭhi	36	63
Daśami	20	
TOTAL	200	200

The surface area of each layer is:

	1st/3rd/5th layer	*2nd/4th layer*
Caturthi	24 × 1 = 24	12 × 1 = 12
Pañcami	120 × 16/25 = 76 4/5	125 × 16/25 = 80
Ṣaṣṭhi	36 × 4/9 = 16	63 × 4/9 = 28
Daśami	20 × 4/25 = 3 1/5	
TOTAL	120	120

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120 = 7 1/2 × 16, or 7 1/2 square puruṣas.

The configuration and order of bricks in the first through fifth layers are given in Figures 22–26.

While there are three traditions for constructing the bird-shaped main altar, there are two for constructing the new domestic altar. In both traditions, the altar is constructed in 5 layers of 3 × 7 bricks. The mantras with which the bricks are consecrated are the same. The domestic altar of the 1975 performance is called *ekamukhi*, "single-faced." In the other tradition, the altar is called *bahumukhi*, "many-faced." It was constructed about 150 years ago in Bhaṭṭi Mana near Kunnamkulam.

In the many-faced domestic altar there are three kinds of bricks, all square, and measured in terms of virals:

Tṛtīya (third):	32 viral
Caturthi (fourth):	24 viral
Ṣaṣṭhi (sixth) :	16 viral.

Note that these are different from their namesakes in the square bird.

The distribution of the three kinds over the five layers is as follows:

	1st/3rd/5th layer	*2nd/4th layer*
Tṛtīya		5
Caturthi	12	
Ṣaṣṭhi	9	16
TOTAL	21	21

The surface of each layer is :

	1st/3rd/5th layer	*2nd/4th layer*
Tṛtīya		$5 \times 32^2 = 5120$
Caturthi	$12 \times 24^2 = 6912$	
Ṣaṣṭhi	$9 \times 16^2 = 2304$	$16 \times 16^2 = 4096$
TOTAL	9216	9216

The side of the altar is 96 viral, since $9216 = 96^2$.

The bricks are consecrated in the order marked 1—21 in Figure 27:

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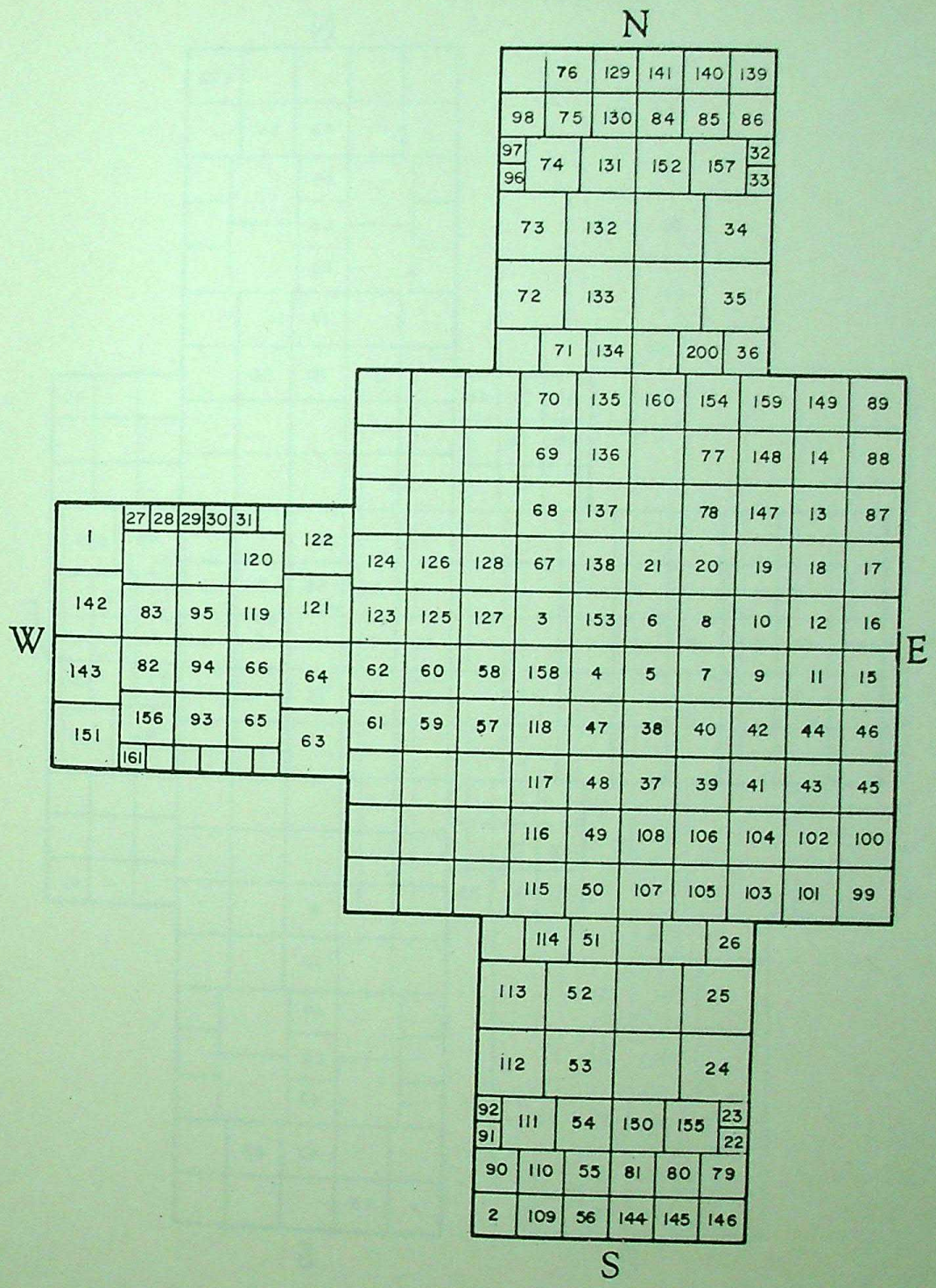

Figure 22—First Layer of the Square Bird

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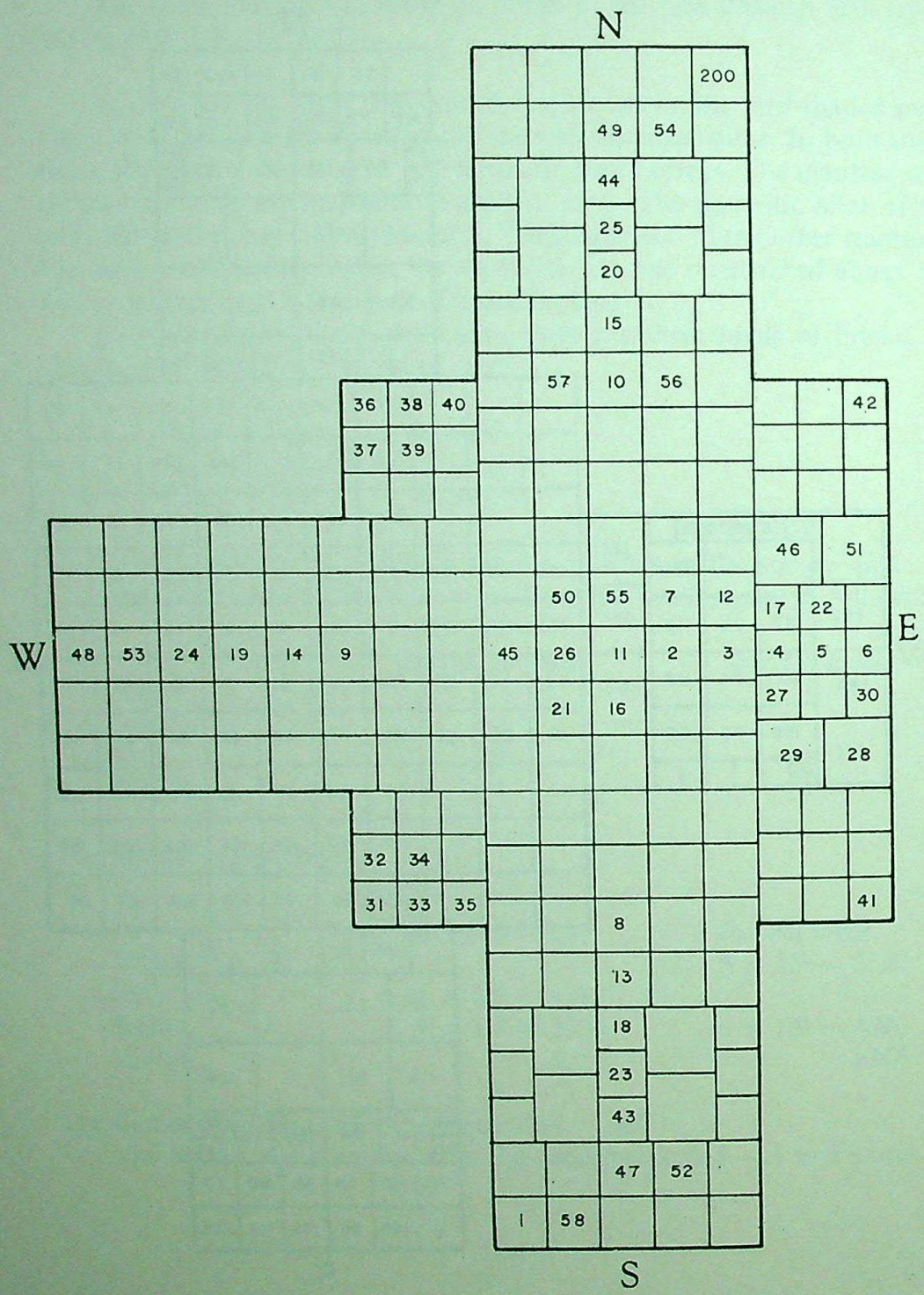

Figure 23—Second Layer of the Square Bird

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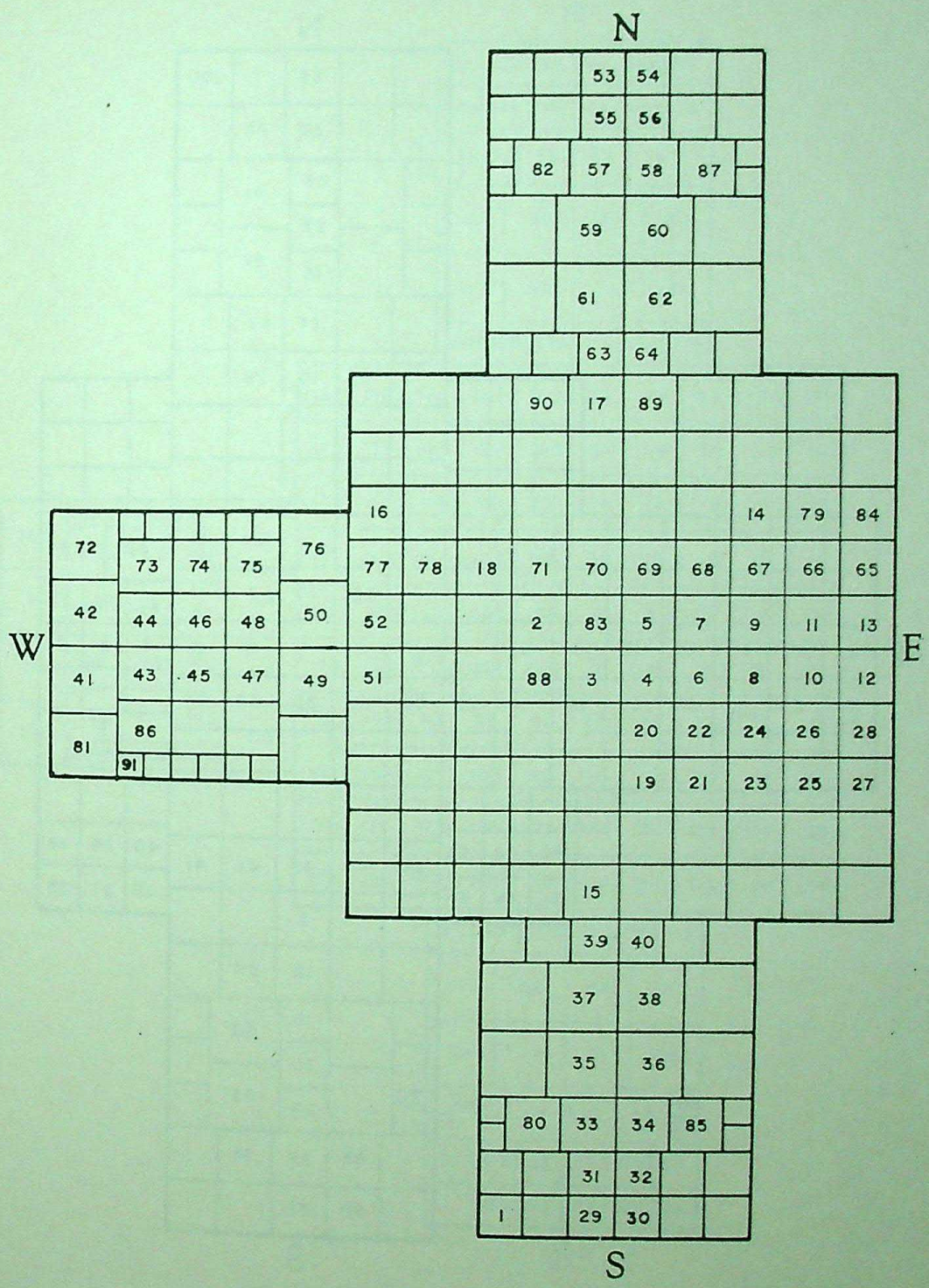

Figure 24—Third Layer of the Square Bird

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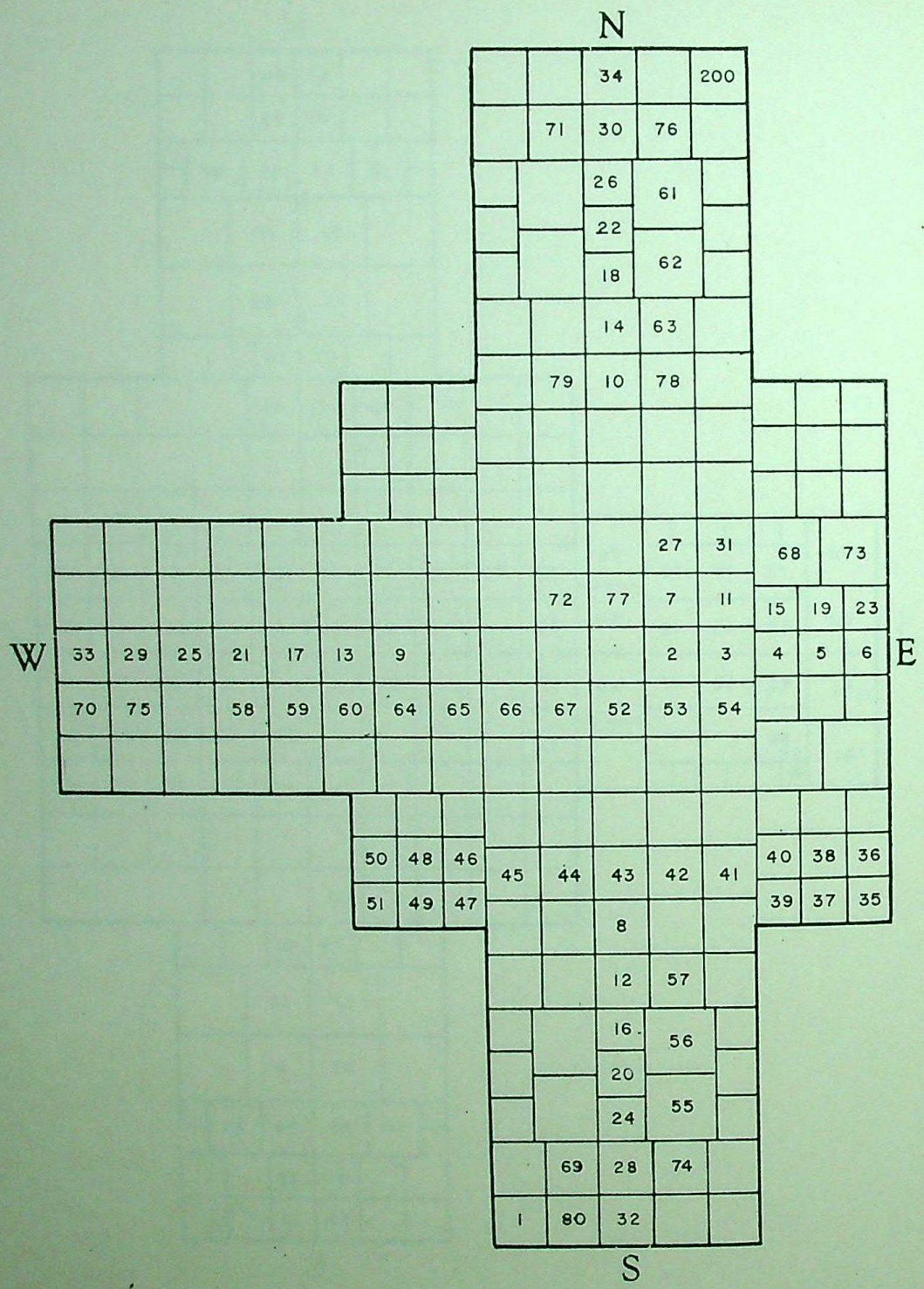

Figure 25—Fourth Layer of the Square Bird

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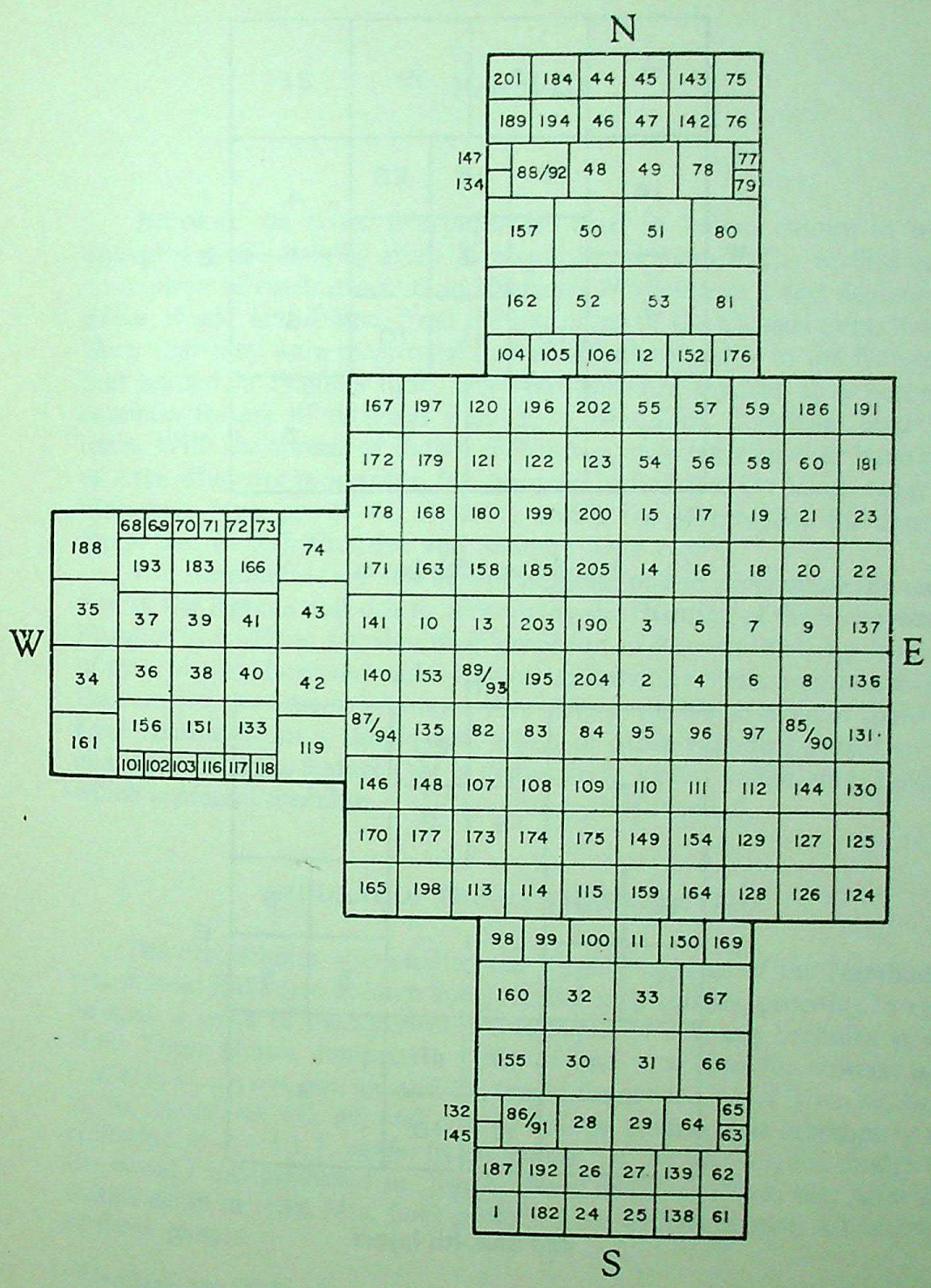

Figure 26—Fifth Layer of the Square Bird

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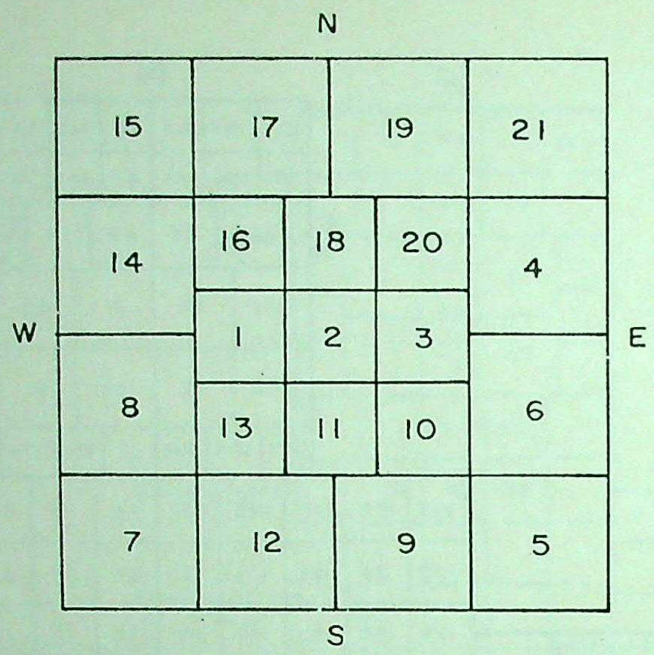
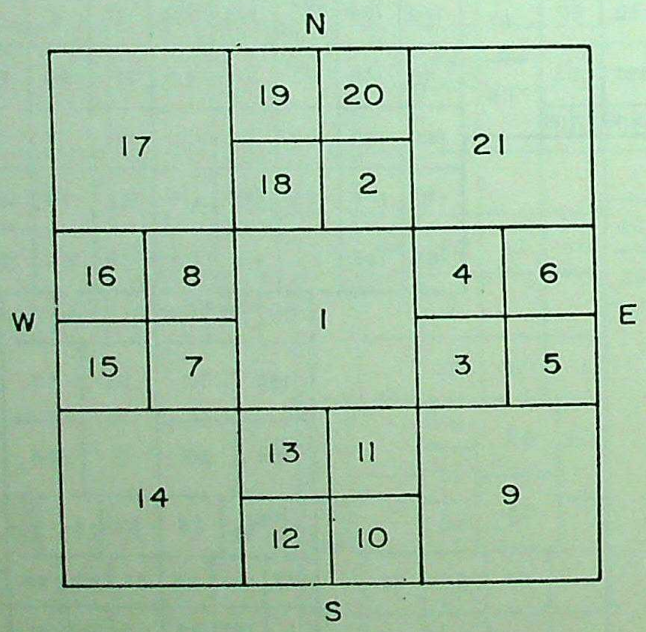


1st, 3rd and 5th layers



2nd and 4th layers

Figure 27—The Bricks of the Many-Faced Domestic Altar

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VEDIC MUDRAS

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MUDRAS, OR HAND GESTURES, are used in Indian culture in widely divergent areas ranging from iconography to dance.[1] The earliest extant description of mudras occurs in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a text dealing with dance, music, and drama, from the beginning of the Christian era, but it is likely that they were mentioned half a millenium earlier in the Naṭasūtras that existed in Pāṇini's time. Over the centuries mudras have become a common feature of religious worship in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Tantrism. With the spread of Indian civilization, they traveled over large parts of Asia. They are prominent, for example, in Bali (see De Kleen 1924, and Hooykaas 1970, pp. 27–46, 117–164), and in the Mantrayāna Buddhism of Japan (see Lokesh Chandra and Sharada Rani 1978).

The Nambudiris use two sets of mudras: one to accompany the recitation of the Ṛgveda and one to accompany the chanting of the Sāmaveda. A Nambudiri tradition ascribes their invention to Rāvaṇa. Nothing is known of their history, however, and it is uncertain whether Vedic mudras are older than any of the others. Whatever their origin, the Vedic mudras could not have resulted from a simple adaptation of other varieties, since they are characterized by a feature that is distinctively Vedic: unlike other mudras, which represent meaning, Vedic mudras represent sound.

MUDRAS OF THE NAMBUDIRI ṚGVEDA

The first scholar who studied the Ṛgvedic mudras of the Nambudiris was Arnold Bake (see Brough 1964). In the early thirties, probably in 1932, he took a series of twenty-seven photographs of a young brahmin at Trichur. These photos comprise a series of twelve mudras for vowels: *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *ai*, *au*, *am*, *aṃ*, *aḥ*, and *āḥ*; twelve for consonants: (?), *na*, *ṅa*, *ka*, *ta* *ḷa*, *śa*, *ha*, *ca*, *na*, (?), *ṇa*, and *pra*; and three mudras that accompany the recitation of RV 1.1.1: *agnim īḷe purohitaṃ*. Of the first set, the mudra for the vowel *i* was published in 1953 by Beryl de Zoete (Plate 4a). After Dr. Bake's death in 1963, Mrs. Bake presented me with a complete set of prints of those photos.

[1] Karl Ray was the first to suggest that an essay on Vedic mudras be included in the second volume of Agni. I use the term "mudra" as an English word. The Sanskrit form is *mudrā*, which means "sign, token, seal, stamp," as well as "hand gesture."

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In 1967 the Nambudiri Ṛgveda school at Trichur, Brahmasva Maṭham (cf. Volume I, page 174), celebrated its Golden Jubilee. On that occasion a souvenir volume was published in Malayalam under the title *Sōvanīr*. This book contains, on pages 115–120, an article by Parameśvara Bhāratikal entitled "Vedamudrakal" (Vedic mudras). This article was translated for me by Madamp Narayanan Nambudiri, and an extended and annotated version—prepared by Dr. K.M.J. Nambudiri, an accomplished expert in these mudras and also a medical doctor—was elicited and made available by Madamp Narayanan Nambudiri. The following description is very largely based upon it. Dr. Nambudiri used anatomical terms to make the description more explicit. For example, the joints of the fingers closest to the palm are called metacarpophalangeal, the next joints are first interphalangeal, and so forth. To indicate whether the palm of the hand is up or down, use is made of the terms supine/supination, and prone/pronation, which correspond to Malayalam *malarnnukīṭakkunna* and *kamiḷnnukiṭakkunna*, respectively.

At the time of the 1975 performance of the Atirātra-Agnicayana, Robert Gardner made a five-minute film of two young Nambudiris, Nāṟāṇamaṅgalat Agniśarmā and Nāṟāṇamaṅgalat Parameśvaran, reciting with mudras the padapāṭha of RV 1.164.1–5. At about the same time Adelaide de Menil made twenty-five color photographs of eighteen mudras at the Ṛgveda school in Trichur. These were identified with the help of the article in *Sōvanīr*, and the identification was subsequently checked with the help of the staff of the Trichur school in December 1978. The eighteen photographs published on Plates 9 A-F, 10 A-F, and 11 A-F will be referred to in the following description.

The mudras of the Nambudiri Ṛgveda are not simple representations of sound. They are used to represent the ends of words (pada) in the word-for-word recitation (padapāṭha) of the Ṛgveda (cf. Volume I, page 29). Their function is to disambiguate the text in doubtful places. For example, the continuous recitation (saṃhitāpāṭha) of RV 3.56.1, *na tā minanti*, has for its padapāṭha *na/tā/minanti*. But the padapāṭha might have been *na/tāḥ/minanti*. A ten-year-old pupil learns the saṃhitā and padapāṭha without knowing Sanskrit grammar and the rules of sandhi. So he is taught the appropriate mudra, which distinguishes between *tā* and *tāḥ*. In other cases the pupil may have learned the rules of sandhi from practice, but he does not know which are words of the Sanskrit language and which are not. According to the modern, historical, point of view, the padapāṭha is an analysis of the saṃhitāpāṭha, and the latter results from the former. According to the traditional point of view, the saṃhitā is eternal, and the padapāṭha is one of its modifications (*vikāra*).

Ambiguity may also be inherent in accentuation. The accents are expressed by the position of the entire hand (this parallels to some extent

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the position of the head, inculcated when the accents were taught for the first, time, see Volume I, page 174):

Accent	Position of the Hand
Udātta	up
Anudātta	down
Svarita	to the right
Pracaya	to the left

In the movement of the head, no distinction is made between the svarita (the accent immediately following the udātta) and the pracaya (the "accumulated" accent of syllables neither immediately following a svarita nor immediately preceding an udātta). As will be seen from the descriptions, some of the mudras correspond to the shape of the mouth or vocal tract that produces the corresponding sound. For example, the mudra for the vowel *u* imitates the rounding of the lips that characterizes its pronunciation. Unlike dance mudras, all Ṛgvedic mudras are executed by the right hand only. If the form of a mudra is the same as in Kathakali (the classical dance drama of Kerala), this will be noted (following Bhāratikal), even though the significance is always different.

LIST OF ṚGVEDA MUDRAS

1. *Hrasvamudra*: mudra for short (*hrasva*) syllables. PLATE 9A
   All fingers are extended in all joints and all fingers except the thumb are in apposition with each other.

EXAMPLES: devāyȧ, asȧ̊vi, gāyatą.

The position of the hand is supine, i.e., with the palm up, for sarvānudātta (a sequence of anudātta accents, e.g., gāyatą), and prone, i.e., with the palm down, for pracaya (e.g., asȧ̊vi). There are ten exceptions, viz., cases where the syllable is short but where other mudras are used: *mūrdhanya, ghoṣa, dīrghavisarga, udātta, tithi, si, ukāra, svarapūrvakatakāra, hrasvavisarga*, and *prathamānta*.

This is *haṃsapakṣa* in Kathakali.

2. *Mūrdhanyamudra:* mudra for retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) consonants, viz., *ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ṣa* and *ḷa*, followed by short vowel or *e*. Ring finger flexed at metacarpophalangeal joint and first interphalangeal joint, extended at last interphalangeal joint; all other fingers extended and separated from each other. Hand in supination. PLATE 9B

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EXAMPLES: pṛṇa, rakṣa, trīṇi, aiḷa (RV 10.95.18[1]), kāṇe (RV 10.155.1), vikaṭe (RV 10.155.1), papṛkṣe, īḷe.

The same mudra is used for syllables ending *ṣya* or *ṣva*, unless they are accented with svarita, e.g., u̱ru̱ṣya, kṛṇu̱sva

For syllables ending in *ṣya* or *ṣva* and marked with svarita, the hrasvamudra is used, e.g., a̱muṣyà

PLATE 9C 3. *Ghoṣamudra*: mudra for unaspirated consonants with voice (*ghoṣa*), viz., *gha*, *jha*, *ḍha*, *dha*, *bha*, and *ha*.

All joints extended except metacarpophalangeal joints of little, ring, and middle fingers, which are flexed. Hand in semipronation.

EXAMPLES: gha, adhi, tastambha, abhi, nahi

This mudra is also used when the padapāṭha is aspirated, though the saṃhitāpāṭha is unaspirated, e.g., dakṣat, padapāṭha: dhakṣat; jugukṣataḥ (RV 8.31.7), padapāṭha: jughukṣataḥ.

PLATE 9D 4. *Dīrghavisargamudra*: mudra for long (*dīrgha*) syllables ending in visarga (*ḥ*), and for syllables ending in *-na* and *-ni*. Little, ring, and middle fingers flexed at metacarpophalangeal and first interphalangeal joints, while the thumb rests on the outer surface of the middle phalanx of the ring and middle fingers. Hand is in pronation, except for sarvānudatta, where it is in supination.

EXAMPLES: devāḥ, tayoḥ, bahvīḥ, devīḥ, ratnāni, ahani, dha̱tta̱na̱.

If the visarga is preceded by *ai* or *au*, the index finger is moved slightly up and down.

EXAMPLES: devaiḥ, gauḥ

This is *sūcimukha* in Kathakali.

PLATE 9E 5. *Udāttamudra*: mudra for syllables with udātta accent. Thumb extended, all other fingers flexed at metacarpophalangeal and first interphalangeal while the last interphalangeal joints are kept extended. Hand in supination.

EXAMPLES: u̱ta, vi, a̱dya, pra.

PLATE 9F 6. *Tithimudra* or *timudra*: mudra for syllables ending in *-ti* and *-thi*. Ring and middle fingers kept in apposition, flexed at the metacarpophalangeal joints and extended at other joints; tip of the thumb resting on the tip of the ring and middle fingers at their inner surface. Other fingers are extended.

EXAMPLES: iti, patanti, pathi.

This is *mṛgaśīrṣa* in Kathakali.

PLATE 10A 7. *Simudra*: mudra for syllables ending in *-si*, *-sī*, *-se*, *-sya*, and *-sva*. Index

[1]I have marked the source in the Ṛgveda of rare words or *hapax legomena*.

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finger flexed at metacarpophalangeal and first interphalangeal joints; thumb rests upon the distal half of the index finger at its outer surface. All other joints are extended.

EXAMPLES: asi, atasi (RV 1.30.4), devasya, pavasva, navīyasī, sahase. If *sya* constitutes a single word, it is shown by *hrasvamudra*, e.g., vi ṣya grathitaṃ (padapāṭha: vi / sya / grathitam, RV 9.97.18).
This is *bhramara* in Kathakali.

8. *Ukāramudra*: mudra for syllables ending in *-u*. PLATE 10B
Ring, middle, and index fingers flexed at metacarpophalangeal joints and kept in apposition; tip of the thumb rests upon the inner surface of the tip of the index finger. All other joints are extended. Hand is in pronation.

EXAMPLES: kṛṇu, vidu, vīḷu, apsu, suṣṭhu (RV 8.22.18).
This is *kartarīmukha* in Kathakali.

9. *Svarapūrvakatakāramudra*: mudra for syllables ending in *-t* (*takāra*) preceded by a vowel (*svara*). PLATE 10C
Index finger flexed at the metacarpophalangeal joint; tips of index and thumb kept in apposition. All other joints extended.

EXAMPLES: āt, tat, yat.
If the preceding vowel is short, the hand is in supination, e.g., tat, yat.
If the preceding vowel is long, the hand is in pronation, e.g., āt.

10. *Hrasvavisargamudra*: mudra for short syllables ending in visarga. PLATE 10D
Tips of index and thumb are kept in apposition, forming a ring that is opened at the sounding of the visarga.

EXAMPLES: saḥ, agniḥ, divaḥ, viprebhiḥ.
This is *mudrā* in Kathakali.

11. *Ākāramudra*: mudra for all syllables ending in *-ā*. The ring finger is flexed at the metacarpophalangeal joint. All other joints are extended. Hand is in pronation. PLATE 10E

EXAMPLES: ā, vṛṣā, manasā.
This is *patāka* in Kathakali.

12. *Prathamāntamudra*: mudra for syllables ending in "first" (*prathama*) consonants, viz., *-k* and *-ṭ*, or ending in *-t* immediately preceded by *r*. PLATE 10F
Same as *ākāramudra* (no. 11), but with the tip of the thumb touching the root of the ring finger.

EXAMPLES: samrāṭ, viṭ, arvāk, baṭ, avart (RV 7.59.4).

13. *Tālavyadīrghamudra*: mudra for long, palatal (*tālavya*) vowels, viz., *ī* and *ē*, unless they follow retroflex consonants (viz., *ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ṣa, ḷa*). PLATE 11A

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Ring, middle, and index fingers are flexed at metacarpophalangeal and first interphalangeal joints; thumb rests on the outer surface of the middle phalanx of the index finger. The little finger is extended in all joints.
EXAMPLES: havāmahē, dadhatī, urvī, ārē.
This is *bāṇa* in Kathakali.

14. *Aikāramudra*: mudra for *ai*.
Same as *tālavyadīrghamudra* (no. 13), but with rotating movement of the tip of the little finger.
EXAMPLES: etavai, yajadhyai.

PLATE 11B 15. *Oṣṭhyadīrghamudra*: mudra for long, labial (*oṣṭhya*) vowels, viz., *ū*, *ō*, and *au*.
Same as *ukāramudra* (no. 8), but the little finger is also in apposition with the others.
EXAMPLES: vasū, vasō, indo, ubhau.
This is *mukuḷa* in Kathakali.

PLATE 11C 16. *Nakāramudra*: mudra for *n*.
Index finger flexed at metacarpophalangeal joint with distal phalanx of the thumb resting on the outer surface of the first phalanx of the index. All other fingers extended.
EXAMPLES: mahān, kavīn, arhan, devān.

PLATE 11D 17. *Ṅakāramudra*: mudra for *ṅ* and *ṇ*.
Middle finger flexed at metacarpophalangeal joint, the tip of the thumb touching its first interphalangeal joint at its inner surface.
EXAMPLES: pratyaṅ, akṣaṇ (vantaḥ, RV 10.79.7).

PLATE 11E 18. *Anusvāramudra*: mudra for short *anusvāra*.
Ring, middle and index fingers flexed at metacarpophalangeal and first interphalangeal joints, extended at last interphalangeal joints. Thumb rests on the outer surface of the middle phalanges of the middle and index fingers. Little finger is extended at the metacarpophalangeal, and flexed at all other joints. Hand is in semipronation.
EXAMPLES: tam, devam, agnim, purohitam, vibhum (RV 6.15.8).
This is *muṣṭi* in Kathakali.

19. *Dīrghānusvāramudra*: mudra for long anusvāra.
Anusvāramudra in prone position.
EXAMPLES: nāsatyābhyām, gacchatām, urvīm.

20. *Akārasūcakamudra*: mudra for initial *a* in doubtful situations. Same as *dīrghavisargamudra* (no. 4) for *ai* and *au*, with the index finger moving up and down (viz., *aikāravisargamudra*).

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EXAMPLES: gopamāguḥ (RV 10.61.10) with padapāṭha: gopam / ā / aguḥ /, not gopam / ā / guḥ /
vidharmaṇāyantraiḥ (RV 10.46.6) with padapāṭha: vidharmaṇā / ayantraiḥ /, not vidharmaṇā / yantraiḥ /
utāgaḥ (RV 10.137.1) with padapāṭha: uta / āgaḥ /, not uta / agaḥ / or uta / gaḥ /
This mudra is also used in order to distinguish some other cases where the sandhi is similarly doubtful:
naijan (RV 1.63.1), padapāṭha: na / aijan /, not na / ejan /
apauhat (RV 10.61.5), padapāṭha: apa / auhat /, not / ohat /
uṣasām ivetayaḥ (RV 10.91.4), padapāṭha: uṣasām iva / etayaḥ /, but not uṣasām iva / itayaḥ /, or / ītayaḥ /
yathohiṣe (RV 8.5.3), padapāṭha: yathā / ohiṣe /. The expected form in the saṃhitā is yathauhiṣe, since yathohiṣe would correspond to: yathā / uhiṣe /, or / ūhiṣe /

21. Mudra for *repha*, *vikāra*, *prakṛti*, and *utpatti*.
Same as *svarapūrvakatakāramudra* (no. 9), but with a "pin-rolling" movement between the tips of the thumb and index finger.

EXAMPLES: *repha*: punaḥ, padapāṭha: punar iti /
antaḥ, padapāṭha: antar iti /
vikāra: dūḍhyaḥ (RV 10.44.7), padapāṭha: duḥ 'dhyaḥ //
vṛṣapāṇāsaḥ (RV 1.139.6), padapāṭha: vṛṣa 'pānāsaḥ /
siṣāsati (RV 1.133.7, etc.), padapāṭha: sisāsati /
prakṛti: initial *gh*, *d*, *dh*, *n*, *r*, *ś* or *s* may be due to sandhi or may be original:
srug ghṛtavatī (RV 6.11.5), padapāṭha: sruk / ghṛtavatī /, not / hṛtavatī /
udyām, padapāṭha: ut / dyām /, not / yām /
tasminnṛmṇam (RV 1.80.15), padapāṭha: nṛmṇam, not ṛmṇam
aruṣī rathe (RV 1.14.12), padapāṭha: rathe, not athe
madhvaḥ ścotanti (RV 4.50.3), padapāṭha: ścotanti, not cotanti
mahaddhanam, padapāṭha: mahat / dhanam, not : hanam
utpatti: when a sound is added in the padapāṭha:
cit kambhanena (RV 10.111.5), padapāṭha: cit / skambhanena /

22. *Vikāraniṣedhamudra*: mudra used when an expected modification following a modification from retroflex to dental as marked by *vikāramudra* (no. 21) does not take place.[1]

[1] Note that on the traditional view there is a modification (*vikāra*) from retroflex to dental, not the reverse.

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PLATE 9

Ṛgveda Mudras

A. hrasvamudra
B. mūrdhanyamudra
C. ghoṣamudra
D. dīrghavisargamudra
E. udāttamudra
F. tithimudra

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A

B

C

D

E

F

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PLATE 10

Ṛgveda Mudras

A. simudra
B. ukāramudra
C. svarapūrvakatakāramudra
D. hrasvavisargamudra
E. ākāramudra
F. prathamāntamudra

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A

B

C

D

E

F

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PLATE 11

Ṛgveda Mudras

A. tālavyadīrghamudra
B. oṣṭhyadīrghamudra
C. nakāramudra
D. ṅakāramudra
E. anusvāramudra
F. ūṃ-itimudra

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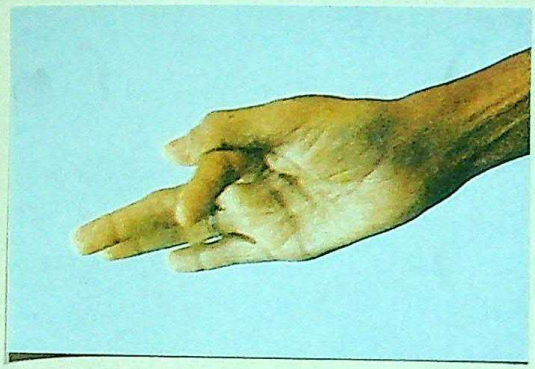
A

B



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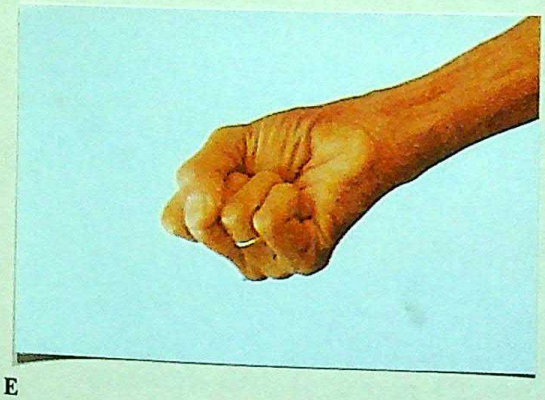

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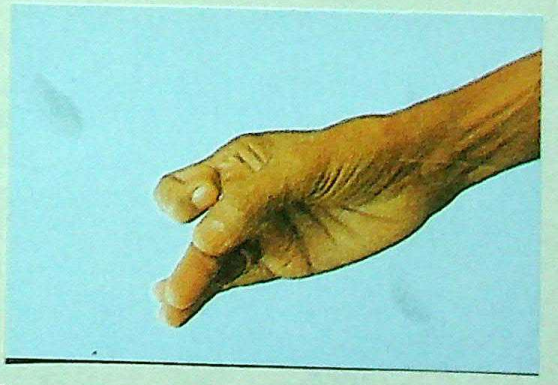

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Same as *mūrdhanyamudra* (no. 2), but index finger moves slightly up and down.

EXAMPLES: praṇeṣat (RV 2.20.3), padapāṭha: neṣat, not nesat.
Similarly, pariṣicyamānaḥ (RV 9.68.10).

This mudra is also used for pragṛhya words when the final vowel is not subject to sandhi, e.g., indrāgnī, asme.

23. *Hrasvīkaraṇamudra*: mudra for shortening (*hrasvīkaraṇam*) in the padapāṭha. Same as *tālavyadīrghamudra* (no. 13), but the hand makes a tilting movement in semipronated position.

EXAMPLES: vāvṛdhāte (RV 7.7.5, etc.), padapāṭha: vavṛdhāte.

This mudra is also used when a consonant is silent in the padapāṭha, e.g., puruścandra, padapāṭha: purucandra.

PLATE 11F 24. *Ūṃ-itimudra:* mudra for *ūṁ iti* in the padapāṭha.
The index finger is flexed at the first interphalangeal joint, its tip resting on the phalanx of the middle finger. The middle and ring fingers are slightly bent, the thumb and little finger extended.

25. *Avagrahamudra*: mudra for separation (*avagraha*) in the padapāṭha of a compound word in the saṃhitā.
Same as *tālavyadīrghamudra* (no. 13), but the hand is kept in different positions:

a. If the first member of the compound ends in a short vowel accented udātta, anudātta, or pracaya, the hand is semipronated, e.g., pra-śastaye, sūra-patni (RV 10.86.8), aghora-cakṣuḥ (RV 10.85.44).
b. If the first member of the compound ends in a short vowel accented svarita, the hand is pronated, e.g., gārhá-patyāya (RV 10.85.27, 36).
c. If the first member of the compound ends in visarga, *dīrghavisargamudra* (no. 4) is used, e.g., puro-hitam, āśīrvantaḥ (RV 1.23.1).
d. If the first member of the compound ends in a long syllable and the second member is *iva*, the mudra for the final of the first member is used.

EXAMPLES: apasā-iva (RV 6.67.3; 10.106.1), *akāramudra* (no. 11) is used;
bhagam-iva (RV 1.141.6), *anusvāramudra* (no. 18) is used;
rasmīn-iva (RV I.141.11;8.35.21), *nakāramudra* (no. 16) is used.

In a few cases the mudra for the final of the first member is used, even though it is not long and the second member is not *iva*:
pati-lokam (RV 10.85.43), *tithimudra* (no. 6) is used;
kuvit-sasya (RV 6.45.24), *svarapūrvakatakāramudra* (no. 9) is used.

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MUDRAS OF THE NAMBUDIRI SĀMAVEDA

The Sāmavedic mudras of the Nambudiris have been described and illustrated at some length by Wayne Howard in his book *Sāmavedic Chant* (1977, pp. 220–248). There would be no reason to return to them here, except that the Sāmaveda should not be omitted from this survey, and including it affords an opportunity to publish a new set of photographs, thus providing a fragment of information that complements the information presented by Howard.

Some Sāmavedic mudras are identical with Ṛgvedic mudras. This applies to several of the mudras for vowels (see Howard, Figures 39–48). In the Sāmaveda, however, they are used sparingly. The proper domain for the Sāmavedic mudras is svara, the musical phrases or motives of the chant (Howard, p. 38). But there is one inherent difficulty. Since the flow of melody in these chants is more continuous than the flow of speech in recitation, the Sāmavedic mudras are more dynamic than those of the Ṛgveda. They should be seen in movement, while the chanting is heard. Words alone and pictures alone are both misleading: a proper study can only be undertaken with the help of cinematography. A first beginning was made by Robert Gardner, who filmed Itti Ravi Nambudiri chanting the initial portion of the first chant of the Jaiminīya Grāmageyagāna with the accompaniment of mudras.

The twelve photographs published here were selected from a collection of twenty-five taken by the Krishnan Nair Studio, Shoranur. The full set is permanently exhibited in the museum of Kalamandalam, the Kathakali school at Cheruthuruthy (now Vallathol Nagar). These photographs also illustrate the gestures that accompany the chanting by Itti Ravi Nambudiri of the beginning of Jaiminīya Grāmageyagāna 1.1 (*gautamasya parkaḥ*).

The chant begins with a sequence of fifteen svaras, sung to the single syllable "o". The first three are not accompanied by mudras, but merely by a counting movement of the fingers. The remaining twelve svaras consist of a sequence of elementary positions of the right hand. I shall describe these positions first, following Howard (pp. 220–221).

The hand is held at three vertical levels: high (upari), middle (madhyam), or low (adhaḥ). It may be moved to three horizontal positions: right (dakṣiṇa), middle, or left (vāma). In each of these positions the hand may be held in one of four ways:

1. *Malartti*, "supine" (see above page 360): in the upari position, the palm of the hand faces the chanter.
2. *Kamiltti*, "prone" (see above page 360): in the upari position, the back of the hand faces the chanter.
3. *Uparisṭha*, or *cericcù*, "sideways": the edge of the little finger faces the onlooker.

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4. *Maṭakki*, "closed": the hand is held in a fist, which may be done in any of the three preceding positions.

Omitting the first three, Howard describes the sequence of twelve svaras accompanying the chant of the initial "o" of JGG 1.1: (1) maḷakki, malartti, upari; (2) maḷakki, malartti, madhyam; (3) malartti, adhaḥ; (4) malartti, upari; (5) malartti, madhyam; (6) malartti, adhaḥ; (7) malartti, madhyam; (8) kamiḷtti, upari; (9) kamiḷtti, adhaḥ; (10) cericcù, kamiḷtti, dakṣiṇa, upari; (11) cericcù, kamiḷtti, madhyam; (12) kamiḷtti, adhaḥ.

PLATES 12–13

The sequence of these mudras constitutes a continuous movement, pictured on Plates 12 A-F, 13 A-F. In 12 A-C the hand, in supine position, moves down but remains closed; in 12 D-F, still in the same position, it moves down again but opens up in the process. This corresponds to Howard's nos. 1–6 in the above table, but according to his description the open position (malartti) begins earlier. Plate 13 A pictures the hand going up again, still open; this corresponds to Howard's no. 7. Now begins a new, quicker downward movement that is pictured in Plates 13 B-C, where the hand is in prone position; this corresponds to Howard's nos. 8 and 9. Next, the hand moves down again, beginning in the sideways position (cericcù) to the right (dakṣiṇa), but gradually turning and ending in the prone position (kamiḷtti); this is pictured on Plates 13 D-F and corresponds to Howard's nos. 10–12. Thus ends the sequence of mudras accompanying the syllable "o."

The next syllable, "gnā," consists of the same twelve mudras and is accompanied by the same sequence of mudras. Plate 13 F actually pictures the transition from the last movement of "o," prone and down, to the first movement of "gnā," supine and closed. If the chant had ended with the last svara of the "o," the hand would have remained in the pure kamiḷtti position, with the fingers extended.

The Jaiminīya Sāmaveda consists of more than two syllables, and the reader is referred to Howard, who has provided the sequence of svaras for the first three chants of the Grāmageyagāna. However, the correlation between svaras and mudras remains unexplained, and much more work is needed before we are in a position to arrive at an adequate understanding of the function of the mudras of the Nambudiri Sāmaveda.

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PLATE 12

Sāmaveda Mudras for the Initial "o" of JGG 1.1

A. maṭakki, malartti, upari
B. maṭakki, malartti, madhyam
C. malartti, adhaḥ
D. malartti, upari
E. malartti, madhyam
F. malartti, adhaḥ

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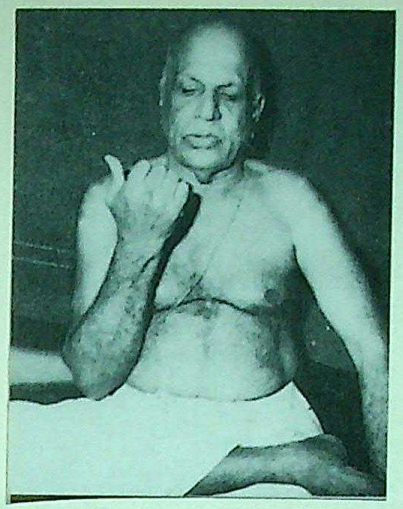

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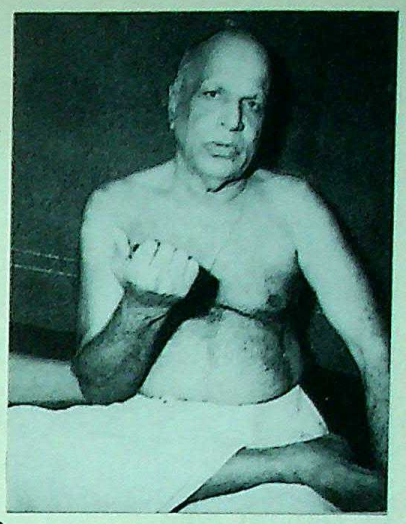

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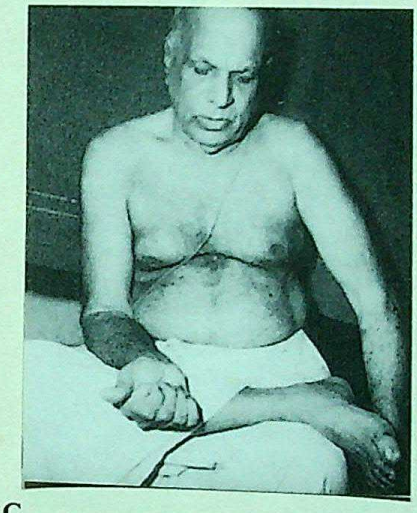

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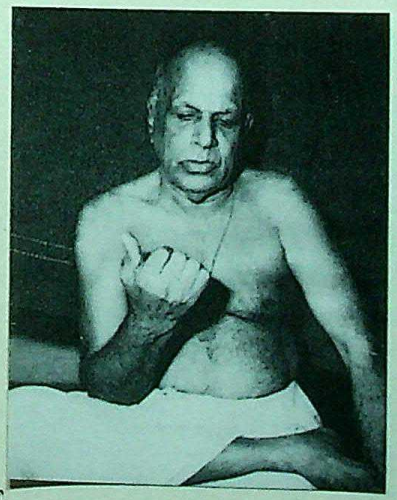

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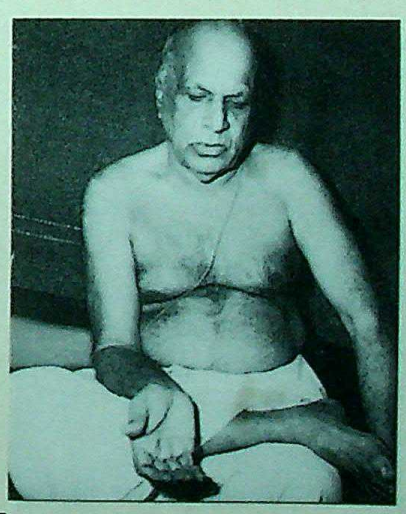

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PLATE 13

Sāmaveda Mudras for the Initial "o" of JGG 1.1

A. malartti, madhyam
B. kamiḷtti, upari
C. kamiḷtti, adhaḥ
D. caricciu, kamiḷtti, dakṣiṇa, upari
E. caricciu, kamiḷtti, madhyam
F. kamiḷtti, adhaḥ

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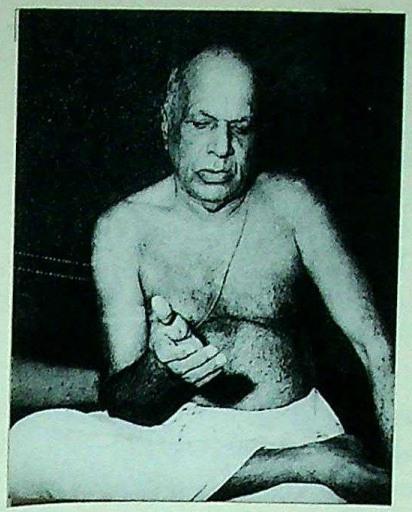

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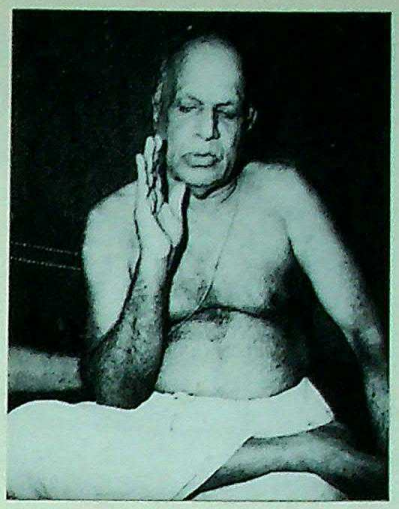

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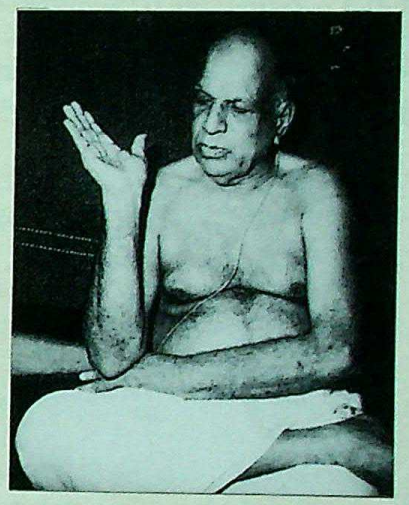

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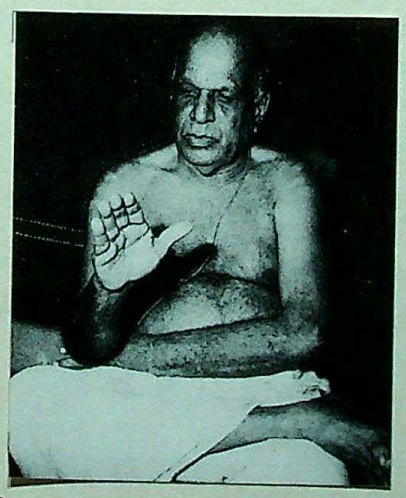

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NOTES ON COMPARISON OF VEDIC MUDRAS WITH MUDRAS USED IN KŪṬIYĀṬṬAM AND KATHAKAḶI

Clifford R. Jones

Editor's Note: In the following the author compares the Nambudiri Vedic mudras with mudras used in Kūṭiyāṭṭam and Kathakaḷi, which differ in several respects from the brief references to such mudras provided by Parameśvara Bhāratikal. Most of these mudras are illustrated in Jones, C.R. and B.T., *Kathakaḷi* (American Society for Eastern Arts, San Francisco; and Theatre Arts Books, New York, 1970). They derive from the late medieval *Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā*, edited and translated by Tiruvaṅṅāṭṭu Nārāyaṇa Nambīśan (Kozhikode, 1958).

1. *Hrasvamudra* seems to be the same as *haṃsapakṣa* if the thumb is extended away from the fingers in the plane of the palm.
3. Although the preceding text does not mention this, *ghoṣamudra* is similar to *ardhacandra*, except that in *ardhacandra* the little, ring, and middle fingers are also bent somewhat at the first and second interphalangeal joints. In at least some *sampradāyas* the little finger is bent or curled inward toward the palm until it almost touches the base of the palm; the ring finger is bent slightly less, and the middle finger still less, so that the three fingers are in a sequentially ordered position.
4. *Dīrghavisargamudra* is similar to *sūcīmukha* (also called *sūcikāmukha*), as noted in the text.
5. *Udāttamudra* is used in both Kūṭiyāṭṭam and Kathakaḷi, but with all the finger joints flexed as in making a fist. It does not, however, appear in the *Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā*, and has no universally accepted name within the Kūṭiyāṭṭam or Kathakaḷi tradition.
6. *Tithimudra* or *timudra* would be the same as *mṛgaśīrṣa* if the tip of the thumb rested on the first interphalangeal joints of the ring and middle fingers rather than on the tips of the fingers.
7. *Simudra* is not quite the same as *bhramara*; in *bhramara* the index finger is bent only at the first interphalangeal joint. The thumb and all other fingers are extended.

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8. *Ukāramudra* would be the same as *kartarīmukha* if the thumb rested on the outer edge of the first interphalangeal joint of the index finger rather than upon its tip.
10. *Hrasvavisargamudra* is the same as *mudrākhya* except that the opening of the ring formed by the thumb and index finger is not an integral part of the *mudrākhya* mudra. This opening is used however in certain contexts.
11. *Ākāramudra* would be the same as *patāka* (as stated in the text) if the ring finger were flexed at the first interphalangeal joint rather than the metacarpophalangeal joint.
13. *Tālavyadīrghamudra* is not one of the mudras of the Kūṭiyāṭṭam and Kathakaḷi traditions. No *bāṇa* is mentioned in the *Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā*.
15. *Oṣṭhyadīrghamudra* would be the same as *mukuḷa* if the tip of the thumb met the tips of all the fingers.
18. *Anusvāramudra* is not quite the same as *muṣṭi*. In *muṣṭi* the little, ring, middle, and index fingers are bent at all joints and curled in toward the palm as in a fist.

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AGNI-OFFERINGS IN JAVA AND BALI

C. Hooykaas

MY COLLEAGUE FRITS STAAL invited me to contribute to his magnum opus on the Vedic Fire Altar, expecting that a comparison between present-day Indian and Indonesian ritual celebrations might be of interest to the readers of his book. He had seen my contribution to the *Festschrift Stein* on "Homa in India and Bali." As a matter of fact, six of the eight manuscripts dealing with Homa that are at my disposal bear the title *Agnijanana*. In Balinese literature we also find Agnibhaya, Agnidharaṇa, Agnihotra, Agnijaya, Agnimukha, Agnirahasya, Agnirohana, Agnistoma, Agniviṣa, and Agnivrata.

Homa is a ritual of importance to the entire country of Indonesia. It was last celebrated by the Hindu Balinese in their former Muslim colony, Lombok, in 1931. In 1963 they celebrated on a comparable scale the Eka-daśa-Rudra in the temple complex of Bešakih, the all-Bali sanctuary on the slope of their highest mountain, Gunung Agung, above which is the abode of the Balinese gods.

In 1966 short notices on Homa ritual and colossal Homa offerings came to light for the first time. At the time it proved impossible to find the elaborate manual(s) for the officiating priest(s), notwithstanding repeated endeavors. Only short general notes, a few pages in length, could be found, four of them quite similar. One came from Mataram, the site of the 1931 ritual, another from quite near that site, and two from Bali. Translations from these manuscripts, collectively designated as the M texts, are included here.

Another four manuscripts were found over the years following 1966 during the transliteration of Balinese manuscripts that was co-financed by the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, the Cornell University Library, the Leiden University Library, the Library of the British Museum, and the Melbourne University Library (see *Archipel* 6 [1973]; and *Spectrum* [Jakarta, 1978]; the collection now totals some 2,500 items). These four manuscripts came from Bali: B (Blayu), G (Gulingan), S (Sanur) and J (Sibang Ka*ja*).

Though these Homa materials are incomplete and defective, a need to write about them was strongly felt in March-April 1978, when the Balinese performed the Pañca-Bali-Krama rituals and offerings, thereby beginning the preparations for the Eka-daśa-Rudra to be celebrated a year later. Regarding the Eka-daśa-Rudra of 1963, the second half of my *Balinese Bauddha Brahmans* described the ritual of the leading Buddhist brahmin

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priest, and since the Netherlands' Board for Scientific Research on the Tropics (WOTRO) sent a fully competent and well-equipped researcher to the Pañca-Bali-Krama and planned the same for the Eka-daśa-Rudra, better data and materials for comparison will be brought to light. And this was the moment to publish the still unsatisfactory materials on Homa, in the hope that a more complete ritual will turn up somewhere, which may make it possible to sketch more and better comparisons of these most important and massive of Hindu Balinese offerings.

Admittedly, the Balinese rituals have not yet exhibited many areas, lines, or even points of comparison with Buddhism as hitherto made accessible in publications. My book *Sūrya-sevana* has proved to be less convincing than was hoped in the comparison contained in its Chapter IV, although *Stuti and Stava,* on which I collaborated with T. Goudriaan, contains dozens and scores of possible points of comparison in its 350-odd litanies. However, it seems to be less known due to the lack of competent reviewers, so it still offers possibilities for the future.

This theme of comparison and comparability between India and Hindu Bali should form the first part of this introduction, so it is good to know that Āgama Tīrtha was the name of the religion of Bali (chosen as the title of my *Five Studies in Hindu-Balinese Religion*), despite its having since been changed to Āgama Hindu Bali (Balinese Hinduism) by the Bureau for Religious Affairs and the Parisada.

More about the Balinese manuscript sources on Homa is to be found in *Festschrift Stein*; here it need only be mentioned that according to what is perhaps the most famous of Indonesian manuscripts, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (1365, likewise found in West Lombok), the palace compound in the royal capital of Majapait contained a special court for the daily Homa offering. The *Tantri Kāmandaka* (several centuries old) likewise mentions such a court (Pahoman), in which the king's vazir finds consolation for his cares.

According to the Old Javanese prose extracts from the Ādiparvan and Virāṭaparvan, King Drupada celebrated Homa in order to father a son. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has King Daśaratha celebrate a great, regal Homa and consequently have four sons from his three queens. The centuries-old historical *Usana Bali* mentions the celebration of a state Homa aimed at averting calamities and impurities, whereas the writings on the necessary offerings (very circumstantial and difficult to obtain) give strong assurances about resistance to poison, victory over enemies, good health, welfare, and low prices in the market.

The father of the Fire Child is Śiva *vyomavyāpī*, "Piercer of the Sky," and the mother is Prabhāvatī (= Pṛthivī), according to the Balinese Śiva priests (see SuSe), so here once more we are concerned with the holy marriage of the supreme god of the sky with the earth.

The *kuṇḍa* is the place—"fire pit, hole in the ground," but also "jar" or "pitcher," at least according to MW—but nobody has been found who is

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able to tell us anything concerning the kuṇḍa and its place in the 1931 ritual. The word *paridhi* for the square fire pit's sides is found in the manuscript, but not *mekhalā*, though this testifies only against the texts at our disposal, for the word is well known to KBNW. *Sthaṇḍila*, "leveled piece of ground prepared for a sacrifice," is referred to more than once, not to mention *vardhanī* and *palaśa*. *Samidh* is found in the texts, though written as *samit*, but neither *darbha* nor *kuśa* occur, although the purifying force of jungle grass is held in high esteem in Balinese ritual. After much preparation the Śiva priest during his daily worship of the sun encircles his own head with grass (*śiroviṣṭa*; see SuSe, Plates 10–15), for the vessel that contains the holy water (see SuSe: *G*a, p. 54). During the Homa ritual, after the enumeration of eight different kinds of straight wooden sticks for the eight directions, the point of culmination is *dukut lĕpas* for the center, that is, "grass of liberation." *Srug* and *sruva*, not used since 1931, are to be found only in the dictionary and the texts. *Pañcagavya* is frequently mentioned, and the five ingredients are even well defined in one place, but since the cow is not holy in Bali, cow's milk not drunk, and butter not made, here some doubt might not be misplaced. Nevertheless, the word *pūrṇāhuti* is missing in no manuscript.

The chief officiating priest (padanda) at the celebration of Homa seems to be a Buddhist, just as was the case with Eka-daśa-Rudra in 1963. According to Goris in *Bali*, Besakih was of old a Buddhist sanctuary, and though nowadays the numerical relation of Buddhist to Śaiva priests is 1:25 (BBB, App. II), the Buddhist sanctuaries of Borobudur and Candi Sèwu from the eighth and later centuries in Java are proof of an impressive Buddhist past.

This should suffice as an introduction to the presentation of the M texts and other fragments; it is borrowed from the *Festschrift Stein*, just as is the rest of my contribution to the present volume. The sentences of the translation have been numbered. Those marked with an asterisk are commented upon in the notes which follow. Relevant lists of abbreviations and of European-language authors have been appended; the *Festschrift Stein* gives complete lists and adds the Balinese sources used.

TRANSLATION OF THE M-TEXTS ON THE MAKING OF FIRE

Here follows what has to be done for fire-making when performing Homa.

1. First make oil. Let fall [into the fire pit] three tips of grass, signifying the Trinity.
2. *Use the ladle three times, reciting the Astra mantra [given at length in SuSe].
3. Prepare/cleanse the fire pit while reciting the Astra mantra.
4. *Extend the ladle; flourish the lis over the fire-pit; Astra mantra.

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5. Provide the fire pit with a layer of grass.
6. The goddess is able to conceive, said to be unclean.
7. Then she is cleansed by using holy water from its vessel.
8.*When she fancies [a treat], drop some unguents into the fire pit.
9.*And drop the wrĕti for the goddess into the fire pit; Astra mantra.
10.*She is expectant.
11.*Drop the tip of one blade of grass into the oil.
12.*Make the design of the syllable OM on her belly.
13. Her pregnancy has a serious meaning; this is called Homa.
14. Once more dip the tip of a blade of grass into the oil.
15. Sprinkle the goddess a dozen times with drops of holy water.
16. The goddess' son is now born.
17. Swathe the child, using the Astra mantra.
18. Keep it in this state during a day and a night.
19. Worship the Śiva fire, using the Brahma-limb formula:

Om Im homage to Īśāna	—thumb;
Om Tam homage to Tatpuruṣa	—ringfinger;
Om Am homage to Aghora	—middle finger;
Om Bam homage to Bāmadeva	—forefinger;
Om Sam homage to Sadyojāta	—little finger.

20. Now follows the mantra, called the Śiva-limb formula:

Om (6x)	*homage to* (6x)	[while touching/pointing to (6x)]
Am	*the Heart*	the heart;
Ram	*Trunk and Head*	the head;
—	*Earth-Sky-Heaven*	the bump under the neck;
—	*the Tongue of the Fire*	the upper end of the back;
Hrum	*the Coat*	the knot of cloth;
Bhām	*the Eye* (2x)	the eyes;
Huṃ Raḥ Phaṭ	*the Brand/Missile*	the ears.

21.*Mutter, according to power/ability: *Om homage to A, to Sa, Ka, Va.*
22.*One should perform the fire offering. Drop all kinds of seeds and oil.
23. Go on with fire sticks, consisting of different kinds: drop waduri into the center of the fire pit, mabulu SE, tahang S, kĕm SW, añcak W, palasa NW, grass N, grass of liberation NE, bila E. The priest handles 108 pieces, divided into 9 groups; each bundle/direction counts 12 sticks.
24. Drop a complete offering, the five products of the cow, with the Astra mantra.

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25.*Thereupon one should coerce one's breath, using the Three-Syllable formula.

26.*Produce breath from the tip of the tongue, forcing it to the fire, using *OM*.

27.*Take a flower into one hand, the bell into the other, and say loudly: *I praise Agni who is placed in front of us* (StuSta, *O*34).

28.*Now follow [the captions of] the Four Vedas: Reg, Yajur, Sāma, and Atharva.

29.*The formula asking forgiveness for involuntary shortcomings and mistakes destroys the tri-wrĕti—i.e., the three channels, the so-called three evils—using a petal and the formula *Om homage to* (5x) *Aghora*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Sādya*, *Bāmadeva*, *Īśāna*.

30. Now follow the lines, with petal [to be muttered in the directions]:

for impregnation	East,	*Om homage to Sadyojāta*;
producing a male child	South,	*Om homage to Bāmadeva*;
arranging the parting of the hair (of a pregnant woman)	West,	*Om homage to Aghora*;
giving birth	North,	*Om homage to Tatpuruṣa*;
giving of a name	Center,	*Om homage to Īśāna*.

31. For the next set of formulas not only are petals used, but a blade of grass is pointed into oil as well.

32.*Positioning of the Nine Gods; use petals with the mantra *Om homage to* [9x] *Śambhu* [NE], *Śaṅkara* [NW], *Rudra* [SW], *Prajāpati* [SE], *Brahmā* [S], *Viṣṇu* [N], *Īśvara* [E], *Mahādeva* [W], *Umāpati* [C].

33.*Next the Five Gods, using petals: *Om homage to* (5x) *Brahmā* [S], *Viṣṇu* [N], *Īśāna*, *Sadāśiva*, *The One Who has one standard* (*Kṛṣṇa*).

34. To the goddess The Resplendent One, using a petal: *Om homage to Sāvitrī*.

35.*Use perfume, unblemished rice grains, flowers, frankincense, lamp:

	Om (5x)	
perfume	*homage to the Ambrosias of the Lady of Perfume*,	private parts;
rice grains	*homage to Him Whose seed became Kumāra*,	the heart;
flowers	*homage to Him Whose teeth are like flowers*,	the feet;

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frankincense	*Fire Fire Glow Glow homage and honor, respectfully I offer frankincense,*	right hand;
lamp	*Sun Glow Glow homage and honor, respectfully I offer the lamp.*	left hand;

36.*Take the wrĕti, [of a] length [of] twelve fingerbreadths, sprinkle it with oil, stick it into a banana lying in a casket called elephant's footprint, containing steamed rice of the four colors, augmented by the protein of [two] duck's eggs, while muttering *Om homage to the Heart*; three times circumambulate the fire pit. Next make three times a circular gesture inside the fire pit (seven times is allowed as well), while muttering *Om Srom homage to the Coat*. Drop the petal into the fire pit: *Om Am homage to the Heart*, as before.

37. Let the fire flame up; do not permit it to die down, for that would shorten your duration of life. Take good care of the following mantra, pronounced while using a petal: *Om kṣmum honor and homage to the Śiva of the Sky*. Now imagine the marriage of Sky-Śiva with Goddess Resplendent.

38.*Drop three blades of grass, representing curtains: from the pit's (3x) west side, the blade stretches towards the east; sea side, the blade stretches towards the east; east side, the blade stretches towards the opposite of sea side, using the Coat and Heart mantra as before and [throwing] petals.

39.*Pay homage to the tray, called "gifts to be offered," containing a kalpika, by using the Brahmā-limbs and the Śiva-limbs formulas (19–20).

40.*Sprinkle holy water from the container, cleanse the fingers of the one hand after the other, and conclude with the actions, gestures, and mantra of censer-lamp-bell (omnia).

41. Drop sandal rubbings and rice grains, 'with petal and the mantra *Om homage to Īśāna*.

42. Drop the five products of the cow (cf. line 24), using petal and the Astra mantra.

43. Imagine that the priest melts the oil and mutters the Heart mantra, with a petal; while getting force of its temperature, with a petal, he mutters *Homage to the Eye wo ya phat*.

44.*Remove the impurities of the oil, using a petal and the Astra mantra. Throw the flower in the direction of anger, just as when pronouncing the formula *Om Com Candī*[*śāya*].

45. Again take two blades of grass, expose them to the fire. Drop them on the tray together with pure oil.

46.*Drop the contents of the tray into the pit; this is called . . . ; repeat this three times; mantra as before.

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47.*Consecrate the ladle, called lis, in the same way as with the tray, i.e., three times. Drop the contents of the lis, as well as those of the tray, into the pit, using the mantra *Om Srom homage sat.*

48. Replace the lis in its previous place on the priest's seat of officiating, using petal and mantra *Om homage to Am.*

49.*Drop some oil into the ladle, directed towards the east, turning towards the center, using the mantra *Om Srom homage to Tatpuruṣa.*

50. Wrap cotton around the lis, to be fastened with a thread, but not too tightly; put down the wrěti while using the Brahmā-limb mantra.

51. Drop this into water in the pot.

52. Put the ladle to the south of the fire-pit.

53. Using petals speak the following mantra to the fire pit: *Homage to* (5x) *Am, Um, Mam, Mahādeva, Kṣmum Sadāśiva.*

54.**Om homage to the Soul element, the Sun sphere, the Lord; Um homage to the Knowledge element, the Moon sphere, the Lord; Mam homage to the Śiva element, the Fire sphere, the Lord.*

55.*Disposition of the lotus; use petal and the mantra *Om homage to Endless Seat.* Now comes the turn to "knowledge of Dharma," using:

Om homage to Avita, in the four directions; *Om homage to the Prabhūta seat*, in the center of the lion seat; *Om homage to the Stainless One* (SE); *Om homage to the Kernel* (SW); *Om homage to the Original Seat* (NW); *Om homage to Supreme Bliss* (NE).

Take flowers, drop them on the Prabhūta seat, using *Om homage to the Lotus seat.*

56.*Worship the filament with petal and mantra *Om homage to the Filament.* Next to the pericarp of the lotus: *Om homage to the Pericarp.* On top of that, apply the following mantra to the pericarp: *Om Am Mam Yam Ram Lam.*

57.*When pronouncing one's mantra, one should be immobile and use no other words than those belonging to the ritual. When one does not pronounce them, one is allowed to write them down and drop them into the fire pit.

More mantras, using petals: *Om homage to* (9x) *the Sthaṇḍila, the Fire pit, Am, Um, Mam, Supreme Śiva, Continuous Śiva, Śiva, Yam Bam Hom Im Bum.*

The citadel of the divine victory over death: *Om Rum Rum*

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Kṣmum, Um Kṣmum Um. This should be kept secret in the matter of fire offering; do not divulge; great risk.

Another mantra, using a petal: *Nam Sam Sam Sam Ham.*

58. Next, Composition of Petals: *Am ām, im īm, um ūm, ṛm, ṝm, ḷm ḹm, em aim, om aum, am ah.*
Om am kam kham gam namah; gham ngam cam namah; cham jam jham namah;
Om nyam ṭam ṭham namah; ḍam ḍham ṇam namah; tam tham dam namah;
Om dham nam pam namah; pham bam mam namah.
59. Continuation with the Nine Goddesses on the filament of the lotus.
60. Brahmāṅga (cf. line 19).
61. Śivāṅga (cf. line 29).
62.*Astra mantra.
63. Jñāna- and Kriyā-śakti; sixty-four Kūṭa mantra bwat Sora (= Mūla mantra).
64. Having finished the worship, make a triangle and begin drawing.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

[2] "Ladle" is the translation of the Indonesian word *sèndok*. The Weapons or Brand mantra has been dealt with at length in SuSe.

[4] The lis, a bundle of carefully cut and plaited palm leaves each with its own shape and function and used to sprinkle holy water, is handled by the priest's wife or junior. It has been drawn in all its detail and provided with all its mantras in *Ritual Purification of a Balinese Temple.*

[4] Usually srug and sruva, the lesser and bigger ladle, are distinguished.

[8] In the early stage of her pregnancy the Goddess is expected to have a fancy for a treat consisting of unripe fruit, in the true Indonesian way.

[9] The function of this graceful ritual object becomes clear in line 36.

[10] This line should precede line 9 with its fancy of pregnancy.

[11] "Grass" = *ambĕngan*, omitted in De Clercq-Greshoff.

[12] Brahmāṅga (again in line 60) and Śivāṅga, somewhat different, more circumstantial and lucid in SuSe; the description there does not restrict itself to these mere essentials.

[21 22] Too succinct to be readily comprehensible. Cf. sārvauṣadha.

[25] This breath control has been dealt with at length in SuSe, I, 56–59. The Three-Syllable formula runs: Am-Um-Mam, i.e., Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Īśvara.

[26] The manual suggests that the breath control had [strong] breath as its aim.

[27] This first line of the Ṛgveda (and the following ones) are to be found in StuSta *0* 34. In the Ṛgveda, *purohita*, "placed-in-front," refers to the priest of that name.

[28] Sylvain Lévi shows that the Balinese have not handed down much more than the captions of the Veda. They are in the habit of applying the word in their litanies in honor of the gods, stuti and stava.

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[29] *Tri-wrĕti* means the three channels Īḍā-Piṅgalā-Suṣumnā, reaching from the sex region of the human body (mūlādhāra) to the shoulders and higher, generally accepted as salubrious, so that "the evils" are incomprehensible. Śiva's five aspects or faces appear frequently in SuSe.

[32] Prajāpati and Umāpati are unexpected, and the sequence of gods is unusual, to say the least, unless Umāpati might be considered to be the mother of the fire, and thus found as the center of expectation and worship.

[33] This pentad is also unusual.

[35] Here, again, the text is written for those *nourris dans le sérail.* The complete formulas are found in SuSe, p. 80, *0* 16–25, copied here.

[36] Four colors: white (E), red (S), yellow (W), and dark/black (N) serve to stress the cosmic importance. "Protein" is the word used for the Indonesian *iwak*, which is meat-fish-egg (zoological).

The banana, with the two duck's eggs, representing the male sexual organ in an exaggerated measure and by means of the graceful wrĕti kept in its place in the *yoni*, the female counterpart (cf. Śoma-Śambhu-paddhati, Plate VIII), forms a Balinese enrichment of this part of the ritual. One would have expected to find it mentioned in line 30 or line 31. The four colors direct themselves to the witnessing and protecting gods of the four directions.

[38] The text's words *kangin* and *kauh* mean respectively east (sunrise) and west (sunset) and thus are certain, but *kelod* (seaward) and *kaja* (landward) in North Bali mean respectively the north and the south, and in South Bali the opposite.

[39] The drawing of the kalpika has been borrowed from SuSe.

[40] The three last words refer to the ten lines of 35 (SuSe, p.80, *0* 16–25).

[44] The direction is SW, where frightful Rudra resides, the direction to which one should throw away impurities; cf. SuSe, p. 48, *C*b 4–5.

[46] Several words here are incomprehensible, to my Balinese informant as well as to me.

[47] The first five words give only nonsense; the same is the case with the word *sat*.

[49] SSP, I, p. 180, has Tatpuruṣa in the east.

[54] The tri-maṇḍala and tri-tattva are known from SuSe: *G*b, 1–10; and *H*, 1–14, pp. 54–57.

[55] SuSe: *N*c, 1–8, *N*d, 1–5, and *N*e, 1–11, pp. 68–71, deal with āsana; cf. also Hooykaas, *Āgama Tīrtha*. Line 55 remains less than comprehensible.

[56] M-y-r-l (and line 57) ś-ṣ-s-h are the eight last consonants of the Indian alphabet; their complete set, preceded by the vowels, is found in SuSe: *N*f, 1–33, pp. 70–73. Since they are the materials from which any mantra can be formed, they constitute the most mighty protection and weapon one can imagine.

[57] The meaning of some of the bīja mantras, formulas consisting of one syllable only, escapes me.

[62] It is not evident whether Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Īśvara or Śiva-Paramaśiva-Sadāśiva is meant here.

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THE PAHOMAN: THE COURT FOR THE HOMA OFFERING

Our texts provide detailed information on the court where the fire offerings take place. Unfortunately, some question marks are left, though there is a happy ending.

G, S2, says:

> After the preceding activities one should perform Homa in the [protecting] circles to begin with; concentration when one feels weak, and the method is tenfold: drop the sticks for the "nine planets" [MW gives sun, moon, five planets with Rahu and Kétu]. Method: drop one kalpika while pronouncing the Upahṛdaya mantra, followed by Omnia. Drop fire sticks . . . three at a time, while saying *Om Om Am homage to Aṅgāra, svāhā*; unite [the fuel sticks?] while pronouncing the Kūṭa mantra; pour a hundred drops of oil [into the fire] while muttering a hundred [bīja mantra]; while giving their direction to the drops of oil, use the Kūṭa mantra; ten times drop oil.

The six following mantras are completely similar, but are directed respectively to Bum Budha (Mercury), Crom Vrĕhaspati (Jupiter), Śrum Śukra (Venus), Kṣam Śanaiścara (Saturn), Krom Rāhu and Krom Kétu (the ascending and descending nodes; cf. Dowson).

The result is seven only, whereas Br, I, 84, deals with the aṣṭa-graha Soma-Aṅgāra(ka)-Budha-Śanaiścara-Guru (for Vṛhaspati)-Rāhu-Śukra-Kétu, a mere octad; and Dowson speaks of nine. But our text has daśāṅga or daśāṅsa, which connects with the ten and the hundred following immediately and repeated every time. We miss here the word *idĕp*, "imagine/understand," which in ritual texts is frequently of considerable help to the researcher.

The above (incomplete) heptad forms a good introduction to another one, that of the seven heavenly seers, Vasiṣṭha *cum suis*, of the M texts, line 73. It is useful to know that, according to Dowson again, he was a celebrated Vedic sage, to whom many hymns are ascribed, that his name means "most wealthy," and that in Dowson he occupies four out of four hundred pages. He is still respected in Bali. Not to be overlooked, on top of this, is half a page s. v. *riṣhi*. The SSP (60, 286) knows them, but gives some different names. Hooykaas (*Kāma and Kāla*, 122) tries to deal exhaustively with the Balinese sources on their different names.

The preceding line 72 of the M texts deals with guru-krama, one's duty towards the teachers, also mentioned in B, 91–93; CP, 4; G, 7; and J, 3. The M text here is the best elaborated and runs as follows:

> Next one should worship in the following parts of the western corner of the house temple, using petals: (on the soil) *Homage to the Śrī-Teachers*; (at even

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height) *Homage to the Śrī-Original-Teachers*; (on high) *Homage to the Śrī-Supreme-Original-Teachers.*

Once more one should worship, with fragrance, hands closed, without interruption:
Om Sa-Ba-Ta-A-I, homage to the Śrī-Teachers and the Śrī-Original-Teachers; *Om A-U-Ma, homage to the Śrī-Supreme-Original-Teachers* followed by:
The manifestation of the Teacher is eternal wisdom; one should always mutter the Teacher's name; a god more supreme than the Teacher does not exist in any time whatsoever (StuSta, 320).

Whereas the guru-krama preceded the sapta-ṛṣi, this śloka is followed immediately by the Vedic Agni-malé, quoted in the preceding paragraph, now provided with the additional remark that the use of Agni-madhyé formula (StuSta, *0* 31) is allowed as well. In translation:

The Sun exists within the Fire, the Moon within the Sun; the Luminous exists within the Moon, Śiva is present within the Luminous.

The recitation of this formula, which with the Balinese Agni-malé has only three syllables in common—and with a more correct Indian Agni-malé only five letters—should be completed with Omnia.

M, 75, following now, mentions a facultative *pa-dudus-an*, "lustration," for the officiating priest, leaving the choice between *dudus agung* "optional" and *dudus alit* "small, short," mentioning *lukat* and *biakala* as well, that is, annihilation of mishap and evil. However, since such rituals are rather complicated to describe, occur in other as yet undescribed rituals, and are not mentioned in B-G-J-Sa, the matter has not been discussed here.

Finally there are the direct surroundings of Pahoman, the court of the fire offering, the fire pit. On the Indian side we find a most enlightening *Mantra-nyāsa de la Dvāra-Pūjā*, "placing of the mantra in their directions" on Plate IV of Br., I. On the Balinese side, G, 19–26, gives by far the best information, completely corresponding with the caption of that Indian diagram. G, 19, prescribes a mantra, *Om Kṣmum homage to Sadāśiva*, to be pronounced in the sanctuary north of the door of entry, to be repeated according to ability, and to be followed by Omnia.

Next (G, 20) one should worship the sun with the formulas *Om Om homage to the Venerable Sun svāhā* and *Om Om homage to the Ambrosia of the Sun*, accompanied by the Sun mudrā, continued according to ability, and concluded by Omnia. Offerings are to be red. On the diagram we find the sun in the NW corner.

G, 21, goes on with *Om Kṣam homage to the Moon, Om Kṣam homage*

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to the Ambrosia of the Moon, the Amṛta mudrā, black offerings, and Omnia. On the diagram we find the moon in the SW corner.

Homage to Gaṇapati (G, 24), . . . , the paraśu mudrā, adequate (?) offerings, Omnia; the NE corner.

Homage to Sarasvatī (G, 24), . . . , to the N, where we find Gaṅgā, that other most famous river.

G, 25, continues with *Homage to her who is full of loveliness*, south, so that the river Yamunā of the diagram may be meant. Sarasvatī, found in the SE corner next to Mahālakṣmī, is found in Br., I, 298, note 3 (with reference to III, "Culte de Śiva"). It might be of more importance to stress here that these introductory details of Homa worship are modeled upon the worship of Śiva than to lose much time on the momentarily untraceable and unwelcome Jahili and Mahili, for whom petals should be thrown down in the "direction of anger" (SW). The diagram mentions a Diṇḍin and Muṇḍin about whom neither Br., I, p. 94 nor *Rauravāgama* make us any wiser.

We conclude with Nandīśvara (G, 22) and Mahākāla (G, 23), given on the diagram as Nandin and Mahākāla, respectively situated somewhat to the N and somewhat to the S, but both on the E side. They are entitled to a simple homage, an adequate offering, gadā mudra and daṇḍa mudra, concluded by Omnia. Furthermore, Nandīśvara and Mahākāla deserve special attention because they are located in the two temples of guardian gods for the largest and most imposing Śiva sanctuary of central Java, Caṇḍi Prambanan (BK, p. 99), dating from a thousand years ago and situated between the court capitals of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Equal importance is attributed to Nandīśvara and Mahākāla by the J text, which begins by mentioning them amongst the Dévogra, the terrifying gods. They have their place in the *Homādhyātmika* as well. The Mahālakṣmī of the diagram, to the extreme E on a line with Gaṇapati (NE) and Sarasvatī (SE), is known to B, 28.

PREPARATION OF THE FIRE PIT

The officiating padanda has first cleansed himself for Sūrya-sévana if he is a Śaiva, or for Pūrvaka Véda if he is a Boda/Bauddha. As a result of this daily worship he has prepared *arghya/toya/tīrtha*, as described in detail in SuSe and BBB. Passing on to Homa-pūjā and the Pahoman, he passes the Nandin/Nandīśvara as described above, and begins the śodhana (ritual cleansing) of the kuṇḍa, just as in a death ritual the padanda, in the very early morning before an incineration, begins with the bhūmi-śodhana of the place on the sétra or sĕma (śmaśāna), where in several hours' time an incineration will take place.

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For preparing the kuṇḍa he uses blades of grass to draw diagrams; the lis has to be able to reach every nook and corner with drops of holy water.

The steps to be taken for the approach of the holiest were sufficiently elaborate. In our manuscript the kuṇḍa is afforded considerably more attention than in the SSP, whose brief description, while indispensable, was just sufficient for its priest students. Br., IV, 5 gives the technical term *kalā-prakalpanā*, "settlement of the kalā," *sapienti sat*—followed by *tri-sūtri-āvéṣṭanā*, "enclosure by three threads," concluded by homage using the Hṛdaya mantra. Following the learned author, in this paragraph we begin with the kalā.

There are thirty-eight kalās, *aṣṭa-triṃśa*, a word used in G, 77, and J, 16, both without comment because they are presumed to be understood. Though the word *aṣṭa-triṃśat* is missing from the Index of SSP, the thirty-eight are mentioned on p. xxxiv (180) and p. 166, note 1, where for the complete list of the thirty-eight kalās of Sadāśiva we are sent to *Raurava-āgama*, p. 25, note 20. Here we learn that their nyāsa or prakalpanā consists of the slight touching of the officiant's own body while muttering the mantra containing these thirty-eight kalās. The basis on which these mantras are constructed consists of five Vedic mantras in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X. 43–47, each of which has been related to one of the five "faces" or aspects of Śiva: Sadyojāta (8), Vāmadéva (13), Aghora (8), Tatpuruṣa (4), and Īśāna (5). Between pages 28 and 29 we find a complete list of the thirty-eight kalās. Of the five found in our Balinese text, four are related to Tatpuruṣa, but not the fifth (it probably has some some other name); the critical remarks of Brunner and Bhatt convey the impression that it is not only Balinese ritual constructions that are often unclear. Rau., 28, prints '*kalā* (*śakti*)'; Cappeller gives "a small part, esp. a sixteenth of the moon's orb; a cert. small division of time; an art (there are 64)." MW confirms this, and adds the names of these sixty-four kalās; he does not mention our set of thirty-eight, although s.v. *kalā-nyāsa* he has "tattooing a person's body with particular mystical marks, Tantras." Br., I, is by far the most enlightening source on this term, which appears to occur repeatedly with more than one meaning. Br. (I, 234, note 1) mentions that *nivṛtti-kalā* (cessation) is applied to the W of the kuṇḍa, *pratiṣṭhā* (foundation) to the N, *vidyā* (knowledge) to the S, *śānti* (tranquillity) to the E, and *śānti-atīta* (beyond *śānti*) to the C; she concludes the note by adding that this pentad is related to the five aspects of Sadāśiva, the *Sa-Ba-Ta-A-I*.

This sketch of the Indian origin had to precede the picture of the Balinese situation, for which mainly the B-J-G manuscripts offer detailed materials, on the one hand showing perfect parallelism with the Indian tradition, but on the other some important deviations.

The five pentads occurring in the Balinese manuscripts themselves are well known to Indianists, but they are partly unknown to researchers in

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"things Indonesian" and they are known to neither group in their combinations.

The Five Elements (pañca-mahā-bhūta), earth-water-heat/glow-wind-ether, (pṛthivī-āpaḥ-téja-bāyu-ākāśa), are clear sailing.

The pentad ātmā-antarātmā-par(am)ātmā-niṛātmā-atyātmā of B, 68–72, in SuSe *O*, p. 61, translated by "soul, internal-soul, supreme-soul, without-soul, and transcendent soul," there functions to provide the first five members of the Sapta OM-kāra-ātmā mantra, completed by Sadāśiva-niṣkala-ātmā and Paramaśiva-Śūnya-ātmā, which heptad here serves to transport the human soul.

The Five Gods—Brahma(S), Viṣṇu(N), Īśvara(E), Mahādéva(W), Sadāśiva(C)—of B, 68–72, are closely related to the Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, and Paramaśiva found in G, 93–97.

In Bali we are used to a system of *tri-maṇḍala*, "three spheres," each consisting of twelve kalā (SuSe: *G*b p. 54): the Agni (fire), Sūrya (sun), and Soma (moon) maṇḍalas. Indian speculation distinguishes another set, this time consisting of five maṇḍalas (Br., I, xn., xx, 118n., 120, 122, 124, 126, Plate V), which, when enumerated in the same order as in No. I above, have the shapes square, crescent, triangle, hexagon, and circle, and are yellow, white, red, black, and colorless. The original author of B, 73–77, may have meant this pentad, which we find in Plate V together with that dealt with in the following paragraph, but somebody somewhere at some time may have substituted the tri-maṇḍala for the pañca-maṇḍala and filled in the two last items, B, 76 and 77, by reusing 71 and 72. Finally (see Table) the starting pentad of B, 68–72; G, 93–97; and SSP, IV, 5 = Br., I, p. 234, is nivṛtti (cessation), pratiṣṭhā (support/foundation), vidyā (knowledge), śānti (tranquillity), and śānti-atīta (beyond tranquillity).

In the ensuing pentad (J, 73–77) we find Agni, Sūrya, and Soma maṇḍalas followed by the borrowed and displaced Mahādéva and Sadāśiva, as mentioned above.

G, 93–97, begins with the nivṛtti pentad, continues with two incomprehensible sets, goes on with the Five Elements, followed by the Five Gods (B-V-I-Sadāśiva-Paramaśiva), continues with another puzzling pentad, and ends with repetitions of the Five Elements and the Five Gods—that is to say, any or all five items of each pentad is preceded by *Om*, and the essential word is put in a sort of dative followed by *namaḥ*, "homage to."

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PURIFICATION OF THE MATERIAL BODY

B		force emanates from	finding its end in	place in		homage to
68 cessation	earth	the right nostril	the right nostril	the navel	ātmā	Brahmā
69 foundation	water	the left nostril	the left nostril		antarātmā	Viṣṇu
70 knowledge	heat	the partition between the nostrils	the partition of the heart		par(am)ātmā	Īśvara
71 tranquillity	wind	multitude(?)	multitude	the lungs	nirātmā	Mahādéva
72 beyond tranquillity	ether	the mouth going to the fire pit	the mouth	the heart	atyātmā	Sadāsíva

THE FIVEFOLD MAṆḌALA OF THE ELEMENTS

Element	Color (India)	Maṇḍala	Kalā	Originator		Color (Bali)	Śiva-aspect Adhiṣṭhāta	Pl.VI. mantra	SSP I, p. 180 Color (India)
earth	yellow	square	cessation	Brahmā	S	red	Sadyojāta	hṛdaya	white like Varuṇa
water	white	crescent	foundation	Viṣṇu	N	black	Vāmadéva	śiras	red like Kubéra
fire	red	triangle	knowledge	Rudra	W	yellow	Aghora	śikhā	black like Yama
air	black	hexagon	tranquillity	Īśvara	E	white	Tatpuruṣa	kavaca	yellow like Indra
ether	without	round	beyond *śānti*	Sadāśiva	C	multi-colored	Īśāna	nétra/astra	white/colorless
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

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It is interesting to turn the essentials of Br., I, Plates V and VI, 90 degrees, which she did in her Chapter III, "The Worship of Śiva" (see Table).

Columns 1–6 have been borrowed from Plate V, 7–8 from Balinese practice, and 9–10 from Plate VI. Rudra in Column 5 deviates 45 degrees from his ordinary SW direction from the Balinese point of view, and he might better be replaced by Mahādéva as above. Considerably more serious is the internal discrepancy among Indian colors and with the present Balinese general identifications found in column 7.

The interested reader should also avail himself of Brunner's "Un Tantra du Nord," where serious attention has been given to subjects that here can only be touched upon superficially and provisionally.

In my description of the importance of drawings in the *Festschrift Stein*, attention is called to the diagram of a triangle containing an eight-petaled lotus on the floor of the fire pit, and to the grasses drawn along the four sides. It goes without saying that prokṣaṇa, the throwing upwards of drops of (holy) water, must be performed (G, 31, 33, accompanied by the Kavaca mantra; J, 11 *idem*).

J, 5, sprinkles the kuṇḍa, using the Astra mantra, and drops a kalpika into it using Hṛdaya mantra. J, 6, is the only passage to pay homage to the male and the female white bhūta (presumably the Nāga and Nāgiṇī of SSP and G, 28), which encircle the kuṇḍa, by throwing a petal into the pit, followed by Omnia, finished by the throwing of a petal in the SW direction of wrath. Thereupon (7) the interior of the pit is wiped with three blades of lalang grass, using the Kavaca mantra, and the blades are thrown away to the SW. Next (8) the same should be done to the exterior of the pit using two sticks of firewood of equal length, with the Astra mantra, smoothing (8) the exterior with the Astra mantra. Finally (9) the impurities of the pit should be sucked up with the Hṛdaya mantra and thrown away to the SW with the Astra mantra.

Only B takes the trouble to point out the saṃskāra of sruk; sruva is not mentioned, and the other manuscripts are silent here as well.

Failure to consecrate the numerous and variegated upakāra, as they are called in Bali, the perishable and less perishable instruments and means for this ritual ceremony, is unforgiveable, and cannot be atoned for by the *prāyaścitta*, "expiation/amends" (a word by frequent use reduced to simple *pras*); *alpāyuṣa*, "shortened duration of life," will be the officiant's punishment, according to a threat found in most manuscripts.

THE PERISHABLE PARTS OF HOMA

Considerable attention has been given to the surroundings of Homa and the precautions taken to make such an offering successful. It is now

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the moment to have a look at the perishable *upakāra*, "necessaries," their materials, shape, function, and consecration before use.

The immovable kuṇḍa, imperishable, has been dealt with; the movable and likewise square sthaṇḍila, repeatedly mentioned in our texts (B, 89; G, 5; J, 3, 46), is addressed by a formula of respect, but neither its use more than once nor its consecration before use are described.

The fact, however, that the earthenware waterpots with their different kinds of holy water for incinerations are smashed to pieces after having been used once strengthens the assumption that the sthaṇḍila, srug, and sruva likewise are used only once. The smaller spoon and bigger ladle for the administering of the oil to feed the fire can be assumed to belong to the perishable necessaries. It might be easy and useful for the reader if we deal in one paragraph with the spoons, vessels, pañca-gavya (five products of the cow), samidh (sticks of firewood), lis (bundle of plaited and carved palm leaves), kalpika (auxiliary for prayer), wrĕti (ritual stander) and sava (as yet unidentified), in that order.

B, 3–4, addresses the kuṇḍa and the srug with the Astra mantra; B, 48, consecrates the sugvan with the kalpika, Brahmāṅga and Śivāṅga mantras, prokṣaṇa, talabhédana (SuSe, Plates 1a-c, 2a-b), and Omnia. B, 58, prescribes the same ceremonial for the srug, immediately after which some oil is poured in it and thence into the fire. The M texts begin with the Astra mantra, now denoting sèndok-sèndok (general word for spoon in the plural), which they stick into the ground (5), as is also prescribed in B.

During the writing of these lines Hélène Brunner provided me with the invaluable SSP III with its Plate X "Découpage de la cuillère à oblations par les cinq *kalā*." The srug appears to represent the philosophic ideas that have already been expressed repeatedly, so that we may assume that, in Bali as in India, srug and sruva were instrumental for establishing contact between the *bhuvana alit* (offerer) and the *bhuvana agung* (cosmos).

In an island where the cow is not holy and where milk from cattle is not used for human consumption or the making of butter, one cannot have serious illusions about orthopraxis in matters of *pañca-gavya*, since even orthodoxy may be expected to fail. Our texts are not reticent on this liquid: B, 26, mentions it, followed by *pūrṇāhuti*, "the completed offering," just as it is mentioned in M, 24, B, 53, preceded by Īśāna. Only G, 16, translates the term rightly, knowing that it consists of milk and two products of milk, plus urine and feces.

The texts do not reveal anything about the substance and the origin of the oil (lĕngis, minyak, tila/téla) with which the fire is fed, drop by drop. B in its first line prescribes that one should begin with the consecration of minyak; B, 16, suggests that the fivefold Brahmāṅga mantra and the sixfold Śivāṅga mantra should then be used, which seems a rather cumbersome procedure, the more so when a whole series of eight drops is being poured into the pit.

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Better, presumably, to use only the Astra mantra, as B, 17, prescribes for the dropping of a bit of firewood.

For the vessels used during Homa, to wit kalaśa, kumbha, and vardhanī, as mentioned in the Balinese manuscripts, we do best to look first in Br., II, Plates I-III, where the diagrams show the placement of the maṇḍala, in the kuṇḍa, 27 kalaśa (one-fourth of the beloved number 108), the Śiva-kumbha, the vardhanī and the pañca-gavya. Plate III has a photograph of the square kuṇḍa with mékhalā, Śiva-kumbha, and vardhanī (see Br., Errata et Addenda). Our G, 7, after paying obeisance to the guru, prescribes the consecration of the kalaśa, all kinds of dig-bandha, sugvan, and srug (guva?), permitting sava (?) and thread, firewood, palungan (a kind of container), and kumbha, etc. G*: "All upakāra for Homa should be stored/placed in the NE (direction of Īśāna) [and] be covered with banana leaves."

A formula given in S, 9 and 11:

the	has as its tattva	as its mantra
vardhanī (W)	the king's weapon	Om Hrom homage to the Royal Weapon;
digbandhana	langsé (curtain), nāga (snake) being the other	Om homage to the Rucira cloth;
kalaśa (E)	all kinds of weapons	Svah homage to the Aggressive Weapon;
kumbha (N)	destruction of all hindrances	Arah[2] homage to the ruin of evildoers;
palungan (S)	Viṣṇu	destruction of all illness-evil-stain;
dyun (C)	Supreme Śiva	ruin of all enemies-crime-criminals.

In current usage the word tattva is translated as "being, nature," but a glance in the Sanskrit dictionaries, the ritualistic volumes by Brunner, or the handbooks on philosophy shows a wide range of meanings.

G, 7–8, situated the sticks of firewood (samidh/samit) to the NE of the pit; line 13 continues: "One should know that the god for waduri wood is Ra-Āditya (Respected Sun); for palaśa, Candra/Soma; for daṅdaṅan, Anggara; for 1 wa, Budha; for wudhi, Vṛhaspati; for angkem, Śukra; for rangrĕ, Śanaiścara; for alang-aḷang, Rāhu; for grass of liberation, Kétu." Thus offering and cosmos are connected, an idea dear to the Balinese.

M, 23, follows another method of relating the tiny and perishable firewood with the universe: "[We distinguish] the following kinds of samit: drop waduri into the center of the fire pit, mabulu in the SE, tahang S,

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kĕm SW, añcak W, palaśa NW, ambĕngan N, grass of liberation NE, bila N. The wiku (from bhikṣu; here 'officiating priest') should have 108 of them at his disposal in nine bundles, each of them containing twelve pieces."

G, 15, stipulates that the sticks should have a length of twelve fingerbreadths, should not be kept or handled upside down, but worshiped by incense, the bīja[mantra], and śiroviṣṭa ("tie," as is done around the vessel about to contain holy water and the priest about to receive Śiva; cf. SuSe).

The three volumes of the SSP have nothing of this kind to report; one wonders, however, when reading in Br., III, 56, that in the case of black magic Somaśambhu asks for "bâtonnets tordus," and even more when finding the note that, for a Homa not aiming at malevolent goals, the right sticks are needed.

For the drawings and a detailed description of the lis, half of a monograph was needed (see *Ritual Purification of a Balinese Temple*), in which the bundle of plaited and chiseled palm leaves was addressed as mighty supernatural beings. Small wonder that M, 47–50, attributes the personal pronoun "I" to the lis as well as to the carefully made sruk (if in Bali the same care was bestowed upon it as in India).

B, 51, tells the officiating priest to consecrate *sugvan saha kalpika* by using the Brahmāṅga and Śivāṅga mantras, i.e., by means of a kalpika, frequently used but nowhere stipulated to receive any consecration or homage.

The wrĕti should have a length of twelve fingerbreadths (B, 38). From its definition in G, 17, it seems that the watri (sic) should consist of a piece of split bamboo, the length of a hand, thickness sapamuduh (?), and that thrice enwrapping it is allowed. When in ritual use it is placed on the top of a just consecrated seat for a god, it expresses the fact of the god's descent.

G, 40–45, reveals something more about the wrĕti, "which the officiating priest should stick into porridge of rice in the four colors of the four directions: white [E], red [S], yellow [W], and black [N]; put this in a [basket called] tulung of the [elephant's] footprint, and [an offering called] bhāgya (happiness) should be put in a pointed container (tulung)."

G, 41: After this has been done, worship the wrĕti by muttering *Om homage to the Sky-piercing Śiva, Om Om Kṣam homage to Sadāśiva;* Omnia.

G, 42: Next, put down the wrĕti, muttering *Om Om homage; fire emanates from a fiery crystal.*

G, 43: Now the wrĕti should flame up; the fiery object should be put into the yoni of the kuṇḍa with Hṛdaya mantra and Kūṭa mantra, followed by Omnia.

G, 44: Thereupon circulate it outside the kuṇḍa, three times; one is allowed to pause after each circumambulation, but the wrĕti should stay in the yoni of the kuṇḍa; apply Kūṭa mantra.

G, 45: This is called consecration by means of the wrĕti.

The word tri-wrĕti refers here to the three arteries—Īḍā, Piṅgalā, and

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Suṣumnā—running upwards from mūlādhāra, the region of sex in the underbelly, usually called tri-nādī. Why wrĕti, already loaded with different meanings in Sanskrit as well as in Balinese, has been used for this triad escapes me.

Among the five different texts dealing with the ritual activities only the M manuscripts mention tri-wrĕti: *Muah mantra mawak prāyaścitta, ngilangang I Tri-wrĕti nga, jléné tatlu, saha sekar, muang mantra: Om Aghorāya namah, Om Tatpuruṣāya namah, Om Sadyojatāya, Bāmadévāya, Īśānāya namah.* "Next the mantra embodying the atonement of involuntary shortcomings, annihilating the personified tri-wrĕti, those three evils, by using petals and the mantra: . . . " In M this passage is immediately followed by the fecundation.

In the mystical Homādhyātmika texts, however, not less than ten lines are bestowed upon the three arteries, which are identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Īśvara. This discrepancy cries for explanation, which it is hoped fresh materials may provide.

Finally G, 14, stipulates that "sawa should . . . " but it fails to circumscribe this sawa, mentioned in 7 and repeated in 79 and so certainly not misspelled, but unknown to the other manuscripts, to the KBNW, and even to the most recent endeavor at composing a Balinese dictionary, still *in statu nascendi.*

In accordance with the Dutch saying "the last is best," we may end with the assurance that the officiating priest has prepared himself, the holy water, and what is needed for exorcism (panglukatan) in the usual way, and now squats down on his *palaṅka mas* (B, 36)—i.e., golden throne, seat, or at least cushion—to begin his ritual.

ABBREVIATIONS

B = Blayu (Tabanan), place of origin of the Agnijanana
BBB = Hooykaas, *Balinese Bauddha Brahmans*
Bali = *Bali: Studies in Life, Thought, and Ritual*
BK = Bernet Kempers
Br. = Brunner, Hélène. *Somaśambhupaddhati I-III*
C = Cakranagara (Lombok), place of origin of Agniṣṭoma (11.6–7 in Karya Yadnya C., K 12)
CP = *Caru Pahoman, offerings for the celebration of Homa,* LOr. 5042 = Z 1848
G = Gulingan, place of origin of Pūjā Homa, Agnijanana bwat Sora
J = Sibang Ka*ja*, place of origin of Pūjā Homa, Agnijanana bwat Sora
K = Kirtya Lieftinck-van der Tuuk, now Gĕdong Kirtya, Singaraja, Bali
KBNW = Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek,* I-IV (1897–1912)
M = Mataram, collective name for four manuscripts on the Homa ritual
MW = Monier Williams

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Nāgarakṛtāgama, cf. Pigeaud
origin of = origin of *my copy*, without prejudice to the real origin
Omnia, cf. "Register" in SuSe
Rau. = Rauravāgama
Sa. = Sanur (Badung), origin of Kĕtrangan Pūjā Homa-widhi, bwat Kirana
Si. = a copy of the same made by Pĕcanda Madé Siděmĕn, Sanur (Badung)
SSP = *Soma-Śambhu-paddhati*, edited and translated by Hélène Brunner (Br.)
StuSta = Goudriaan and Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava*
SuSe = Hooykaas, *Sūrya-sevana*
VKNAW afd. L. = Verhandelingen Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, Amsterdam
Z = zelf (Hooykaas's private collection)

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TIBETAN HOMA RITES

Tadeusz Skorupski

THE DURGATIPARIŚODHANA AND ITS MAṆḌALAS

THE *Durgatipariśodhana* is a Buddhist literary work belonging to the Yoga-Tantra class. There are two distinct versions of this work, both available in Tibetan translations,[1] separated from one another by about five hundred years. The earlier version was translated into Tibetan in the eighth century by Śāntigarbha and Jayarakṣita, and revised by Rin-chen-mchog of rMa. The second version was translated into Tibetan in the thirteenth century by Devendradeva and Chos-rje-dpal. The available Sanskrit manuscripts correspond to the later of the two Tibetan translations.

The subject matter is presented in the form of discourses given either by Śākyamuni or by the Lord Vajrapāṇi, who speak in the place of the Buddha. The instructions given relate to the arrangement of various maṇḍalas and the rites of initiation given in them, as well as to the descriptions of the ceremony known as Homa in Sanskrit, and as Sbyin-sreg in Tibetan. The various Homa rites are used for afterdeath ceremonies in order to insure a satisfactory rebirth, and also for this-worldly intentions such as tranquilizing evil influences, securing prosperity, and overcoming foes of all kinds.

Different liturgies and ceremonies that make use of the Homa rites are still preserved as a living tradition among the Tibetan Buddhists. They have obviously been modified by Tibetan culture and by the different Indian traditions followed. However, they remain essentially the same as they were when they were inherited from Indian Buddhism.

Of the two extracts from the *Durgatipariśodhana* given below, the first refers to the Four Rites, namely Śānti, Puṣṭi, Vaśya and Abhicāra, and the second one to the Homa rites for the dead. The illustrations of the hearths are reproduced from *The Creation of Maṇḍalas*: *Rong tha blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho*, Vol. 3 (New Delhi, 1973).

All the Homa rites described in this tantra are performed in relationship to the *Durgatipariśodhana maṇḍala*. In the earlier version this maṇḍala is referred to as the basic maṇḍala (*rtsa-ba'i 'khor-lo*).[2] Here in the center we have Sarvavit (Vairocana) with four faces and white in color; to the east Sarvadurgatipariśodhanarāja, pale red in color and making the gesture of

[1] Taishō Tripiṭaka, 5.116, pp. 83.2.1–99.4.8; and 5.117, pp. 99.5.2–121.5.4.
[2] Taishō Tripiṭaka, 5.116, 56b. The detailed discription of this maṇḍala is in Vajravarman's commentary, Taishō Tripiṭaka, 76.3453, pp. 124.1.8 ff.

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meditation; to the south Ratnaketu, blue in color and making the gesture of giving; to the west Śākyamuni, red in color and making the gesture of preaching with his right hand; to the north Vikasitakusuma, green in color and making the gesture of fearlessness. In the four intermediate quarters there are the Four Buddha Goddesses: Māmakī, Locanā, Pāṇḍuravāsinī, and Tārā. The Sixteen Vajrasattvas are placed on the sixteen spokes around the Buddhas and the Buddha Goddesses. The Eight Goddesses of the Offerings (Lāsyā, Mālā, Gītī, etc.) are placed in the corners of the maṇḍala. In the four portals of the maṇḍala there are the Four Guardians: Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa, and Vajrāveśa. The Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Good Age (Maitreya, etc. are distributed on both sides of the Four Portals in sets of four. Further outside there is a circle of thirty-two divinities: Eight Śrāvakas, Eight Pratyekabuddhas, Eight Mighty Wrathful Ones (*Khro-bo chen-po*), and Eight Messengers of the Wrathful Ones. On the outside of that there is a circle of sixty-four divinities: Four Great Kings, Eight Planets, Lunar Mansions, Eight Great Ṛṣis, and Eight Leaders of the Lesser Divinities such as Asuras, Gandharvas, and others. Then there are the Four Continents and the Six Spheres of Existence.

The above maṇḍala is not included in the second version. Instead the maṇḍala of the Nine Ūṣṇīṣas[3] is described as the *Durgatipariśodhana* maṇḍala. In the center of this maṇḍala is Śākyamuni making the gesture of preaching; to the east Vajroṣṇīṣa, white in color and making the gesture of touching the earth; to the south Ratnoṣṇīṣa, blue in color and making the gesture of giving; to the west Padmoṣṇīṣa, red in color and making the gesture of meditation; to the north Viśvoṣṇīṣa, green in color and making the gesture of fearlessness. In the four intermediate quarters there are Tejoṣṇīṣa, Dhvajoṣṇīṣa, Tikṣṇoṣṇīṣa, and Chatroṣṇīṣa. The Eight Goddesses of the Offerings are placed as usual in the corners of the maṇḍala. In the four portals are the Four Guardians. The Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Good Age are placed to the sides of the four portals. Here we have a set of thirty-seven divinities. Other sets of divinities may be included here but very often are not.

THE FOUR RITES

Sanskrit Text[4]

atha te devās tathaiva namasyaivam āhuḥ / santi bhagavan sattvā jambudvīpakā alpāyuṣo mandapuṇyā apāyagatikā narakapreta-

[3] Taishō Tripitaka, 5.117, 107b ff.

[4] The Sanskrit text has been reconstructed from a manuscript belonging to the National Archives of Nepal. It is written in Newari script, has 109 folios, and is undated. This particular passage is on folios 62b to 65b. The corresponding Tibetan texts are in Taishō Tripiṭaka, 5, 81b ff. (first version), and 125a (second version).

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tiryakpratyupapannā vā teṣāṃ kathaṃ vayaṃ bhagavan pratipatsyāmaḥ /
teṣāṃ bho devaputrā ihaiva maṇḍale praveśayadhvam / praveśya cābhiṣiñcayadhvam /
dharmatākṣaraṃ ca japayadhvam / tena te sattvā dīrghāyuṣkā bhavanti / puṇyahīnāḥ puṇyavanto bhavanti / apāyād vinimuktā bhavanti / ye cāpāyotpannās teṣāṃ bho devaputrā nāmābhiṣekaṃ kuruta / pratibimbābhiṣekaṃ kuruta / tatputraṃ tadgotraṃ tannāmadhārakaṃ vā bhṛtyaṃ vābhiṣiñcadhvam / saptarātradivasya saptabhir maṇḍale praveśyābhiṣekair vimucyata apāyāvaraṇāt / tannāmakenāpi devaputrā japadhvaṃ dvilakṣaṃ catullakṣaṃ yāval lakṣaśatasahasraṃ pañcānantaryakāriṇo 'pi vimucyante / kiṃ punaḥ svalpapāpakāriṇa iti /

śāntikarma

hastamātraṃ devaputrā vartulaṃ dvihastaṃ vā śāntikaṃ kuṇḍaṃ kṛtvā hīnotkṛṣṭamadhyamaṃ tannāmnā śvetasarṣapānāṃ śatsahasraṃ juhuyāt / sarvāpāyād vimucyante /
tanmāṃsāsthikeśabhasmādikaṃ vā tenaiva vidhānena juhuyāt / sarvapāpād vimucyante /
tanmadhye likhec cakraṃ aṣṭāraśvetajvālinam //
samantāl likhed vajraṃ pañcaśūlaṃ śitāṃśulam //
viśvavajraṃ tato kuryād vajraratnāmbujottamam //
tato nānāvidhāmudrāṃ kuryāt pāpahananāya //
bāhyavajrakulānāṃ tu mudrā bāhyato likhet //
grahaṇakṣatracihnāni tathā lokabhṛtyān api //
paṭapratimāṃ tu nāthasya sthāpayed vajriṇā saha //
kalaśān pūrṇakumbhāṃś ca balinaivedyaśuklakān //
sūtrayitvā samāsena saṃlikhya ca yathāvidhaiḥ //
śvetāmbaradharo bhūtvā buddharūpī viśāradaḥ //
anusmṛtya ca taṃ sattvam apāyagatisaṃsthitam //
homayec chuddhasaṃtānaḥ pāpāvaraṇaśāntaye //
ghṛtakṣīrasāmakṣikair lājasarṣapamiśritaiḥ //
asthimāṃsādikaṃ tasyātha vā nāmamātrakaiḥ // iti /

puṣṭikarma

utpādya sugatau tasya puṣṭiṃ kuryād vicakṣaṇaḥ //
dvihastaṃ caturhastaṃ vāṣṭahastaṃ tathottamam //
kṛtvā kuṇḍaṃ catuḥkoṇaṃ samantād vedikāyuktam //
tasya madhye ratnapadmaṃ tu likhet pītaraśminam //
samantāl likhed ratnaṃ vedikāyāṃ tu aṃbujam //

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kulapañcakabhedena likhed mudrāṃ tu bāhyataḥ //
tathaiva bāhyadevānāṃ likhed aṃkuśādikam //
pītāmbaradharo bhutvānusmṛtya sugatisaṃsthitam //
kuryāt pauṣṭikakarma puṣṭyarthāya taddhitam //
āyuḥ śrīkāntisaubhāgyaṃ vardhayet tasya dehinaḥ //

vaśyakarma
tataḥ kuryād vaśyaṃ tu tasya karma hitāya //
dvihastaṃ caturhastaṃ tu kṛtvā kuṇḍaṃ dhanurākṛtim //
hastaṃ vā tasya madhye tu saṃlikhya raktam ambujam //
tasyopari ca saṃlikhet saśaraṃ dhanur eva ca //
samantāc ca likhec cāpaṃ saśaraṃ raktavarṇakam //
bāhyatas tadvad evāsya kuryād mantrabhūtaḥ sadā //
smṛtvā tasya sattvasya raktāmbarabhūṣitaḥ //
raktapuṣpāmbujaṃ cāpi phalaṃ raktaṃ sadhātukam //
bhavet tasya devādayo ghṛtamiśritakuṃkumaiḥ //
raktacandanacūrṇaiś ca sarve tiṣṭhanti tadvaśāḥ //

abhicārakarma
tasya duṣṭavināśāya abhicāraṃ samārabhet //
dvyardhahastaṃ trihastaṃ vā navahastaṃ tathottamam //
kṛtvā koṇatrayair yuktair madhye vajranavātmakam //
trisūcikair vṛtāṃ vedīṃ kṛtvā viśvaiś ca vajribhiḥ //
daṇḍamuṇḍatriśūlāṃkair vajraparaśusūcikaiḥ //
kārayed bāhyato cāpi tripuṭaṃ pūrvavac citram //
kalaśān balikumbhāṃś ca naivedyān sthāpayed bahu //
māṃsarudhirasaṃpūrṇāḥ kapālāś cāpi sarvataḥ //
kṛṣṇāmbaradharaḥ kruddhas trailokyavijayī svayam //
sarvapāpādivighnānāṃ nāśayet tasya dehinaḥ //
tataḥ sauhatapāpātmā nirvighnaś carate sukham //
svargalokeṣu mānuṣye yāvat trailokyadhātuṣu //
anenaiva krameṇāśu kuryāj janmanīhasthitān //
tatas tathaiva syāt teṣāṃ yeṣām uddiśya kāryate //

TRANSLATION

The gods prostrated themselves in the same manner and said: "O Lord, there are living beings in Jambudvīpa whose life is short and their merit limited. Being subjected to evil destinies, they are born in hells, among tormented spirits or among animals. O Lord, how are we to act on their behalf?"

"O gods, place them in this maṇḍala. Having placed them in it, consecrate them and recite the Dharma syllable. By means of this action the living beings gain long life. Destitute of merit, they become possessed of merit, and they are freed from evil. As for those who have been reborn in evil

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states, O gods, consecrate their name [card], consecrate their effigy, consecrate their reliquary or the form of their divinity. At least, consecrate their son, someone of their people or their lineage, someone bearing their name, or their servant. Place their [representation] in the maṇḍala seven times for seven days and nights. One becomes freed from the obstruction of evil destinies by means of the consecrations. O gods, recite their name two hundred thousand times. Even those who commit the five deadly offenses are liberated; how much more those who commit minor offenses."

1. *The rite for pacifying* (Figure 28)

O gods, making a hearth for pacifying rite, round in shape, small, medium or large, one, two or four cubits in size, one should offer a sacrifice one hundred thousand times [using the representation] of their name and the seeds of white mustard. They are freed from every evil. Should one sacrifice their flesh, bones, hair, ashes or anything else in accordance with this rite, they become freed from every sin.

In the center [of the hearth] one should draw a circle blazing forth eight white beams of light. All around on the circumference one draws five-tipped vajras shining with white rays. Next one draws a crossed vajra, a vajra, a jewel, and a lotus. In order to destroy sins, one should make the

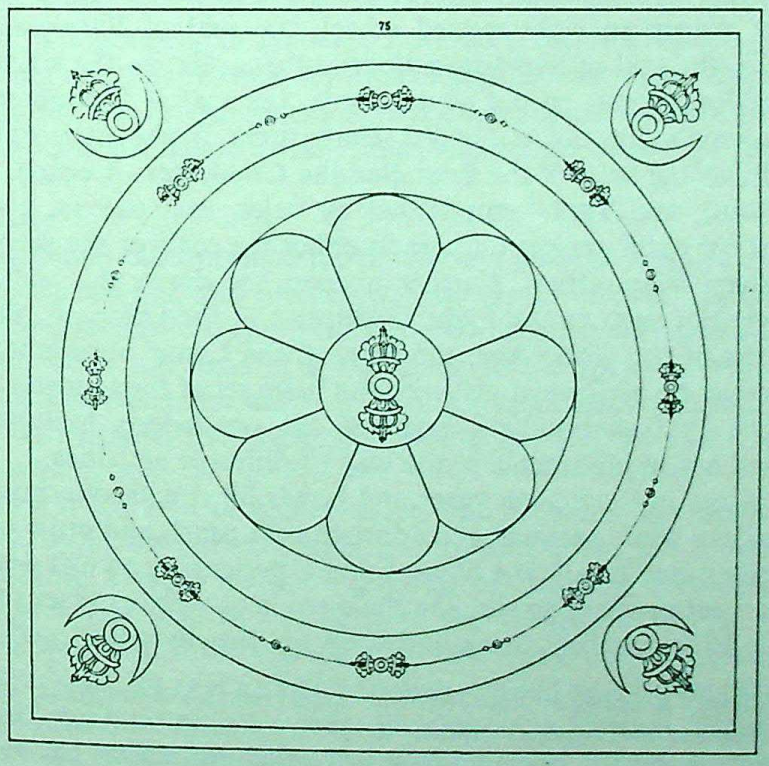

Figure 28—Homa Hearth for Pacifying Rite

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different mudras. On the outside one draws the mudras of the outer vajra Family, the signs of the Planets, the Lunar Mansions, and the Guardians of the World accordingly. One should place there an image of the Lord painted on a cloth together with the vajra entourage, vases and bowls filled with offerings and food for divinities, white in color. In short, one draws the design in accordance with the rules.

Clad in a white garment and having an appearance of a Buddha, the fearless one, remembering that living being experiencing an evil destiny, should offer a whole series of Homa sacrifices in order to eliminate the obstructions of sins, using clarified butter and milk together with honey, parched rice and white mustard mixed together, or using his bones or similar things, or just his name [card].

Commentary[5]

In performing this rite one should use things required for worship, such as butter, mustard seeds, and similar items, and something that represents the one for whom the rite is performed. It may be a card with his name written on it, his bones, or something else. The design of the hearth is modeled on a maṇḍala. It has a center [navel], a circumference [rim], etc. The color for this rite is white. In the center of the hearth one draws a wheel with eight spokes. The inner rim is made of five-tipped vajras white in color. Above it one draws in white-red color the representation of the departed one. In the center one places an eight-spoked wheel, the seal of Vairocana; to the east a vajra, the seal of Sarvadurgatipariśodhanarāja; to the south a jewel, the seal of Ratnaketu; to the west a lotus, the seal of Śākyamuni; to the north a crossed vajra, the seal of Vikasitakusuma. In the intermediate quarters one draws the seals of the Four Buddha Goddesses—Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍuravāsinī, and Tārā—represented by vajra, eye, padma, and utpala. On the sixteen outer spokes one draws either the seals or the seed syllables of the Sixteen Vajrasattvas. Further outside one draws the seals of other sets of divinities such as the Eight Goddesses of the Offerings, the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Good Age, the Planets, the Lunar Mansions, etc. The whole rite may be performed just with the basic set of thirty-seven divinities. The Arhats, Pratyekabuddhas, and Ṛṣis do not belong here because of their limited accomplishments in the way of different activities.

One places in the hearth vases and bowls filled with offerings white in color. Clad in a white garment and adorned with pearls and other ornaments of white color, one recalls the living being experiencing an evil destiny, and embarks on performing the rite. On the outside one places vases shaped like birds, 8 or 16 in number; drink and food for the divinities; and other of-

[5] The explanatory notes given here followed Vajravarman's commentary on the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra,* Taishō Tripiṭaka, 76. 3453, pp. 180.2.1–181.3.2. There are several commentaries on this tantra available in Tibetan translations, but Vajravarman is the only one who gives detailed descriptions of the Four Rites.

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ferings, 108 in number. One also places a white flower on the top of the hearth.

Taking a sacrificial ladle made of silver or of white sandalwood, one generates the Body of Vajrasattva and performs the Homa rite. In order to destroy the sins of the being experiencing an evil destiny or in order to pacify diseases and the like of the one living in heaven, one sits down with crossed legs, draws the breath centrally, and looks with tranquil mien at the form of the Tathāgata on the tip of his nose. One performs the rite with clarified butter, parched rice, white sesame, white mustard seeds, camphor, firewood of dhebaruba, kuśa grass, white sandalwood, and curds.

As for the Homa rite performed with a representation of the departed one, one takes his bones, or ashes, or flesh, or a leaf with his name and a mantra inscribed on it, and performs the rite one hundred thousand times.

2. *The rite for gaining prosperity* (Figure 29)

Once he is born in a happy state, the wise one should perform for him the rite for gaining prosperity. He makes a square hearth, two or four or at the most eight cubits in size, having an edge on all sides. In its center he should draw a lotus with a jewel radiating rays of golden color. All around he should draw jewels and on the edges lotuses. On the outside he should mark the seals (*mudrā*) divided into sets of the Five Families. In the same way he should draw the seals of the outer divinities, Aṃkuśa and the others.

Clad in a garment of golden color and remembering the one who is experiencing a happy destiny, he should perform on his behalf and for his prosperity the rite for gaining prosperity. He should increase for that embodied creature the length of life, fame, reputation, and good fortune.

Commentary

In the center one draws on top of a lotus a jewel radiating light of golden color. On the rim one also draws jewels on top of lotuses. The outer part is designed in a threefold way. In the eastern and other quarters one marks in red-golden color the signs of the seals or of the spells of Vairocana and other Buddhas, then the seals of Buddha Goddesses (Locanā, etc.), the Sixteen Vajrasattvas, the Guardians of the Portals, the Guardians of the Ten Directions, and so forth.

Clad in a garment of golden color, one generates the Body of Ratnasambhava, looks towards the right (south) and draws the breath from the right. Holding a ladle made of gold or of turmeric (*skyer-pa* = *harita*) four cubits in size, one should perform the Homa rite for the purpose of increasing the merit of the one who is in the world of those advancing with speed (*baṅ 'gro'i 'jig rten na.*) Sitting with crossed legs formed like a jewel, one should perform the rite one hundred thousand times with mustard oil, yellow flowers, saffron, medicinal concoction (*sman 'gi waṅ*), wood together with grains, mustard, incense of golden color, parched rice, and other

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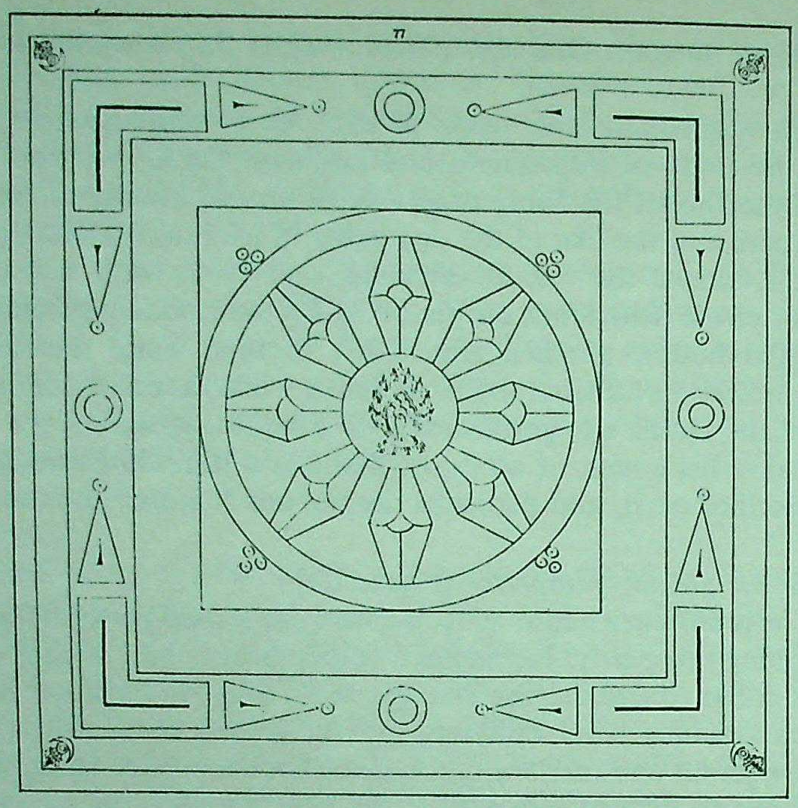

Figure 29—Homa Hearth for the Rite for Gaining Prosperity

things. Increasing in this manner the life, merit, happiness, and so forth of the ones living in heaven, one succeeds in bringing them to complete fulfilment.

3. *The rite for subjugation* (Figure 30)

Next he should perform for his benefit the rite for subjugation. He makes a hearth shaped like a bow one or two or four cubits in size. In its center he draws a red lotus and on the top of it a bow with an arrow attached to it. All around he draws bows and arrows red in color. The one accomplished in mantras should always do the same on the outside of it.

Adorned with a garment red in color and remembering the living being, he offers a Homa sacrifice using saffron mixed with clarified butter, powder of red sandalwood, and red flowers or red lotuses together with red fruits. All the divinities and the rest become subdued to his power.

Commentary

In the center one draws a lotus with sixteen petals. The seals of the Five Families and of the divinities belonging to the maṇḍala are drawn in their appropriate places. One sits down in a lotus posture, looks to the left, and draws the breath from the left. The ladle used for this rite is made either of copper or of red sandalwood. In order to subdue living beings to the power

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of the one reborn in heaven, one should enter into a state of concentration of the Lord Amitābha. At the end of the meditation one pronounces the mantra for subjugation and performs the rite one hundred thousand times using fruits smeared with red flowers or lotuses or red fruits or red paint, barley, butter, saffron, flour of red sandalwood, red sesame, red mustard, firewood of red oleander, and similar things.

4. *The rite for destroying* (Figure 31)

In order to destroy the evil ones opposed to him, he should embark on performing the rite for destroying. He makes a hearth two and one half, or three, or at the most nine cubits in size, triangular in form with a nine-tipped vajra in the center, with the rim surrounded with tridents and crossed vajras, and marked with clubs, heads, tridents, and pointed vajra axes. On the outside he should adorn it as before with a third series. He places in it vases and bowls for offerings and much food for the divinities. He also places everywhere skulls filled with blood and flesh.

The fierce one, Trailokyavijayin himself, wearing a black garment, should destroy all the obstructions of sins and so forth of that embodied creature. Freed from the obstructions, his sins totally destroyed, he will progress happily to the world of gods or men in the threefold sphere.

He should act promptly in the same manner with regard to those who

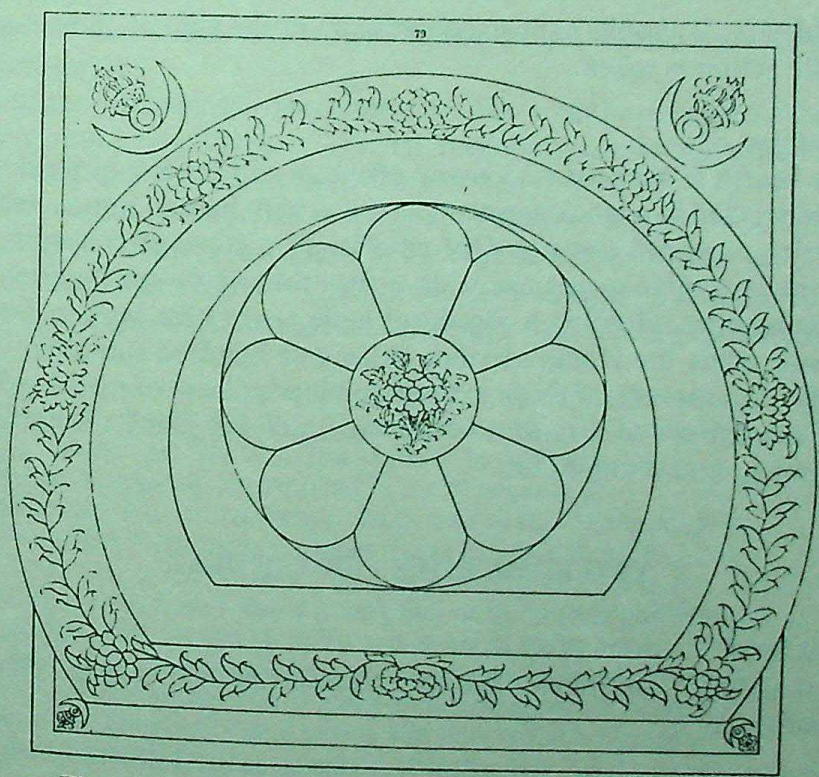

Figure 30—Homa Hearth for the Rite for Subjugation

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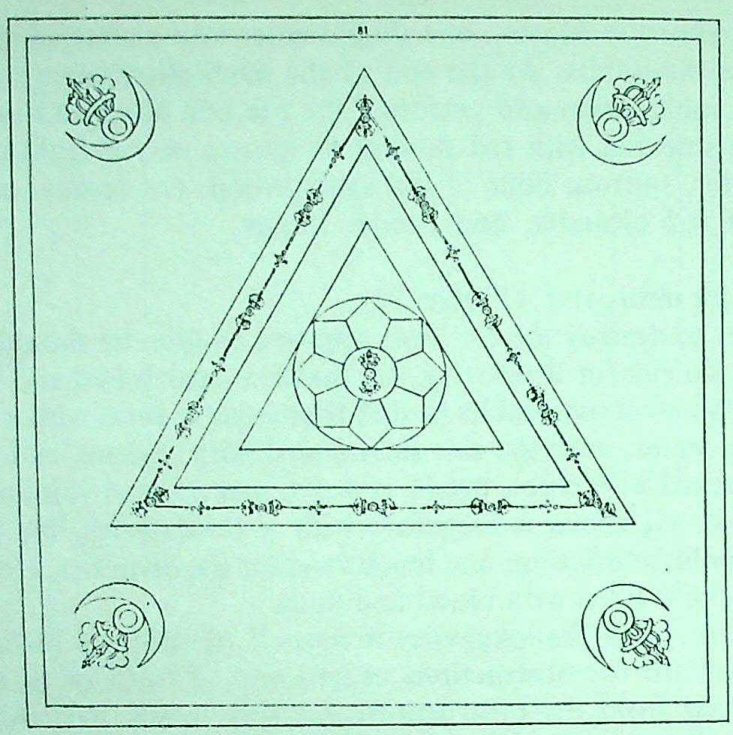

Figure 31—Homa Hearth for the Rite for Destroying

live in this life. It should happen accordingly in the case of those on whose behalf the action is taken.

Commentary

The hearth is adorned with many offerings and flowers of black or blue color. One is clad in a black garment, adorned with human bones, and seated in the vajra or sword posture. One enters into a stage of concentration of Trailokyavijaya. One's eyes are wide open and one draws the breath in a terrifying manner. Holding a sacrificial ladle made of a bone one cubit in length, one offers the Homa sacrifice either one hundred thousand times or hundreds of thousands of times with flesh, blood, pieces of metal and bones, flour of catechu wood (*seṅ ldeṅ* = *khadira*), poison, black mustard, herbs, blue flowers, and human fat.

TWO HOMA RITES FOR THE DEAD

Sanskrit text[6]

1. tannāma vidarbhya kuśalo lakṣaśataṃ vā yāvac chata-sahasram //

[6] Same manuscript as above, folios 75a–77a. Tibetan texts: Taishō Tripiṭaka, 5.116, 60b ff., and 5.117, 132a ff.

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homaṃ kuryān mahānarakapāpamuktā bhavanti //
yāvan nimittaṃ jvalitāgnisthāne samutpadyate //
tilaśvetasarṣapataṇḍulā ajākṣīrasamyuktāḥ //
samidhāś ca gandhāktās tāvad yathāvidhihotavyāḥ //
tatas te niyataṃ devanikāyeṣūtpannā nimittam upadarśayanti/
kadācid devottamā utpannā atha vā kuṇḍamadhye śvetapradakṣinajvālā
nirmalordhvajvalanam / avakīrṇasaṃdattajvalanaṃ vidyudivanirmalaṃ sthiram /
etāny agninimittāni paśyati / atha vaiśvānaladevatātmānaṃ tathaiva darśayati /
candravannirmalaṃ śuklamukhavarṇajvalitam etannimittadarśanāt teṣāṃ narakādivimuktipāpasphoṭanasvargotpattayo jñātavyāḥ /
caturhastapramāṇaṃ ca yathāvidhi kuṇḍaṃ khanet //
paryante vajraparivṛtaṃ likhen madhye cakram //
yathāvat pañcakulamudrāḥ svadikṣu likhet //
yathāvat sattvānāṃ lokādhipān ca likhet //
tataḥ pūrṇakalaśā balipūrṇabhājanāni //
cāṣṭau ṣoḍaśaṃ vā sthāpayāni bhakṣabhojananaivedyāni ca / puṣpamālādayas
tathaiva ca vitānadhvajapaṭādibhir uttamachatraiś ca samyagvibhūṣaṇīyam /
evam uttamahomakuṇḍe samyak hotavyam / likhitvaivaṃ vidhijño devagaṇam
ākarṣayet / mantrajño mantramudrārgha upaḍhaukanīyaḥ / saṃkṣepataḥ pūjāṃ kṛtvā . . .[7] karpūracandanakuṃkumavastrālaṃkārabhūṣito 'bhimantritadhūpaṃ dhūpayet /
2. . . .[7] puṣpamālādibhiś ca pūjayet / cūḍāyāṃ bāhau ca tathaiva mantraṃ likhitvā bandhayet / hṛtkaṇṭhamukhapradeśe sarvavidyādhiṣṭhānaṃ kuryāt / lalāṭorṇadvaye śiraḥśikhābāhudvaye / nāsākaṭijānupādanāsikāgracakṣurdvaye / guhyendriyapradeśeṣv

[7] As the Sanskrit text is corrupt and a part of it is missing in this passage, I give here the Tibetan text, which I follow in the translation: Taishō Tripiṭaka 5.116, 61a.
mdor na mchod pa byas nas ni // lha yi sbyor bas rab gnas la //
ga bur gur gum la sogs pas // mar dang 'o ma til bsgos la //
til dang yungs kar 'bras rnams dang // dri yi chus ni legs bkang ste //
'bras chen yos dang la du dang // sbrang rtsi śa ka rar ldan pa //
brgya phrag du mar yongs bzlas la // yam śing la yang de bźin te //
rang gi sngags kyis btab pa'i śing // khung bu'i nang du gźag par bya //
ro la sngags kyis btab nas kyang // chu mchog gis ni bkrus nas su //
bzlas pa'i dri yis byug par bya // gos dang rgyan gyis klubs nas kyang //
me tog phreng la sogs pas mchod // gtsug phud dpung par de bźin du //
sngags bris nas ni gdags par bya // snying kha lkog ma kha phyogs su //
sarvavit kyis byin gyis brlab //

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evam anyeṣv api mantrākṣarāny ekāntasubhāni vinyaset /
tato durgatipariśodhanāyāsanasahitaṃ tanmadhye sthāpayet /
tataś ca mantry abhimantritavastreṇa chādayet / tato hutabhujaṃ samyakprajvālya / sahasrajvālākulakāyaṃ kuṇḍendusannibhaṃ śāntam anantam agnim ākṛṣṭārghaṃ parikalpayet / tathaiva ca buddhimān agrataḥ pratimādikaṃ sthāpayet / tathāgataganaṃ tathaivākṛṣyārghādikaṃ parikalpayet tathaiva yathoktapūjā kartavyā /
tata āhutiṃ havyaṃ pūrayitvā jvalanāya parikalpayitvā jinādinīm aṣṭottaraśataṃ parikalpayet / tataḥ śodhanamantrarājasyaika-viṃśatim āhutiṃ parikalpayet /

TRANSLATION

1. *One-aim Homa rite* (*phyogs-gcig sbyin-sreg*)

Calling the name (of the deceased), the auspicious one should offer the Homa sacrifice ten thousand times or as many as one hundred thousand times. They are released from the evils of great hells.

Until there is a sign in the actual fire—so long should he offer the Homa sacrifice in accordance with the rite, using sesame, white mustard, and grains, together with goat's milk and scented firewood. They are certainly born in the assemblies of gods and show a sign accordingly. Whenever they are thus born as highest gods, he sees in the center of the hearth signs such as these: a white flame moving towards the right; a pure flame rising upwards, continual, steady and bright like lightning; or he will see the fire divinity himself [Agni], pure as the moon with his face shining white. On seeing these signs, he should know that they have been freed from hell and other unhappy states, that their sins have been destroyed, and that they have been born in heaven.

In accordance with the rite, he should dig out a hearth four cubits in size. In the center he should draw a circle with the rim surrounded with vajras. He should draw in the correct order the mudras of the Five Families in their appropriate places, and those of the Bodhisattvas, the Guardians of the World, and the others. He should place in it the vases and vessels filled with offerings, eight or sixteen in number, food and drink for the divinities, garlands made of flowers, and other similar things. He should adorn it with a canopy, banners of victory, silk strands, umbrellas of excellent quality, and other ornaments. He should perform the Homa sacrifice correctly in this excellent Homa hearth. Having drawn [their symbols], the one who knows this rite summons the assembly of gods, and knowing the mantras, he should present the offerings with the mudras and the mantras. In short, having worshiped and having performed the consecration by means of the divine yoga, he should place in the hearth camphor, saffron, etc., butter and milk mixed with sesame, sesame and mustard mixed together, scented water, much rice and roasted barley, honey and sugar, sacrificial wood

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blessed many hundreds of times, and firewood that has been consecrated with their mantras.

Commentary[8]

Here the yogin performs the pacifying Homa rite (*źi-ba'i sbyin-sreg*). He should dig out a hearth for pacifying rites, draw the name of the deceased on a cloth and visualize the maṇḍala of the Durgatipariśodhana by means of the circle he designs in the hearth. Then he should perform the Homa sacrifice. The spot used for making the hearth should be smeared with the five products of the cow and with scent. In the center he should draw the syllable *oṃ* on a lotus, to the east *huṃ*, to the south *trāṃ*, to the west *hrīḥ*, to the north *aḥ*. In the intermediate quarters he draws the seed syllables of the Four Buddha Goddesses: *lo* (Locanā), *maṃ* (Māmakī), *paṃ* (Pāṇḍuravāsinī), and *trāṃ* (Tārā). Then he draws the seed syllables of the Bodhisattvas, the Eight Goddesses of the Offerings, and the other divinities.

Vajravarman explains that the yogin performing the rite is given a sign whether he should perform the Homa rite using various things only—such as sesame, mustard seeds, etc.—or whether he should perform the Homa rite that refers to corpses. The first sign indicates that he should perform it using various things only, and the second one indicates that he should perform it with reference to corpses.

2. *Homa rite referring to corpses* (*ro sbyin-sreg*)

In the case of a corpse, he pronounces the mantra, washes it with pure water, smears it with consecrated perfume, covers it with a cloth and ornaments, and honors it with garlands of flowers and so forth. Having written the mantra, he fixes it to the crown of the head and on the shoulders. By means of Sarvavit (Vairocana), he consecrates it at the heart, on the throat, and on the mouth. Next he applies the auspicious mantra syllables on the forehead, between the eyes, on the ears, and on the crown of the head, the shoulders, the nose, hips, knees, feet, ankles, private parts, and other places.

In order to eliminate evil rebirths, he should place it on a mat in the center of the hearth. Then the mantrin should cover it with a cloth blessed with the mantras. Kindling the Consumer of Offerings and summoning Agni, whose body blazes with thousands of flames and who resembles the white moon, tranquil and limitless, he should arrange the offerings.

Then the thoughtful one should place before him the image and other things. Summoning the group of the Tathāgatas, he arranges the offerings and the rest, and performs the worship as already explained.

Having prepared the sacrificial offerings and having arranged them for burning, he should distribute them 108 times to the Victorious Ones and the

[8] Vajravarman's Commentary, Taishō Tripiṭaka, 76.3453, pp.136.4.2 ff.

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others. Then he should arrange a burnt offering for the King of the purifying Mantra (Sarvadurgatipariśodhanarāja) 21 times.

Commentary[9]

Seven days after the death, the yogin dispels the obstructions by means of meditations on the wrathful divinities. He washes the corpse with milk, scented water, and other fluids blessed with the formulas (vidyā) of the divinities of the basic maṇḍala. He anoints it with camphor and other ointments and adorns it with ornaments and pieces of cloth in accordance with the four classes of men (brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, etc.). The corpse is incensed and blessed with the spells and wrapped with a garland. Next the yogin consecrates it at the heart with this spell: *oṃ sarvavid āvaraṇāni viśodhaya hana huṃ phaṭ*. He writes this spell with white sandalwood on a four-petaled lotus drawn on bark or something else and glues it with camphor on the navel. With the spell *oṃ sarvavid huṃ* he consecrates the eyes, with *oṃ sarvavit phaṭ* the ears, with *oṃ sarvavid aḥ* the nostrils, with *oṃ sarvavit trāṃ* the throat, with *oṃ sarvavid oṃ* the forehead, with *oṃ sarvavid huṃ* the head, with *oṃ sarvavit sra* the shoulders, with *oṃ sarvavid aḥ* the elbows, with *oṃ sarvavit traṭha* the ankles, with *oṃ sarvavit pa* the front private part, with *oṃ sarvavit śa* the rear, with *oṃ vajrādhitiṣṭha jñānasamaye huṃ* the crown of the head.

As for the other places, he consecrates (1) the two lower organs with the spell of Sarvavit, (2) the two thighs with the spell of Durgatipariśodhanarāja, (3) the calves with the spell of Ratnaketu, (4) the knees with the spell of Śākyamuni, and (5) the upper parts of the feet with the spell of Vikasitakusuma.

Next he places the corpse and the offerings in the maṇḍala and performs the consecration. Having completed the consecration, the yogin produces the form of the divinity of the deceased. On a mat smeared with melted butter and other items, he draws a lotus with eight petals, and on the top of this he pronounces and places the following mantra: *oṃ tiṣṭha vajra samayas tvaṃ*. He covers it with a cloth blessed 108 times with the basic mantras of the Five Tathāgatas. Then he disperses into space the boundless light of the seed syllable in his heart. By means of that he summons the Wrathful Jñānadeva Trailokyavijaya, white in color, rather angry and yet having a tranquil appearance, having four arms. In his right hands he holds a vajra and a noose. With one left hand he holds a lotus, and with the other one he makes threatening signs. He is adorned with all kinds of ornaments and wears Akṣobhya's diadem. With his feet he tramples on the sins of the deceased. He is endowed with masses of the knowledge fire of the Tathāgatas of the Three Times and the Ten Directions. Presenting offerings at his feet, the yogin imagines him seated in front of him on a lotus seat. Next he summons

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 137.5.5 ff.

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Agni, the god of rites, the great hermit (*las kyi me lha drang srong chen po*). He has four arms and is seated on a goat. In his right hands he holds a garland and a sacrificial ladle, and in his left hands an orb and a cup. He has the appearance of a hermit. The yogin pours five ladles of melted butter on the fire and says *oṃ deva śākya bhūta saṃ śākyarāja tathāgata arhan samyaksambuddha oṃ havakavya jvala svāhā*. He puts three more ladles of melted butter and says *oṃ agnaye raṃ raṃ daha daha śāntiṃ kuru svāhā*.

The he summons the Sugatas by means of the previously explained method. He presents them with offerings, invites them to enter the hearth, and worships them. First he offers a burnt sacrifice three times to Agni in his transcendent form (*ye śes kyi byin za*) together with his mantra. Then he presents offerings to the Precious Ones. Next he makes an offering three times to Agni as Fire God of Rites (*las kyi me lha*). Following this he says *oṃ vairocana oṃ pāpaśāntiṃ kuru svāhā, oṃ sarvadurgatipariśodhana huṃ pāpaśāntiṃ kuru svāhā, oṃ ratnaketu sra pāpaśāntiṃ kuru svāhā, oṃ śākyamuni aḥ pāpaśāntiṃ kuru svāhā, oṃ vikasitakusuma traṭha agaccha pāpaśāntim kuru svāhā;* he continues in the same way pronouncing the mantras of the other divinities belonging to the maṇḍala. He pronounces those mantras and makes the mudras of the Sugatas, their sons and the entourage. He should do it 108 times. Then he should make an offering 21 times to the Tathāgatas reciting the basic mantra of Sarvadurgatipariśodhanarāja (*oṃ namas sarvadurgatipariśodhanarājāya tathāgatāyārhate samyaksambuddhāya tadyathā oṃ śodhane śodhane sarvapāpaviśodhane śuddhe viśuddhe sarvakarmāvaraṇaviśuddhe svāhā*).

While presenting the offering, he wears a diadem on his head, necklaces, bracelets, finger rings, and other ornaments, and is dressed in a white garment. He looks towards the east and arouses in himself thoughts of great compassion. First he presents flowers, then incense, melted butter, boiled rice, milk boiled with rice, three sweet things, pastry, parched rice, etc. He offers them making the lotus gesture and performing a dance.

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HOMA IN EAST ASIA

Michel Strickmann

HOMA IN CONTEXT

REMARKABLE TESTIMONY TO THE radiation and persistence of ancient Indian fire ritual is found at the extreme eastern limit of Indian cultural diffusion, in present-day Japan.* There the Homa rite (Japanese *goma* 護摩) may still be observed performed by ordained Buddhist monks, members of the Shingon and Tendai orders, as well as the Yamabushi, or mountain-dwelling ascetics. The larger context of the rite is Tantric, or esoteric, Buddhism, and the Japanese survivals parallel other remaining ritual complexes that represent the Tantric phase of Indian religions. Examples are the Śaivite traditions of Tamilnadu and Kashmir, the practices of the Hindu-Buddhist Vajrācāryas among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, those of the Śaivite and "Bauddha-Brahman" priesthoods of Bali, and the vast and complex ceremonial of the Buddhists and Bon-po of Tibet. In all these milieux we find versions of Homa preserved within a larger corpus of similarly structured rituals. Such rites are "Tantric" if we accept as a minimal definition of this imprecise but useful term that they center upon the visualization by the officiant of the deity to whom the rite is addressed, with whom the officiant then proceeds to identify himself or otherwise unite.

Thus, these contemporary instances of Homa do not represent the Vedic ritual, but rather its Tantric metamorphosis. It is well known that the Tantras (or Śaivite āgamas) embody a conscious antithesis to Vedic rites and precepts—an element that we will discover in the East Asian Buddhist documents, as well. Their antithetical stance need not represent a true break in continuity, however; explicit opposition may as often as not prove to be a rationale justifying pragmatic assimilation and continuance of ancient practices under altered social conditions. Yet the basic structural homogeneity of Tantric ritual, transcending sectarian and ethno-linguistic boundaries, clearly calls for study of this material in its own right. A very considerable portion of Asian religious practice has been determined by the Tantric revolution that pulsated in successive waves of ever increasing intensity through the third to twelfth centuries. We may look forward to the comparative study of this cognate ritual matter as it survives in texts and living traditions, in India and abroad. Meanwhile, though, work on the several

* The letter *T* followed by a number refers to works in the Taishō edition of the Sino-Japanese Buddhist Canon (100 vols., Tokyo, 1924–35), as listed in *Hōbōgirin* 1978. A more ample recension of this essay will be published in the third volume of *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, Brussels, 1983.

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national and sectarian corpuses has only recently begun, and interest in their shared elements has accordingly been slow to awaken.

Awareness of the need and opportunity for coordinated research has been delayed by problems of terminology and definition no less than by the general obfuscation that still surrounds matters "Tantric." In some instances the nature and extent of potential resources, both texts and living traditions, are still too little known. The case of the Indian survivals is instructive. It was long supposed that the original Śaivāgamas, the third/seventh century basis of Hindu Tantra in South India, no longer existed. Descriptions of the various forms of South Indian Śaivism drew on late hagiography and syncretic compilations, blithely omitting the central ritual element—the Tantric core of the religion—that forms the subject of the original āgamas. Only through the efforts of M. Jean Filliozat, Mme Hélène Brunner, and their colleagues at the Institut Français d'Indologie in Pondichéry have a number of the most important āgamas been recovered in manuscript and authenticated; they are being systematically edited, analyzed, and translated (Filliozat 1961). There is no further doubt that in these long-neglected scriptures lies the origin of modern Indian religious ritual, and the Śaivāgamas are no whit less significant in respect to subsequent developments than the Vedas were before them (Brunner 1977).

Descriptions of practice may be found in Diehl (1956) and Gonda (1970; pp. 84–86), while there is also an account of the comparable rite in the Vaishnavite sphere (Joshi 1959, pp. 13–17). With regard to the texts of the dominant Śaivite tradition, Mme Brunner is completing an edition and translation of a voluminous ritual manual of the eleventh century. This text contains a section on Homa (called *āhuti* in the Śaivāgamas) based directly on the āgamas and in turn providing the authority for later, still current manuals of priestly practice (Brunner 1963–77, II, 86 ff. et passim). Mme Brunner's careful work on fundamental Sanskrit documents provides a basic point of reference for those engaged in the study of Tantric rites outside of India.

The late Christiaan Hooykaas dedicated the latter part of a long and fruitful scholarly career to the reconstruction of the ritual of the Śaivite and Buddhist priesthood of Bali—a complex Tantrism with mixed features and marked local assimilation (Hooykaas 1964). A dwindling remnant, these priestly initiates preserve palm-leaf manuscripts that Dr. Hooykaas was at pains to collect, collate, publish, and translate (Hooykaas 1966, 1973). He also began the work of comparison with South Indian traditions and documents (Hooykaas 1966, pp. 141–156). Indeed, one of his last major studies was on "Homa in India and Bali" (Hooykaas 1982), of which a portion is published in this volume (pages 382–402).

The Kathmandu Valley of Nepal offers another theater of Tantric ritual operations, one no less marked than Bali by assimilation to local custom and social structure. There among the Newars the descendants of the old Buddhist sangha form the Banra caste. Their elite are the Vajra masters,

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Vajrācāryas, who may or may not be learned in their hereditary traditions, but of whom it has been written, "Their one need is to know how to perform the rites, of which the homa-sacrifice is the most important" (Snellgrove 1957, p. 112). John Locke has completed a comprehensive study of Vajrācārya rituals, where we find Homa forming "an integral part of some of the life-cycle rites, notably the marriage ceremony, caste initiation rites, and the dīkṣā ceremony. It forms a part of the consecration rite of images, is used for the annual worship of the family deity, and for other occasional pūjās a family may ask their priest to perform it if they can afford it" (Locke 1977, p. 127). Locke has described Homa as carried out in the larger context of Newari Buddhist ritual practice (*ibid.*, pp. 126–140).

Still another great corpus of information on Tantric Homa is found within Tibetan Buddhism and its Mongolian offshoot. There is of course much material awaiting study in the Tantras themselves and their commentaries, whether translated into Tibetan or composed directly in that language, and preserved in the several editions of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka as well as the great collections of the different religious orders. Meanwhile, we now have critical editions of several prescriptive texts from the Tripiṭaka dealing specifically with the performance of Homa (Miyasaka et al., 1972). Moreover, accounts of recent or current practice have been published by Lessing describing Homa as performed by Mongolian lamas at the Yung-ho kung 永和宮 in Peking (1942, pp. 150–161), by Schröder, working among the Mongols of the Kansu frontier (1952, pp. 860–870), and by Beyer, observing Tibetan bKa'-rgyud-pa refugees in India (1973, pp. 264–275). Nebesky-Wojkowitz described the several forms of Agni invoked in Tibetan Homa rites on the basis of manuscripts and block prints in the collection of the Leiden Ethnographical Museum (1956, pp. 528–532).

Scholarly activity is thus well underway on several fronts, yet it is surprising that so little has been done by Western scholars on what is perhaps the longest unbroken tradition and the most abundant textual corpus of all—the texts and rites of Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhism preserved in the Shingon and Tendai schools. The relative attention accorded the various Tantric survivals appears to be in inverse proportion to their accessibility. Tibetan Buddhist studies undoubtedly drew strength from the cloud of mystery that long enveloped Tibet and owe much of their current vigor to the menace that has hung over Tibetan traditions since 1959. The specialists in Śaivāgama have had to battle against indigenous prejudice and academic obscurantism in recovering and restoring to their proper place scriptures long consigned to oblivion. Until very recent years, the practices of the Newari Vajrācāryas remained closed to outside observers. In Bali Dr. Hooykaas and his associates were obliged to search out and piece together fragmentary manuscripts, deciphering crabbed scripts and restoring corrupt texts eked out with the oral information supplied by a vanishing handful of traditional practitioners.

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The situation with regard to Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhism is entirely other. The Homa rite may be freely observed daily throughout Japan. Moreover, our textual resources are all but limitless, and there is no problem of accessibility, for most are readily available in print. Indeed, the basic Chinese descriptions of these rites have all been in print for fully a thousand years, since the first printing of a Chinese Buddhist Canon in 971–983. The great Buddhist publication projects of the twentieth century have made the standard works accessible in convenient form: authoritative scriptures translated from the Sanskrit, detailed commentatorial expositions compiled in China, Chinese and Sino-Japanese epitomes of rites, enchiridia for the officiant, elaborate compendia of sādhanas—all are easily to be found in most university libraries in Europe and America. The manuscript tradition, too, was until recently very much alive, and the abundance of handwritten ritual manuals—many with added notes recording orally transmitted instructions and the discrepancies in their various accounts—attest the vigor and profusion of the numerous lineages and sublineages of Shingon and Tendai Buddhism in Japan.

There is, then, no lack of material, nor of opportunities for direct observation. The only question is, how have Western scholars contrived to neglect all this for so long? This form of Buddhism and its rituals played an important role in China, especially during the T'ang (cf. Chou 1945, van Gulik 1935). In Japan, where one speaks of the "esoterization" (*mikkyō-ka* 密教化) of all forms of Buddhism, the Tantric rites of Shingon and Tendai have reigned, aristocratic and supreme, ever since their establishment at the ninth-century Heian court (Hayami 1975, De Visser 1935). In the context of East Asian cultural history, there is no excuse for neglecting the copious remains of Tantric Buddhism. Still less should Buddhologists continue to slight the Sino-Japanese evidence in favor of Indo-Tibetan materials. In studying Tantric Buddhism, Western scholars have hestitated to recognize the importance of East Asian survivals, even as they have been behindhand in acknowledging the relevance of analogous Tantric matter preserved outside the Buddhist fold, whether in South India or in Bali. Narrow parochialism should have no place in studying a subject of such scope and importance. The unbroken series of translations into Chinese from the third through ninth centuries furnishes the most reliable documentation of the development of Buddhist Tantra in India, even as the subsidiary exegetical texts composed in China and Japan provide the clearest record of the system's adaptation within a non-Indian cultural context. This great mass of texts and living traditions calls out for systematic investigation, and its integration within the larger field of Buddhist studies is urgent.

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SCHOLARSHIP TO DATE

Though the texts and rites of East Asian Tantric Buddhism have been neglected in the West, Japanese scholarship on this subject has, in a sense, been continuous since the ninth century. Yet even at the present time, Japanese writing on the Homa, as on other Tantric rites, is still virtually the exclusive preserve of learned initiates, Shingon and Tendai masters. Themselves duly ordained practitioners, they normally address their writings on ritual to professional colleagues. Most twentieth-century scholarship on our subject, then, is sectarian, being written not merely by priests for other priests but, even more narrowly, for other priests within the same ritual lineage. Japanese indologists at secular universities are duly impressed by fragmentary survivals of archaic Vedic rites in India, but they generally take no cognizance whatever of the Homa that may be in course of performance two streets away from their lecture halls and libraries. Indology itself is of course a recent and prestigious import to Japan from the West; its Japanese adepts are consequently caught in a rigidly secular and historicist attitude. Yet indology has also penetrated into the very different world of the Buddhist universities, where its influence has been considerable. In the present century, the scientific study of Sanskrit was incorporated into the curricula of these training centers for future priests; the standard textbooks of ritual that enjoy authority today in the several schools of Shingon and Tendai all reveal varying degrees of Sanskritizing sophistication.

Of these modern manuals there will be more to say below. Between them and the ultimate scriptural authority of the rites come scores, perhaps hundreds, of traditional prescriptive texts, each one authoritative for a greater or lesser span of time within a particular ritual lineage or sublineage. Some of these texts present a bare ordering of the elements of the rite that is close to scriptural simplicity; others incorporate traditional commentaries crystallized for the most part sometime between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries. Most are fairly elaborate and describe the necessary visualizations, transcribe the mantras (which are written either in Siddham script — cf. Van Gulik 1956, Nakamura et al. 1977—or Chinese characters), and at the foot of the page provide sketches or linecuts of the relevant mudras at the place in the rite where they are to be formed. These traditional manuals are still in use. Whatever other compendious critical works with historical comments and reconstructed Sanskrit mantras the officiant may once have been exposed to, it is the standard manual of his lineage, printed in traditional accordion format, that lies open before him when he performs the Homa. And we may safely assume that once their intensive pseudoacademic training is over, most priests today as in the past have little more to guide them than the authority of their own traditional manual, often with supplementary notes written in from the instruction of their teachers.

There have been several attempts by scholar-priests to study the his-

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torical development of Homa, its symbolic meaning, and its place in the Sino-Japanese Buddhist tradition. The pioneering work is Saeki 1929, the first book devoted to a comprehensive discussion of the subject. Still of value, its 1972 reprint contains an inventory of nearly 350 different manuscript sets of instructions for performing various types of Homa, preserved in the Kōyasan University library. Rather more popular than Saeki's work, and addressed to a wider audience, is Takai 1941. Here the emphasis is on the scriptural sources for the character and attributes of the Homa's chief divinity, Fudō myōō 不動明王 (Acalavidyārāja), but the second half of the book contains a clear presentation of the structure and objectives of the rite. A third specialized work on the Homa is Kamei 1971. Its orientation is explicitly historical, but the resemblances between this book and Saeki's work of over forty years earlier are many and striking. The organization of the subject is virtually identical, the section-headings are the same, the same illustrative texts are drawn upon. Such are the conservative virtues and imaginative limitations of priestly scholarship. Both Saeki and Kamei begin bravely enough with the Vedas. Both neglect, as we can no longer afford to do, the steadily emerging medieval Indian sources, which are certain to prove of more immediate relevance than the Vedas to the study of early Tantric Buddhism. The organization of their studies according to the topics traditionaly recognized as significant by Shingon scholars of Homa rather obscures the historical development of the subject itself as presented in Saeki's and Kamei's books. Yet both authors have drawn forth and discussed a considerable quantity of valuable information from the Chinese sources, and all students of Homa must be indebted to them.

The standard Buddhist encyclopedias and dictionaries contain concise descriptions of the Homa rite: the comprehensive *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* (II, pp. 1294a–1295c) as well as the specialized Tantric *Mikkyō daijiten* (1969 reprint, II, pp. 638a–645a), Sawa (1975, pp. 227–229), and Tomita (1911, pp. 336–338). It should be noted, however, that these accounts all follow the canonical scriptural directives, rather than describing actual practice. Analyses of the many and various prescriptive texts will be found throughout the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*; Tendai manuals are listed in Shibuya 1943. On the broader context of the development of Tantric Buddhist ritual, there is much to be found in the massive pioneering work of Ōmura Seigai (1918), based on the Chinese translations and commentaries. Special mention must be made, too, of Toganoo Shōun 1935, a thoroughgoing discussion of the basic Shingon rituals by a Kōyasan scholar noteworthy for the exceptional breadth of his learning. (Homa is treated on pp. 85–96.) Descriptions by Shingon scholars of the development of Tantric Buddhism as a whole are Toganoo 1933 and Matsunaga 1969a, which contain passing mentions of Homa in historical context. On the history of Tantric Buddhism in T'ang and pre-T'ang China, there are Ōmura 1918, Chou 1945, and the essays collected in Osabe 1971. For Japanese Shingon history the

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standard work is Kushida 1964 with its 1979 sequel; Hayami 1975 is very important for the place of Tantric rites in medieval Japanese society. Finally, specialized articles on Homa will be found listed in the rather incomplete Shingon bibliography by Natsume (1975), and, more fully, by Matsunaga (1972, p. 231). They are not numerous.

HOMA IN PROTO-TANTRIC TEXTS

Indology is starved for historical documents; sinology is glutted by them. Nearly all the texts with which we have to deal in recovering the history of Homa in East Asia are either already dated and localized or else easily datable. In India it might be daring to attempt the "history" of a rite; in China it would be risky to neglect it. At the present, preliminary stage of inquiry, the superabundance of undigested, dated materials precludes any effort towards a would-be masterly synthesis. Later on it may be possible to isolate crucial stages and vital issues, then at long last to pronounce significantly on the subject as a whole. Meanwhile, our task must be provisional, historical piecework, and we will depend very largely on delving and discoveries already accomplished by Saeki, Kamei, and other Japanese scholars. The task is the more compelling in that, if nothing else, it should serve to dispel the ingrained notion that the first description of Homa as a Buddhist rite is found in the eighth-century *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* (Snellgrove 1957, p. 112; Locke 1977, p. 127). In isolating Homa-related elements among the vast textual débris of Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhism to assemble the first part of this study, we will inevitably lose sight of Homa as a coherent rite. I hope it will eventually be possible to offset this failing by providing a well-illustrated description of a Homa rite as currently performed in Kyoto.

The question of continuity from Vedic times, so momentous for the Shingon scholars, need not concern us, and it is still too early to attempt a full-scale confrontation with the medieval Śaivite texts. The relevant Chinese translations document two main stages in the development of Tantric Buddhism. The first, known to Japanese scholars as "diffuse esoterism" (*zōmitsu* 雑密), begins with translations made as early as the third century A.D. Among these works are astrological texts such as the Mātaṅgī-sūtra and—in ever-growing numbers as the centuries advance—independent books of spells (dhāraṇī-sūtras) and comprehensive anthologies of dhāraṇīs and mantras. To this welter of texts, Ōmura Seigai has provided the only systematic guide (1918, pp. 1–352). In the traditional Shingon perspective, the formal distinguishing characteristic of this literature is its having been pronounced by the historical Buddha of our own world, Śākyamuni, otherwise glossed as the Saṃbhogakāya. Moreover it is supposed to treat exclusively of means for attaining worldly ends: protection from disease,

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robbers, death; the bringing of rain, and the augmentation of riches or length of life. For those who classify Tantric complexities according to the later, fourfold schema current among the Tibetan exegetes, these early works fall into the kriyā or caryā classes (cf. Matsunaga 1969b). I would suggest that at our present stage of nescience, the relevance of that classification as well as the validity of the criterion of "worldliness" applied to the proto-Tantric literature should still be considered open questions.

In contrast to this proto-Tantric matter, the second and dominant class of texts is termed "pure esoterism" (*junmitsu* 純密). Here the disclosing noumenon is no longer Śākyamuni, but rather the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana (Dainichi-nyōrai 大日如來), the Dharmakāya. Works of this class are consequently taken to represent a higher, purer stage of revelation. It is certain that they contain on the whole a far more elaborate systematization of Tantric Buddhist doctrine and practice. Ritual is still the central concern, but a complex anagogic structure has been superimposed upon each rite and all its component parts. Using such texts—translated, adapted, or even created directly in eighth-century China—the nascent Shingon and Tendai schools were to found their own synthesis in ninth-century Japan. It is therefore among this group of scriptures that we find the ultimate prototypes of the long series of subsequent practical directives for carrying out the Homa and most other major Shingon and Tendai rituals. Yet despite the seeming clarity of the time-honored distinction between the texts of "diffuse" esoterism and those of the mature, self-conscious system, it should be recognized that the transition from proto-Tantra was in fact a gradual and subtle process. The earlier literature anticipates the later synthesis in many ways. There are, for example, suggestions of Homa in fourth-century texts, and we shall see that a fully Buddhist Homa rite was already in existence by the sixth century.

Tantric Buddhism in its successive phases is characterized by a near-obsessive inclusiveness. Buddhism as a whole drew to itself from its surroundings numberless divinities and practices, to which it proceeded to assign new significance and functions. The process is all the more pronounced in the materials we are calling "Tantric", for it is clear that from the beginning the practices they document evolved in close symbiosis with the gods and rites of the profane. Hence the complex and thoroughgoing reabsorption of the "pan-Indian substrate" in the system's canonical Sanskrit form (cf. Ruegg 1964; and 1967, pp. 18–22). All this is of course still reflected in the various extra-Indian Tantric systems, each of which has also duly erected its own exuberantly assimilative superstructure on local foundations. For Buddhist authors, Homa itself was an arch-"heretical" rite at the outset, and medieval Buddhist texts frequently allude to the continuing popularity of various forms of Homa among non-Buddhists—a Homa false and delusive, when compared with its Buddhist counterpart. The presence of Homa among rites promoted by the Buddha must be viewed within the dominant

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mythological drama of Tantric Buddhism, the submission and conversion of the pagan gods (see Iyanaga 1983; and Stein 1971–78). In the dhāraṇī-sūtras and proto-Tantric literature generally, the Buddha and his host of saints are often little more than a foil for more ambiguous personages, rumbustious spiritual beings from outside the fold. The earlier careers of these figures, be they gods or demon kings, were full of dramatic, often gory incident that some of the texts detail at length. Now in all repentance and humility they approach the Buddha's tranquil circle to make submission, but they bear with them, as offerings to the community, all the awesome devices that previously enabled them to dominate demonic legions. These potent spells and rites, they aver, will be indispensable to monks and nuns of future times, when the Buddha is no longer present in the world and his Law is threatened with extinction (Strickmann 1980). So we find in Buddhist proto-Tantric literature mantras, astrology, and fire offerings that superficially resemble the practices of the profane, yet we are constantly assured that their true purpose and inner meaning are other and transcendent, among these Buddhists so skilled at giving "un sens plus pur aux mots de la tribu."

The text regularly adduced by Shingon scholars as furnishing the earliest description in Chinese of a Homa performance not surprisingly places it in a non-Buddhist, even anti-Buddhist, context. A version of the Mātaṅgīsūtra tells of the rite carried out by a Caṇḍālī woman whose daughter was infatuated with the Buddha's handsome disciple, Ānanda. To entice him away from his master, the sorceress "smeared the floor of her house with cowdung, on which she spread white rushes. In this ritual area she proceeded to light a great, raging fire into which she threw 108 flowers, reciting her spell in its entirety with every flower she threw" (T. 1300, XXI: 400a27 et seq.). There is no doubting the downright worldliness of this rudimentary procedure, and the narrative is supposed to be an early third-century translation of a still more precocious Indian original (Ōmura 1918, p. 50; Saeki 1929, p. 44; Kamei 1967, pp. 14, 34). There is a problem here, however. The influential Mātaṅgīsūtra was several times translated into Chinese, and there are four extant versions, each different from the others. The traditionally accepted sequence among them has been T. 551 (second century A.D.), T. 552 (perhaps just after the preceding), T. 1300 (early third century) and T. 1301 (late third century). A quite different sequence was established by Hayashiya Tomojirō, after critical scrutiny of the texts and early scriptural inventories: T. 1301, 551, 552, all probably third century, and T. 1300, middle or late fifth century (Hayashiya 1945, pp. 524–543). According to this revised reckoning, the text in which the Homa figures is the latest of the lot, and moreover either underwent considerable modification in the course of being translated or else was simply composed in China. In the earliest version of the sūtra, we find the scheming parent using water, not fire, to effect her designs; the flowers are magically produced in eight jars of water,

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into which they are cast again one by one after the spell has been intoned over each of them (T. 1301, XXI: 410c15 et seq.). Hayashiya's proposed reordering of the sūtras would accord very well with the larger literary context, for the most ample source of miscellaneous data on fire and non-Buddhist fire offerings was made available to Chinese readers and scriptural authors only with the translation of the Āgamas (Nikāyas)—which, as is well known, came to pass comparatively tardily, at the beginning of the fifth century (Demiéville 1953, pp. 418–419). In these "gospels of Buddhism" we find an enumeration of the different types of profane Homa as well as various metaphorical applications of the properties of fire in general. Metaphor is extended into the sphere of ethics in the Buddha's account of seven fires in the Saṃyuktāgama's second Agni sūtra—a concise treatise on the Brahmanic fire offering from an early Buddhist point of view. To be avoided are the fires of passion, hatred, and delusion. Three other fires, though, are worthy of reverence, the Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya, and Dakṣina. These three vital fires of śrauta ritual are here respectively identified with parents; wives, children, and domestic servants; and brahmans and recluses—three classes of persons deserving of honor and attention. Their Chinese renderings are the Basic Fire 根本火 (var. Fire of Reverence 恭敬火), the Householder's Fire 居家火 (var. Fire of Sorrow and Joy Together 苦樂俱火), and the Fire of the Field of Merit 福田火. These equivalents, particularly the third, in themselves reveal a degree of interpretation and Buddhist assimilation. A seventh fire, the "Wood Fire" 薪火, is described as requiring periodic quenching and relighting, but is not provided with an explicit social correlative (T. 99, II: 24b–25b; for variants, cf. T. 100, II: 464b–65b). Many other references to fire and fire rites are contained in the voluminous Jātaka and Avadāna literature, of which early Chinese translations can be found in Volumes III and IV (*Hon'en-bu* 本緣部) of the Taishō Canon.

The Āgamas, Jātakas, and Avadānas also furnish numerous references to a meditation on the element Fire, tejodhātusamādhi or jyotiṣprabhasamādhi. By its performance in the very remote past, the Buddha Puṣya is said to have brought the then Bodhisattva Śākyamuni rapidly on towards his eventual enlightenment (Lamotte 1949, pp. 253–254); the same exercise climaxes the legend of Gavāṃpati (*ibid.*, p. 253 n. 3). A text in the Madhyamāgama sets this meditation in explicit contrast to heretical fire worship; at the Buddha's bidding the ascetic Uruvela Kāśyapa attests his abandonment of the time-honored sacred fire by rising into the air and entering the Fire samādhi: "When he had entered that state his body put forth all manner of flames, blue, yellow, red, white, and the color of water-crystal 水晶 [glass]. When the lower part of his body sent out fire, the upper part sent out water, and when the upper part sent out fire the lower part sent out water." (T. 26, I: 497c20 et seq.). The Saṃyuktāgama tells a similar tale of Darva Mallaputra, who entered nirvāṇa by that means: "Facing east, he mounted into the air, manifested the four comportments—i.e., walking, standing,

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sitting and reclining—and entered the Fire samādhi. The lower part of his body produced a fire, and his body was penetrated on every side by flames of blue, yellow, red, white, and the pink of sphaṭika [glass]. Now the lower part of his body put forth fire that swept back and burned up his body; and then the upper part put forth water that laved his body; now the upper part put forth fire that went down and burned up his body, and then the lower part put forth water that went upwards and laved his body. When he had manifested these wonders in all ten directions, from within him came a fire that entirely consumed his body, and so he achieved nirvāṇa without residue, being entirely extinguished without so much as a mote of dust remaining. Like an oil lamp that has entirely burnt out in the air, so was the nirvāṇa in the air of Darva Mallaputra" (T. 99, II: 280c1–10).

The fatal, nirvāṇic aspect of the Fire meditation naturally came to dominate the literature. In the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅgikas, the Buddha himself is said to have "ascended by miraculous tread into the void, there entering Fire samādhi for his own jhāpita [cremation]" (T. 1425, XXII: 491a2–3). In one version of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, translated during the effervescent early fifth century as were all the texts so far quoted, we read of Subhadra, last of the Buddha's disciples, who could not bear that his master should predecease him and so entered the Fire samādhi and nirvāṇa in the presence of the dying Buddha (T. 7, I: 204b25–26). These good scriptural precedents and the satisfying finality of a total consumption of the body and all its impurities in flame promoted the practice of self-immolation among monks throughout East Asia (Gernet 1960; *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* I: 746–747). Yet similar fire meditations were prescribed in the course of regular monastic life, as well. The *Essential Rites of the Secrets of Dhyāna* (*Ch'an-pi yao-fa ching* 禪祕要法經), translated or compiled during the same period either by Kumārajīva or Dharmamitra, recommends the following meditation for purifying one's person after an infringement of the precepts. Following a statement of repentance and a preliminary cessation of discursive thought, the offender is to visualize a fire produced between his bones, burning away all impurities. Then its golden radiance flows outward and enters the crown of his head, whereupon he experiences a feeling of incomparable joy. Next his body is to be envisaged as a banana tree, the layers of skin like the overlapping leaves. The body becomes ever slighter till it is seen as a hollow, dessicated stalk. Subsequently a fire from within burns it all away, then fires arise in all four directions, the body is as hot as fire, a fire that is felt to arise in the joints and spring forth from every pore. The entire body seems a mass of flame, burning out of control. Then from the four quarters four huge flaming volcanos approach and unite in front of the of the meditator, who next beholds his own body fuse with them. This is called the Visualization of Fire (*huo-hsiang* 火想), and when the body has been completely consumed by this fire, the practitioner perceives that he is entirely without Self (T. 413, XV: 259c25–60a24).

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We will have to recall the ancient tradition of fire meditation when we come to consider the "Inner Homa," an essential feature of Tantric Buddhist Homa in East Asia from the eighth century on. We will also find that the central deity of the rite, Acalavidyārāja (Fudō-myōō), is regularly described and depicted in a state of Fire samādhi. Such continuity with early Buddhism, involving a conscious revivification of elements drawn from the oldest canonical literature, is characteristic of the mature Tantric system. Meanwhile, the few illustrative texts that we have selected from a very copious supply show that varied images of fire, charged with metaphorical and ritual power, became abundantly available to Chinese Buddhists early in the fifth century. With regret we turn from these vivid meditations to the prosaic traces of Homa itself in Buddhist ritual. PLATE 14

As the earliest evidence for a Buddhist Homa rite, the Japanese authorities quote a text attributed to Śrīmitra, master mantrist at the Eastern Chin court from ca. 317 to 343. It contains instructions for demarcating the ritual area to be used for the recitation of the *Peacock-Spell Sūtra* (*Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*), and is attached to an early sixth-century rendering of that work (T. 984, XIX: 458c–459a). Within the ritual area are to be arrayed five swords, five banners, twenty-one arrows, twenty-one oil lamps, and five mirrors. The earth is to be anointed with a perfumed decoction of two types of incense, in place of the cow dung used in such rites by the profane. Mustard seeds are to be burned in a fire, whereupon all evil demons will straightaway be entirely burned up.

The brief reference to the burning of mustard seeds has captivated the Japanese historians, for mustard seeds still figure among the offerings used in the Homa rite today (Ōmura 1918, p. 62; Matsunaga 1969a, pp. 133–134). But the attribution to the celebrated Śrīmitra may have been only hearsay; nothing else by him survives, though at the end of the sixth century his name was erroneously attached to a large collection of spells that had in fact been compiled ca. 457 (Strickmann 1980). Moreover, the burning itself is obviously apotropaic, to clear the ritual area of unwelcome otherworldly intruders, instead of propitiatory, as in the later Homa rite. A parallel is found in a dhāraṇī collection translated in 462, where the King of the Demons, Māra Pāpīmāt, newly converted by the Buddha, resolves to throw white sesamum and mustard seed into a fire—an act that will cause all demons similarly to burn away (T. 1335, XXI: 573a). Significant though the Peacock Spell instructions may be in tracing the general history of fire in Buddhist rites, the Japanese historians of Homa seem once again to have chosen a shaky proof text.

Much might still be written about other anticipations of Homa during this period. The 462 translation just mentioned gives comprehensive instructions for burning different types of incense and reciting mantras before the images of various deities to bring about the apparition of a golden-bodied goddess who will fulfill the worshiper's every wish (T. 1335, XXI: 579b1–

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PLATE 14

The Blue Fudō (Acala-vidyārāja)

Vajra Sword of Gnosis in his right hand, Lasso of Subjugation in his left, he is seated on a layered altar rock in the midst of water and enveloped in Garuḍa-headed flames. Shōren-in 青蓮院, Kyoto.

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29). Incense is among the offerings made in the full-scale Homa, and evocation of a divinity is one of the rite's basic objectives. We will see that there are remarkable parallels between Homa hearth and incense burner. Theoretically, their proper functions are quite discrete, but in East Asia at least they show certain intriguing convergences.

Rather than combing early sūtras for other suggestive analogies, however, we should go directly to the first firmly attested Buddhist Homa texts. We have now to leave the fascinating fifth century, that bubbling spiritual alembic in which a truly Chinese Buddhism was first distilled, since our earliest certain document is a translation made in North China sometime during the years 561–578. The *Spirit Spells of the Eleven-Visaged Kuan-shih-yin* 觀世音 directs that a white sandalwood icon of this divinity, Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara, be fashioned and consecrated. The proper mantras are to be recited in its presence during the first fortnight of the month, as the offerings set before the image are gradually increased. On the fourteenth and fiteenth days, the officiant is to light a fire of sandalwood in front of the icon. Before his own seat he is to place a pint of vegetable oil in a bronze vessel. He should have prepared 1,008 slender, inch-long pieces of aloes wood. Beginning at noon on the fifteenth he takes the aromatic tablets one by one, dips them in oil, and places them in the fire as he recites the mantra of Kuan-shih-yin. He continues until all 1,008 slips have been consumed. During these two days, the fourteenth and fifteenth, he is to eat nothing at all. When the rite has been completed, during the night of the fifteenth, Kuan-shih-yin will descend into the icon, which will begin to tremble. From the topmost of the statue's eleven heads will issue a voice praising the officiant: "Well done, well done, good son—I have come to behold you. All your wishes shall now be fulfilled" (T. 1070, XX: 150c20–151a27; Saeki 1929, pp. 37–38).

This Buddhist proto-Homa well illustrates the axial relationship between incense burner and fire altar, for the rite is structurally all but identical with the procedure described in the text of 462, and both the fire's basic fuel and its subsequent mantra-endowed nourishment are fragrant woods, among the most precious of aromatics. Still, we have clearly entered a new phase of ritual. A special fire is to be constructed for the transmission of an offering, and the spell wood is to be dipped in oil before burning, as is done in the Homa today. Though closely akin to the earlier rite, it is nonetheless distinct—a fire offering, not simply another pious fumigation. As in the fifth-century text, an icon serves as the support for visualization, but the great Bodhisattva that now enters it is unquestionably a higher power. Yet the rite itself is primitive enough. The way towards Homa finally seems clear, but we have still to wait for most of the elements that were to characterize the fully developed rite, from the elaborate altar fittings and numerous symbolic offerings to the well-thought-out soteric purpose of each step in the proceedings. At this point many of the later components of Tantric Homa

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can already be traced in the Chinese translations, separately present but as if floating in suspension, prior to being fused in a comprehensive system. Yet we can confidently state that by the mid-sixth century at the latest, a Buddhist Homa rite existed in India.

The Avalokiteśvara book of spells declares that the officiant to whom the Bodhisattva appears will be given his choice among four wishes: to be able to fly into the air without leaving the ritual area, to join the host of saints and enjoy perfect freedom, to be a king among mantra possessors, or to be able in his present body to accompany Kuan-shih-yin. Though any simple wish fulfilment might be deemed a "worldly" aim, these several objectives are easily assimilable to loftier spiritual ambitions, as well. A rite of this type could also be put to immediate practical use. In the event of illness, whether among men or cattle, the text prescribes dipping in white mustard-seed oil, becharming, and burning in an acacia-wood fire 1,008 slips of acacia wood, each the thickness of a writing brush.* Their total consumption will bring about the total cure of all maladies (T. 1070, XX: 151b28–c5).

Homa directives begin to proliferate in other translations made under the Sui dynasty (581–618) and during the first decades of the T'ang. Most also came under the patronage of Kuan-shih-yin and formed part of the rapidly expanding literature and rites of this most popular of all Buddhist deities. They show a clear therapeutic bias and employ steadily increasing quantities of ritual properties and offerings. The materials to be burned include incense pellets, wood dipped in curds and honey, and lotus flowers—all in the auspicious number of 108 (Saeki 1929: 46). The fullest presentation of this material is in the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* 陀羅尼集經, translated or compiled in the early 650s in Ch'ang-an. This large work, a summa of proto-Tantric ritual, attests the diversity and general lack of system that still prevailed. There was still no neat formal classification of the various types of Homa; we find different versions presented as bringing relief from disease, deliverance from demons, robbers, rapacious officials, and unseasonable weather, as well as the fulfilment of all desires. One fire rite is endowed with the function of annihilating sins (*mieh tsui* 滅罪), and this inkling of a metaphorical and moral purpose has been duly noted by the modern scholar-monks as yet another anticipation of the later, symbolic Homa. The medium, once again, is the apotropaic white mustard seed;

* The text describes the combustible as "purple oak" 紫櫪, and the same term is found in the 651 version of the rite (T. 901, XVIII: 825a26–27; it occurs in five other rites in T. 901). The compilers of the relevant index volume to the Taishō Canon have identified it as Khadira 謁陀羅 (*Acacia catechu*). Hsüan-tsang's 玄奘 seventh-century and Amoghavajra's 不空 eighth-century renderings of the Kuan-shih-yin text require Nimba wood (*Melia azedarach*)—"the Bitter *Lien* tree" 苦楝木 (T. 1071, XX: 154b18–19; T. 1096, XX:142a6). Both woods were later used in the Homa of exorcistic Subjugation 降伏(Abhicāraka).

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demon-quelling has here been made allegorical (Saeki 1929, p. 47; Kamei 1967, p. 39).

There is still a dominant association of Homa with Kuan-shih-yin, an association later to be prolonged in medieval Japan in the rite of the Six-Syllable Mantra 六字法 and other widely diffused therapeutic procedures (Hayami 1970, pp. 202–206). But other deities also promote Homa in the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, and we find there, too, the first reference to Agni in the context of Buddhist Homa. The god of fire is to be invoked and installed within the hearth, the kuṇḍa. Curds mixed with honey and various other substances are to be placed in the fire as offerings to him. Then Agni is to be moved to the hearth's rim, and all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Vajra-beings and devas are to be invited into the kuṇḍa. In addition to curds and honey, the offerings to them comprise the five grains, different varieties of flowers and fragrances, cakes, fruits, and perfumed water. When the offerings have been made, each divinity is to be installed in his place, in due order of precedence, by forming the appropriate mudra and reciting the proper mantra. When all this has been accomplished, the entire host is to be sent off again, using the mudra of dismissal (T. 901, XVIII: 879c25–880a6).

Here we are close to the mature rite; its basic outline has been established. First comes the evocation and propitiation of Agni, the intermediary, a preliminary fire offering that prepares the way. This is followed by a full-scale summoning of the celestial hierarchy. They too descend to the fire altar in order of rank, where each receives various oblations in accordance with his nature and functions. It is already clear that the hearth corresponds to the center of a maṇḍala, and later texts make this explicit. The officiant manipulates his otherworldly visitors using the Three Mysteries of body, speech, and mind—the hand-formed mudras, the murmured mantras, and the force of visualization. The rite completed, he dismisses them. This is a simple picture of Homa as still performed today.

A pair of texts translated by Bodhiruci ca. 709 indicate a notable advance. They furnish the earliest systematic classification of Homa types. In these works we find the word Homa transcribed as *hu-ma* 護摩; I have not yet noticed an earlier occurrence of this term, which was to become standard. They divide the rite's procedures into three stages: the Fire Altar 火壇法 (i.e., the invocation of Agni), the Hearth 鑪法 (invocation of the host of Buddhas et al.), and the Burning of Timely Edible Offerings 燒時食法. The texts further distinguish three sorts of Homa, each with a different objective and requiring a hearth of different shape and dimensions, special apparatus and offerings, and a particular spatial orientation and time schedule. They are the Śāntika 安隱法, Pauṣṭika 求大豐饒諸衆善法, and Abhicāraka 調伏他法: the Homa of Pacification, for assuring domestic and personal security; of Augmentation, for the increase of worldly goods and benefits; and of Subjugation, for the conquest of assailing demons or, indeed, human adversaries assimilated to demons (T. 951, XIX: 261c et seq.).

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For the Śāntika Homa of security, the altar is round and the officiant faces north, singlemindedly 一心 seated in a half-lotus position. He concludes each mantra with the syllables *svāhā* and burns black sesame-seed oil mixed with white mustard seeds as the offering. He feeds the fire with Nyagrodha (Banyan) wood [*Ficus retusa*], Uḍumbara wood [*Ficus glomerata*], Aśvatta wood [*Ficus religiosa*], and "Winter plant of the Celestial Portal" 天門冬草 [*Asparagus lucidus*].

To accomplish the Pauṣṭika Homa of increase, the altar is square and the officiant faces east, collectedly 定心 seated in full-lotus position. He concludes each mantra with the syllables *svāhā* and burns black sesame-seed oil mixed with white unhulled rice as the offering. He feeds the fire with Karavīraka wood [Oleander], Aśoka wood [*Jonesia asoka roxb.*], Asana wood [?], wood of the Bodhi tree [*Ficus religiosa*], and Sarjaka wood [Śāla, *Vatica robusta*].

In carrying out the Abhicāraka Homa of subjugation, the altar is triangular and the officiant faces south, furiously 瞋怒 crouching with the left knee raised, left foot on right ankle. He concludes each mantra with the syllable *hūṃ* and burns toxic pharmaka mixed with Lāṅgalī root [*Methonia superba*] as the offering. He feeds the fire with woods like Khadira [*Acacia catechu*], "Unscathed" 無樓 for 無漏 [here probably for Ariṣṭaka, *Sapindus detergens roxb.*], Bitter *Lien* 苦練 [Nimba, *Melia azedarach*], and Karavīraka [Oleander] (T. 952, XIX: 272c).

Owing to the quantity and variety of vegetable substances consumed in the rite, Homa manuals are a rich source of Sino-Indian botanical nomenclature. Apart from the standard onomastika, Mitsuhisa 1977 is helpful in this connection, and has a special section on plants listed in Homa texts and used in other Tantric Buddhist rites (pp. 138–164). Nonetheless, since there are no Sanskrit or Tibetan versions of the two works translated by Bodhiruci and no invariable system of identification or transcription was used by the Chinese, several of the foregoing equivalents must be regarded as tentative. It would no doubt be simpler to eliminate all references to dubious and perplexing plant names, but the substances used were crucial to the sense of the rite. Each was chosen with a specific intent, and it should prove rewarding to puzzle out in time exactly what was being burned, and why.

The three types of Homa attested in these early eighth-century translations were to continue to dominate later practice, though before the century was out they had been joined by two other formal categories. Even so, the purposes for which Homa was performed remained numerous and varied, and ever more involved texts of "diffuse" Tantrism continued to be translated throughout the T'ang and into the Sung. The tale of anticipations, ramifications, and variants could be endlessly prolonged, were we to pursue a fuller description of this massive ritual literature. But our account has now brought us to the beginning of the eighth century, which witnessed the advent of the mature Tantric system in China. To this system we must now turn.

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HOMA IN THE EIGHTH AND NINTH-CENTURY SYSTEM

The fundamental texts of Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhism include scriptures and ritual manuals translated from Sanskrit, as well as an even more voluminous body of scriptural commentaries, elaborations, and ritual instructions composed directly in Chinese. They emanate from the schools of the three great Tantric masters of the T'ang, the Indians Śubhakarasiṃha (Shan-wu-wei 善無畏), Vajrabodhi (Chin-kang-chih 金剛智), and Vajrabodhi's disciple, Amoghavajra (Pu-k'ung 不空), whose standard biographies have been translated by Chou Yi-liang (1945). These scholar-monks also trained great Chinese Tantric specialists; those whose works most closely concern the history of Homa are Śubhakarasiṃha's disciple and collaborator, I-hsing 一行 (673–727), and a spiritual descendant of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, the ninth-century master Fa-ch'üan 法全.

Śubhakarasiṃha arrived in China in 716 and died there in 735. Among his many translations, two of the most important are the Mahāvairocanasaṃbodhisūtra (T. 848) and the Susiddhikaramahātantra (T. 893). Unlike certain of the earlier dhāraṇī sūtras from which we have already quoted, both these works are also extant in Tibetan translations made directly from Sanskrit originals, and are fundamental to all subsequent Tantric development; they represent, as it were, the mainstream. The Susiddhikara deals succinctly with general Tantric procedures and regulations, including those employed in Homa, as do other texts rendered by Śubhakarasiṃha. But by far the most influential works to issue from his atelier were the translation of the Mahāvairocanasūtra (short title, *Book of the Great Sun* 大日經), which he made in collaboration with I-hsing, and the massive commentary in which I-hsing consigned the essentials of his master's oral exegesis of this text.

The study of these books is complicated by the existence of several alternative versions, both of the sūtra itself and the commentary. Apart from the basic Chinese translation, transmitted in successive printed versions of the Chinese and Sino-Korean Buddhist Canons (T. 848), there is of course the independent Tibetan rendering (no. 126 in the Ōtani Kanjur Catalogue). Moreover there are discrepancies in the scriptural text as quoted in the various recensions of I-hsing's scholia, and in the other major eighth-century commentary, by the Indian Buddhaguhya, preserved only in Tibetan (Ōtani Tanjur no. 3486). In Tibet the Mahāvairocana came to have an importance all its own. Fourteenth-century dGe-lugs-pa exegetes saw it as the chief Tantra of the Caryā class and hence the authority for numerous major rituals (Lessing and Wayman 1938, pp. 205 et seq.). The Tibetan translation has been published in a collated edition by Hattori (1931) and compared with the Chinese version by Sakai Shinten (1962). As for I-hsing's commentary, it also exists in several forms. Two distinct versions are readily

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accessible, both based on Japanese manuscripts. Text A is entitled *shu* 疏, "commentary," and has been printed as T. 1796. Text B, which terms itself *i-shih* 義釋, "explanation of meaning," is available in the supplement to the Chinese Buddhist Canon, the *Zoku zōkyō* 續藏經 (XXXVI: 507–986; Text A is also printed in the same volume, 57–505). The somewhat shorter Text A enjoys favor with the Shingon school, while Text B has authority in Tendai. Two other manuscript versions of I-hsing's work, preserved in Tendai temples, have never been published. Any attempt to reconstruct either a hypothetical Sanskrit original of the scripture or the successive stages in the formation of the I-hsing commentary would of course have to take all this material into account. We may be thankful that our aims are far more modest. The textual complexities have been described by Osabe (1963) and Iyanaga (1983); there is a French translation of the scripture's first section by Tajima (1936).

In the basic Chinese translation, divided into thirty-six topical sections (*p'in* 品) spread over seven books (*chüan* 卷), the major statement on Homa occupies section 27 in Book Six, and is entitled "Worldly and Otherwordly Homa" 世出世護摩品. Fortunately this section has already benefited from the critical scrutiny of Tsukinowa Kenryū, who noted divergences among the several Chinese and Tibetan versions (Tsukinowa 1971, pp. 616–639). Section 27 of the sūtra was to become the classic theoretical exposition of Homa, and so demands a reading. The Buddha Mahāvairocana opens it by recounting to his interlocutor, Vajrapāṇi, the "Master of Mysteries" 祕密主, an episode from his own earlier career. Long before, when he was still a Bodhisattva striving towards Enlightenment, he dwelt in the Brahmaloka. On one occasion, Brahmadeva asked him: "Great Brahman, we should like to know how many different sorts of fire there are." The future Buddha replied with a full genealogy of the descendants of Agni, "forty-four fires" in the Buddha's own summing-up, though no extant version of the list has quite so many. The Chinese and Tibetan texts are at variance concerning a number of the names; the interested reader may consult Tsukinowa's discussion. The line opens with celestial fire (*Mahābrahman ahaṃkara svayambhū*, alias Agni), then names the son of Mahābrahmā, Pāvaka, "the beginning of fire among men." *His* son is "Brahman-nourishment," Brahmodana, who in turn begat Pitara (the Tibetan has Bharata), and so forth. From the twelfth descendant of Agni on, the names are accompanied by a reference to functions; named for us are the specific fires employed after conception, ablutions, wife's ablutions, the birth and naming of a son, eating and drinking—through a long series of other common acts and domestic and civic rites—forty names in all. Such were the fires of which the names and cult had been orally transmitted by students of the Vedas, and such was therefore the Buddha's response to Brahmadeva. Yet, as he nows admits to Vajrapāṇi, all of that was before he had achieved enlightenment, and consequently before he had realized the true nature of fire and the

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proper manner of performing Homa. After his attainment of Buddhahood, he was able to expound the *twelve* fires—which evidently represent a higher, Buddhist understanding of the rite.

The list that follows names the twelve, and briefly describes their attributes. The Chinese and Tibetan versions are essentially in agreement here, but the commentaries of I-hsing and Buddhaguhya often differ in assigning the various fires to a particular type of Homa, differences that have been registered by Tsukinowa. Be that as it may, the scriptural list starts with "the Fire of Wisdom 智火 first of all, named Mahendra, dignified and golden, of increasing awesomeness, coiffed with flames and in a state of samādhi, manifesting the plenitude of wisdom." The second fire, "Fullness of Action" 行滿 (no Sanskrit name is given), sends forth its rays like the autumn moon, is surrounded by an auspicious wheel, and wears a pearl-adorned chignon and a pure white garment. The third, Māruta, is black as if parched in a burning wind. The fourth, Lohita ("Red"), is the color of the rising sun. The fifth, Mṛda, is heavily mustached and pale yellow in color, long-necked, gleaming, and entirely compassionate. The sixth, "Furious" 念怒 (again there is no Sanskrit), is squint-eyed, fog-colored, with an upright shock of hair and an earth-shaking bellow, powerful, and displaying four fangs in his mouth.

And so the catalogue continues. The commentaries make it clear that the twelve fires are to be visualized by the performer of Homa, each at the proper time. In the scriptural text, Vairocana declares:

Master of Mysteries, these various
  sorts of fire are to be maintained
Each according to its own form
  with the appropriate pharmaka, etc.
And in accomplishing this OUTER HOMA
  you will achieve siddhis according to your intention.
Moreover, though, in your own heart
  there is a single nature, but triune:
Three parts united to form one—
  the INNER HOMA of the yogin.
Performing it with great love and compassion
  is termed the rite for CESSATION OF ILLS.
Combining these qualities with joy,
  One accomplishes the rite for INCREASE OF BENEFITS.
Fury arises within the womb
  to make the various forms of karma.
Yet, Master of Mysteries,
  as has been explained,
In whatever form karma may arise
  so shall faith dissolve it and burn it away.

—T. 848, XVIII: 42c25–43c11.

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The opposition of "inner" and "outer" runs through the entire scriptural exposition. First, we had the forty-four profane fires of Vedic tradition, cultivated by the future Buddha before his enlightenment—or by the Brahman prior to his conversion to Buddhism. Only the awakened know the true twelve fires of the Buddhist analysis. In this formulation we find the explicit contrast with Vedic practice that Tantric Buddhism shares with the non-Buddhist Tantrism of the Śaivāgamas. Yet here it forms part of a fuller and still more ancient complex of ideas, through which Buddhists at large defined themselves in opposition to all other Indian religious doctrines, practices, and institutions. These were seen as the works of "heretics," the "external" teachings of outsiders (*wai-tao* 外道). For Buddhism itself is the true "inner" teaching (*nei-tien* 內典). Earlier we had another example of a similar dichotomy of fires, in the passage from the Saṃyuktāgama that contrasted the three venerable fires of śrauta ritual with the reprehensible fires of desire, anger, and ignorance. Here, too, was an instance of the Buddha approving the Vedic rite, at least as a metaphor. All this has now been supplanted by the elaboration of a properly Buddhist Homa.

Beyond this the scripture establishes a similar dichotomy within the Buddhist Homa itself. By nourishing the twelve fires with the appropriate substances and in the prescribed manner, the officiant will duly achieve the purpose of the rite—but this palpable, tangible cult is no more than an "Outer Homa" 外護摩. The yogin realizes that one must transcend the banal, mechanical exigencies of outward ritual. He knows that the three essential agents of the rite—the chief divinity, the fire, and himself, the officiant—form but a single entity, and he unites them in his meditation. For the "Inner Homa" 內護摩 is accomplished within the heart. PLATE 15

Thereupon Vajrapāṇi
  asked the Buddha: "O Venerable One,
How is the hearth to be arranged,
  how is the sprinkling to be performed,
How the auspicious grasses placed,
  and what implements are to be employed?"
The Buddha declared to the Master of Mysteries,
  the Holder of the Vajra:
"The hearth should be a cubit's measure,
  its four sides square and equal,
Its rim divided in four sections,
  sealed all around with a Vajra-seal.
Pile it with fresh rushes,
  going round the hearth towards the right.
Do not set the tips on the bases;
  the bases should be set upon the tips.
Then take the auspicious grass
  and sprinkle in the same manner, towards the right.

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PLATE 15

Inner Homa

Joining the two ladles, the priest unites with the divinity. Shinnyōdō 真如堂, Kyoto.

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Take powdered incense, flowers, and lamps,
  and present them to the God of Fire.
Let the officiant, with a single flower,
  perform an offering to Mṛda [Fire no. 5].
When the god has been installed in place,
  sprinkling is once again to be performed,
And full gift offerings made to him,
  causing him to stay by use of his own mantra.
Then perform the Homa for CESSATION OF ILLS,
  or else the rite for INCREASE OF BENEFITS.
Such is the worldly Homa
  that we term the OUTER service.
Thereafter comes the INNER HOMA
  which annihilates all karma.
One must fully understand one's own manas [mind]
  and avoid all sensual and other pleasures.
The acts of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body—
  as well as those of speech and thought—
All arise entirely in the heart
  and by the heart, the ruler, they are stopped.
Discriminations, as those by eye, etc.—
  and realms [viṣaya], such as that of sensual
    pleasure—
These obstacles to wisdom
  the Wind-Parched Fire [no. 3] is able to destory.
It burns away erroneous perceptions.
  and forms the pure heart of Bodhi [enlightenment].
This is termed the INNER HOMA,
  and I have expounded it for the benefit of
  Bodhisattvas."

—T. 848, XVIII: 43c12–44a8.
Cf. Sakai Shinten 1962 pp. 209–
216; Tsukinowa 1971, pp. 635–639.

The scripture's terse directives were fully elaborated by the eighth-century commentators and their successors. I-hsing's influential exposition gives a full account, most notably of the first fire, that of wisdom, expatiating on its symbolic and allegorical significance and explaining anagogically its purgation of the ignorance that results in karma and rebirth. The fire of wisdom may simply be visualized inwardly by the yogin—but where an outer, "worldly" Homa is in question, this first fire is most appropriate to the Homa of pacification, Śāntika. Yet I-hsing proceeds to specify that, as the divine fire of Wisdom is garbed in yellow, so should the officiant per-

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forming the Śāntika rite wear a yellow robe and construct a square hearth. This is anomalous, since we already know that yellow garments and square hearths are properties of the Pauṣṭika Homa, and indeed Buddhaguhya's commentary confirms that it is rather the Pauṣṭika rite that corresponds to the first fire—I-hsing's text is out of joint in both published versions. As Śāntika comes first in most enumerations of the three types of Homa, someone quite early on tried to square I-hsing's account with the traditional order, but did his work ineptly.

It is the second fire, then, that is appropriate to the Śāntika rite with its round hearth and white vestments. Ills are without number, comprising in the external world flood, fire, insects, hail, locusts, and all the other afflictions that devastate crops and cattle. Within the body itself, there are a myriad forms of disease and distress. All these the Śāntika rite eliminates, whether from one's own body or that of another. But firm faith is essential. Of this Homa for the cessation of ills there are also two forms. Its yogic practice requires only contemplation and recitation. For the Outer Homa, however, the fire rite must be accomplished. If one is able to provide the requisite offerings, it should be carried out in conjunction with the meditative rite. Otherwise the Inner Homa may be performed by itself. Yet it is illicit solely to realize Homa in the heart if one *does* have the wherewithal to accomplish the outer rite.

The third fire, the ashen wind-parched one, is suited to the Abhicāraka Homa. To the fourth no special function is assigned, but the fifth fire, Mṛda, is glossed as signifying "harmonious" or "conjoined." This hirsute, half-smiling ("neither angry nor joyful") god—whose body is half red (anger) and half yellow (joy)—seated on a couch of which the right half is square (earth) and the left triangular (fire), with a sword in his left hand and a vajra in his right, is equally suited to the Śāntika Homa of Pacification or the Aṅkuśa Homa of Captation 鉤—a fourth variety, which we have not yet encountered. In this case the officiant, ever obliged to assimilate himself to the divinity evoked, finds himself constrained to adopt the equivocal manner and raiment of the god: one eye furious, the other appeased, and so forth. Subsequently all the remaining fires are duly accounted for, though no further correlations with Homa types are ventured.

I-hsing also clarifies the scripture's implications concerning the true sense of the Inner Homa. It is, first, a recognition of the identity of the divinity, the fire, and the officiant. Moreover it signifies the unity of the Three Mysteries of body, speech, and mind—in other words, mudra, mantra, and visualization of the deity. Referring back to the scriptural text, I-hsing states that all is to be achieved by means of great love and great compassion. Union of these qualities with recognition of the identity of the three ritual functions constitutes the Śāntika Homa. When compassion is united with joy (as the scripture declares), one performs the Pauṣṭika Homa. And even the fury required for carrying out the Abhicāraka Homa is quite unlike the fury

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known in the everyday world, for it results from a thorough comprehension of the real nature of anger, perceived in compassion, and is only evoked as an expedient means of subduing evil. I-hsing then proceeds to a celebrated, oft-quoted definition: "Thus in general the meaning of Homa is with the fire of wisdom to burn the kindling of the kleśas until all are entirely consumed" (cf. Buddhaguhya on the sense of Inner Homa, Wayman 1959, pp. 121–122). It is thus the Inner Homa, at the center of the rite, that confers meaning and efficacy on all that precedes and follows it—the Outer Homa, within which it is encapsulated. And though the meditation may be used to effectuate various sorts of Homa, Homa performed without this meditative support is meaningless, even heretical: "One would simply be burning the kindling and vainly using up the offerings. Not only would one be committing a profane act, but moreover it would be devoid of all efficacy."

I-hsing's subsequent remarks on the practical realization of the Outer Homa are also based on Śubhakarasiṃha's oral explanations, and suggest the gap that already yawned between the laconic instructions of Tantric revelation and their ritual application. In the vital oral tradition, even the most ordinary-seeming vocables of scripture might prove to be freighted with a precise and elaborate esoteric significance. In a sense, the revealed scriptures only lived insofar as they were reinterpreted and applied in ritual, and commentaries such as I-hsing's are essential to an understanding of the sūtra's full potential. I-hsing's entire exposition of Homa should be studied in close comparison with the rite's subsequent history and current practice. Here we can only touch on a few points to clarify the scriptural text. First, the arcane-seeming injunction "Do not set the tips on the bases; the bases should be set on the tips" refers to the initial placing of the kindling, before the fire is lighted. The sticks are set across the hearth, resting on the rim, and care should be taken to place the root-end of one stick upon the flowering-end of the preceding one, and not the reverse, as they are laid criss-cross over the kuṇḍa. The "sprinkling" of the scripture denotes the argha water of hospitality offered to a newly arrived guest; we are referred to the Susiddhikaratantra for more detailed information. I-hsing himself distinguishes two methods of sprinkling. The first employs a small bundle of reeds, which is dipped in the argha water and sprinkled around to the right; this kind of sprinkling can also be done with the hand. The second type of sprinkling is termed "direct" or "orderly" sprinkling (*shun-sa* 順灑). Of this, too, there are two modes. One is employed at the outset, when first purifying the fire, and is called "direct sprinkling around to the right." The second, employed to purify the offerings, is simply a straightford sprinkling with no circular motion attached. We also learn that the term we naively translated as "full gift offerings" (*man shih* 滿施) is in fact the name of a large square ladle, which is to be used to convey various offerings to the flames. It is seconded in its work by a smaller ladle, but no more than a mention is made here, for

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such matters (I-hsing repeats) are treated at length in the "*Siddhi*" (T. 1793, XXXIX: 780b–782b).

This sampling from the great commentary may suffice to suggest some of the elaborations to which the revealed scripture gave rise. Before proceeding, we should follow I-hsing's counsel and examine the Susiddhikaratantra. The work is a treasury of ritual *Realien*, all neatly classified according to genre. It lists all the substances required for an extensive ritual repertory, and prescribes freely on proper modes of performance. Here we find the mass of practical detail that the self-consciously cryptic style of the Mahāvairocanasūtra denied us. However, use of this encyclopedia so agreeably full of information and devoid of literary pretensions is complicated by the involved state of the texts. Under its number T. 893 the Taishō Canon prints three different versions of this book, one from the Koryŏ Sino-Korean Canon, one from a Sung Canon, and one printed in Japan in 1418. There are considerable differences among all these editions, as well as among the several Japanese manuscripts that the editors adduce in their textual apparatus. Such was the fate of several of the seminal early eighth-century works that were at the core of the Tantric movement in East Asia, and consequently enjoyed wide manuscript diffusion in a large number of ritual lineages.

The Susiddhi's 25th section sets forth rules for the performance of Homa, and we can read there the instructions for using argha water to which I-hsing alludes, here integrated within a broad description of the rite. Directions for constructing the hearth are given. The wood, incense, and flowers are to be placed to the right, the various Homa vessels to the left. Appropriate mantras are to be used for purifying the offerings. The officiant holds the argha vessel in his hand and invokes the master of the suitable mantra, pours a small amount of the water in the hearth, then places there a flower and recites the mantra to purify the hearth. Next he recites the defensive mantra *kili-kili*,* followed by the kuṇḍalī mantra and a purifying sprinkling. Then he lights the fire, using "milk wood" 乳木—wood that still has the sap in it. At this point Agni is summoned: "I now respectfully request the Chief of Agni Devas, Best of Gods, Brahmacarin, Reverent, to descend into this place and receive the Homa." The mantra for invoking Agni is recited (it is given in Chinese phonetic transcription), argha water is sprinkled thrice in purification, and the various offerings, including the five grains, curds, and so forth, are thrown three times into the fire while the mantra of offering to Agni is intoned. Once Agni has been fed, he is to be visualized as withdrawing to his proper place in the maṇḍala that is in process of formation. Thereupon kili-kili is chanted again, accompanied by the appropriate mudra, and the fire is purified once more. These procedures are

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to be carried out at the beginning of every Homa, no matter what its category (T. 893, XVIII: 621b24–c21).

And so they are still performed today; indeed, in certain lineages the words of the summons to Agni are virtually identical. The preliminary offering to Agni is a Homa in miniature and anticipates the structure of the main portion of the rite, which follows. The need for distinguishing the several types of "sprinkling" becomes clear when we realize that the hearth must first be purified and made fitting for the god's descent, and the prospective offerings cleansed for his consumption. When the god arrives, he is to be accorded the protocol due an honored guest, beginning with the ceremonial washing of his feet—hence another libation. He must be given water to rinse his mouth before partaking of the meal, and when at length he has been seen off with due ceremony, the hearth must be laved again prior to inviting the next, higher-ranking visitor. This will of course be the chief deity to whom the principal Homa is addressed, a divinity to be chosen with reference to the rite's type and function. The Susiddhi carries the remainder of the ritual through to its conclusion. But this brief Homa section is very far from exhausting the work's resources on the subject. Whole sections are devoted to particular procedures that Homa shares with other rites, such as choice of the location (6) and invocation of the chief deity (17). Other sections treat of offerings of flowers (8), powdered incense (9), incense for burning (10), lamps (11), and edible offerings (12), all of which are Homa requisites. Individual sections are also provided on each of the three categories of rites—Śāntika (13), Pauṣṭika (14), and Abhicāraka (15)—replete with detail on the substances to be used in each. Yet even with all this we have not come to the end of the work's data on Homa. Recourse is had to Homa in virtually every circumstance of the Tantric religious life as described in the Susiddhi, and each function requires a Homa of a particular character and composition. The Susiddhi is consequently an exceptionally rich mine of information on fire ritual of all types.

Our preliminary reconnaissance has so far brought us only to the eighth century, and even the eighth-century Tantric synthesis that was transmitted to Japan still holds many sources on Homa which we have not yet mentioned. Even so, we can already perceive many of the complex forces of change, as well as conservation, that worked upon Homa in the context of Buddhism. India still had more to contribute in the way of Tantric developments, of course, and subsequent ever more elaborate Homa-types and symbolism were duly reflected in China, and particularly in Tibet. Yet quite as intriguing is the steady acclimatization of Homa in East Asia. Though this can be documented to some extent for China, it is best illustrated in Japan. For in the current practice of priests in the Shingon and Tendai lineages, we find a recognizably Indian rite curiously adapted to East Asian conditions—a rite, therefore, which despite its canonical Indian authority nevertheless shares certain formal features with the rituals of

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other East Asian forms of Buddhism, as well as with Taoism. These include the reading out of a written document, which is then burnt in the flames of the hearth, and the veneration of local godlings like the fox spirit (assimilated to Ḍakinī). Other groups in Japan, beyond the confines of Buddhist professionalism, have taken over Homa and adapted it to their own purposes. Most noteworthy among these enthusiasts are the yamabushi, the ascetics whose spiritual lives are organized around elaborate retreats performed in remote mountain districts. Within a frame of reference principally indebted to Tantric Buddhism, the yamabushi have forged a synthesis of beliefs and practices originally derived from autochthonous Japanese constituents as well as from Taoism and other strands of Chinese occult lore. For the Shingon and Tendai priests, Homa is normally a rite performed by a single officiant at a permanent hearth in a specially constructed building. The yamabushi have in a sense drawn forth the contents and symbolism of the cloister—the maṇḍalas, the permanent altars, the rites performed in sealed chambers—and applied them to the landscape, the mountains and caverns which serve them as sanctuaries and actualizations of paradise. The Homa of the yamabushi (like that of the Tibetans, as it happens) is thus an open-air performance, with a plurality of participants, and sometimes even a large attendance of outside observers, pious or merely curious. In this it seems strangely to recall the semi-nomadic nature of the Vedic rite, as recorded in *Altar of Fire*, as if the yamabushi were leading Homa out of its monkish captivity, back into the open air. In contrast to both Tibetan Buddhism and the Vedic Homa, however, these Japanese offerings frequently attain mammoth bonfire proportions and culminate, while the embers are still glowing, in a fire-walking ordeal in which the officiants are followed by many of the onlookers (Blacker 1975: 250–251). With this spectacular conclusion, the participants and the rite itself are restored to the primordial level of experience, long pre-dating the Vedas, from which all rituals have ultimately sprung, and to which (it would appear) they may all in time return: the shamanic substrate, the ultimate foundation of all spiritual science.

PLATE 16

PLATE 17

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PLATE 16A-B

Homa

The officiant reads out the inscribed tablets and places them in the flames. Shinnyōdō, Kyoto.

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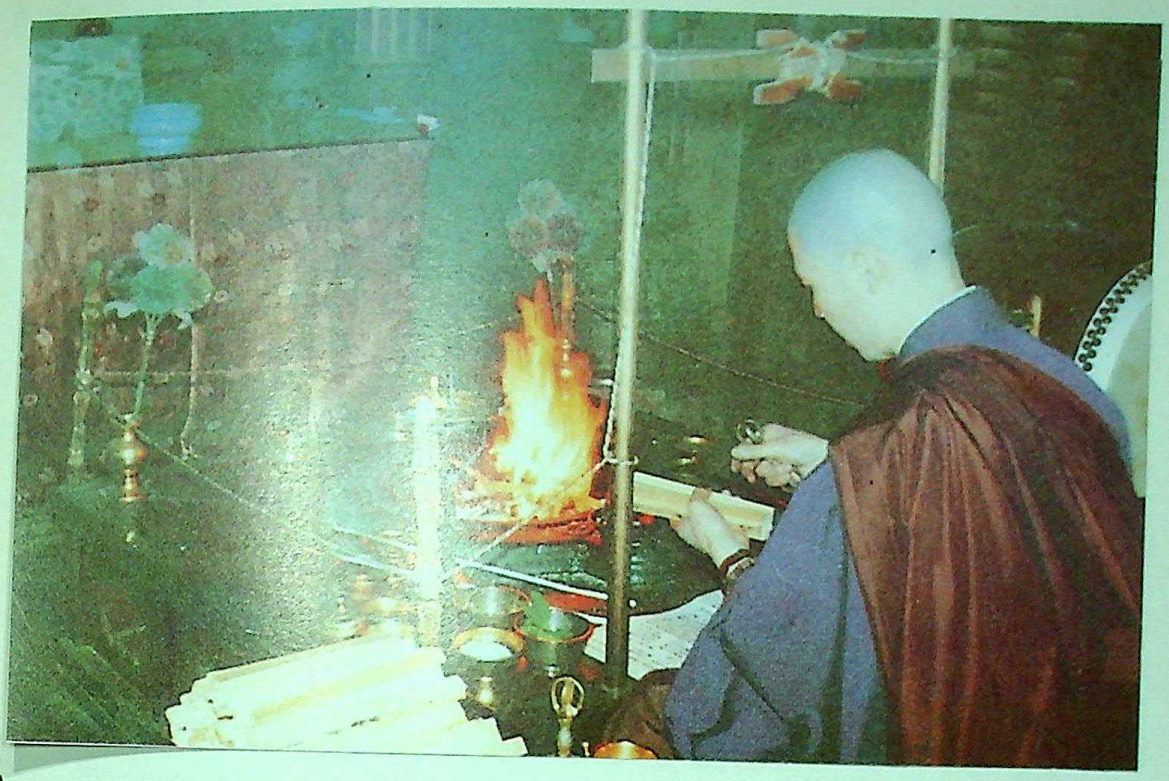
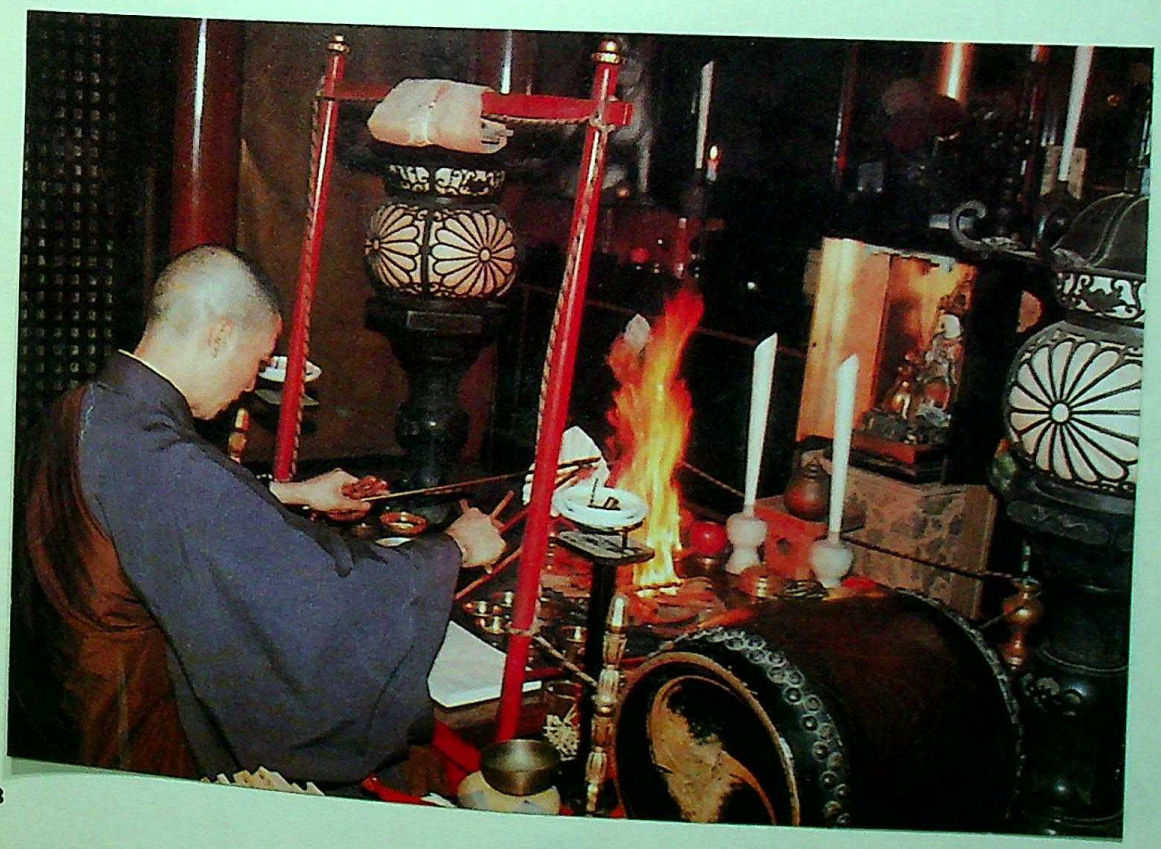


A



B

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PLATE 17

Homa

Yamabushi perform the Saitō goma at Chishaku-in 智積院, Kyoto.

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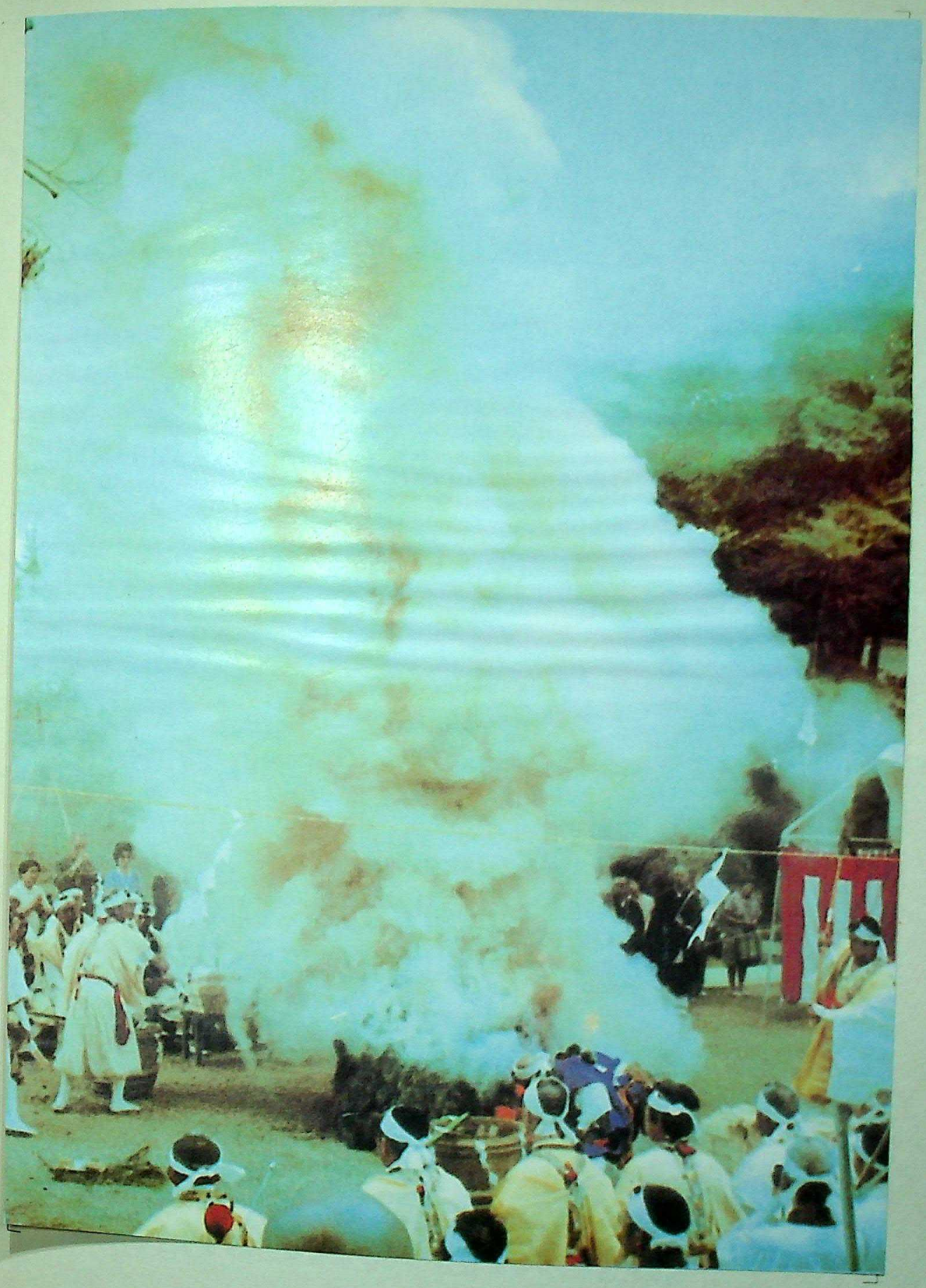

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THE AGNICAYANA PROJECT

Frits Staal

THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT LED to the 1975 performance of the Atirātra-Agnicayana were briefly described in the Preface to the first volume of this book. Other features relevant to the background were touched upon in the sections on the Nambudiri tradition in Chapter 6 of Part I, and in the Preliminaries of Part II. In the following pages the Agnicayana project will be described in greater detail, and attention will be given to organization and budgets; local reactions; publicity, rumors, and controversies surrounding the performance; and other matters of general interest. Technical information on the audiovisual documentation will be provided in Part V.

The performance was originally planned for 1974, but the then prospective yajamāna withdrew at the critical moment. In the resulting confusion, Cherumukku Vaidikan came to our rescue and undertook the overall responsibility for organizing a performance in 1975 with his third son, Nīlakaṇṭhan Somayajipad, as yajamāna. Itti Ravi Nambudiri, who had always supported our endeavors, assumed responsibility for the audgātra chants, for the construction of the ritual enclosure on a piece of his land in Panjal, and for procuring the bricks and other material prerequisites. However, it proved extremely difficult to find the four required Sāmavedins because of the chief difficulty affecting all Vedic fieldwork: those few who are well versed are necessarily the most orthodox and therefore the least willing to divulge their traditional knowledge. Once again the entire performance was almost called off until we finally prevailed upon a brahmin who was indeed out of practice, but who had at least originally undergone the traditional training. After overcoming other similar difficulties, the basic decisions and arrangements were made in December 1974 when Robert Gardner and I visited Kerala.

A problem that loomed large in our final discussions was to arrive at a compromise between brahmin orthodoxy and the requirements of our sound and film crews. It had been obvious from the beginning that non-Nambudiris would not be allowed to enter the ritual enclosure. Yet it was felt by all concerned that it should be possible to compensate for this physical exclusion from the locus of activity by eliminating possible obstructions to the cameras' line of vision and by attaching microphones to the roofs of the enclosure throughout the performance. In the course of discussions with Erkkara, C.V., and Itti Ravi, agreement was reached on all these points. Accordingly, the two written agreements separately concluded with

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C.V. and Itti Ravi, which I signed on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, contained the following "Guidelines for Filming":

1. Cameramen can go up to the enclosures of the Prācīnavaṃśa and the Mahāvedi on all sides. Other non-Nambudiri visitors may approach no closer than five feet from the southern side of the Mahāvedi enclosure only.
2. As needed, one cameraman may move discreetly between the Prācīnavaṃśa and the Mahāvedi, and may move from there around the Mahāvedi from north toward the east and south.
3. Roofs and enclosing walls will be constructed in accordance with the requirements of the cinematographers.
4. The space on the east side of the Mahāvedi will be reserved for the cameramen, who shall at all times keep a minimum distance of two feet from the Yūpa.

Fortunately, we were later assisted by two Nambudiri cameramen who could enter the enclosure at all times.

We agreed to contribute the expenses for the construction of the enclosure and for the materials required for the performance in accordance with the following budget:

1.	Tiles (bricks)	Rupees 4,500/–
2.	Construction of the śālā, including special arrangements for cameramen and visitors	12,000/–
3.	Vastram (garments: 450)	3,600/–
4.	Ghee (50 liters)	2,000/–
5.	Temporary sheds (dining halls, etc.)	1,500/–
6.	Ney Viḷakkū (ghee lamp)	60/–
7.	Gold (14 1/2 grams)	725/–
8.	Silver	10/–
9.	Wages for goldsmith, for kuṇḍala (earrings), etc.	50/–
10.	Wood for śruk, etc. (2 sets)	400/–
11.	Wages for carpenter	800/–
12.	Pottery containers (2 sets)	500/–
13.	Goats (14)	1,750/–
14.	A cow with milk (13 days)	60/–
15.	A goat with milk (13 days)	30/–
16.	Cow milk for sacrifice (50 liters)	100/–
17.	Goat milk for sacrifice (5 liters)	10/–
18.	Horses (2)	850/–
19.	A donkey	50/–
20.	Skin of an ox	75/–

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21.	Skin of a black deer	Rs.	60/–
22.	Honey		5/–
23.	Coconut oil for lamps		700/–
24.	Agra pūjā for Vaidikas		100/–
25.	Rental of Soma cow		10/–
26.	Wages for Nair servants (42)		420/–
27.	Watchmen (6)		600/–
28.	Maid servants		60/–
29.	Oxen (2)		15/–
30.	Travel for ritual purposes		60/–
31.	Wages for vaidyan		120/–
32.	Rice for the sacrifice		40/–
33.	Food for Yajamāna and Patnī		150/–
34.	Darbha, Kuśa, etc.		300/–
35.	Unforeseen expenses		1,500/–
		Total Rs.	33,210/–
		(approximately U.S. $4,313)	

Most of these items arrived in due course, though there were some problems in connection with the bricks, as we have seen (Vol. I, page 199). The Rāja of Kollengode was officially approached by Cherumukku Vaidikan on behalf of the Sabhā Maṭham to provide Soma, antelope skins, and various woods. Plenty of Soma stalks arrived in time, together with two decrepit horses, a cow, and an ass. The extra sets of wooden and clay implements mentioned on the list were made for scholarly preservation and are now in my office on the Berkeley campus.

We agreed to pay compensation and living allowances for forty priests and assistants during the two-and-a-half months in which rehearsals were to take place. Such rehearsals are common in connection with the preparation for large ritual performances, but they were particularly necessary in 1975, since the last performance of the Agnicayana had taken place in 1957, almost twenty years earlier. Some of the younger priests had therefore never witnessed an actual performance. It is also customary for additional priests to be trained in case any of those originally selected are prevented from assuming their roles for whatever reason: the performance, once begun, should on no account be stopped. It had been decided that C.V.'s fifth son, Krishnan Nambudiri, would be the adhvaryu—the most difficult and onerous of the priestly tasks—which he had performed once before (in 1956). His elder brother, Vasudevan Akkitiripad, was ready to take over from him in case it should be necessary. In 1975 we faced yet another difficulty: the new yajamāna himself also wavered. Indeed, at no time prior to the beginning of the performance was there complete certainty that he would carry out his declared intention. Under the circumstances, Cherumukku Vaidikan himself decided that he would be ready to take his place.

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Though not eager to assume this responsibility, he was eligible, able, and willing to do it, should it be necessary.

The rehearsals for the Sāmaveda priests took place in Panjal and were directed by Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad and Itti Ravi Nambudiri; the rehearsals for all the others took place in Shoranur and were directed by Erkkara Raman Nambudiri and Cherumukku Vaidikan. The contribution we made toward the expenses, including a small travel allowance and the cost of offerings to Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Gaṇapati, was Rs. 98,100/- (approximately $12,740).

An essential feature of all Indian rituals is the accommodation and feeding of guests. In fact, honoring guests is a yajña called *nṛyajña* or *manuṣyayajña*. In the Ṛgveda, Agni himself is described as a guest in the house of the sacrificer. During the 1975 performance responsibility for the guests was assumed by Mathur Alarkan Nambudiripad, a prominent inhabitant of Panjal. The Nambudiri guests were to be fed in a building adjacent to the Panjal temple, where they would go in any case for their worship and bath in the temple tank. To form an idea of the magnitude of this catering operation, it will be sufficient to ponder on the details of the budget that we also agreed to fund as part of our contribution: PLATE 18A-B

I

1.	Boiled rice: 210 paras (2100 kg)	Rs. 8,400/-
2.	Raw rice: 10 paras	425/-
3.	Ghee (clarified butter): 3 Eḍaṅgaḷi (3 kg)	108/-
4.	Curd: 50 kudams (600 liters)	1,200/-
5.	Coconut (dry): 200	210/-
6.	Coconut (less ripe): 100	125/-
7.	Common salt (loose): 60 liters	9/-
8.	Common salt (packet): 14	4/-
9.	Tuvara dal (a lentil): 80 kg	280/-
10.	Kaḍala dal (kind of pulse): 15 kg	65/-
11.	Uḷuṇṇu dal (*Phaseolus radiatus*): 70 kg	245/-
12.	Pottu kadala (another kind of pulse): 10 kg	20/-
13.	Payaṟ (a kind of bean): 10 kg	25/-
14.	Mutira (horse gram): 10 kg	20/-
15.	Mustard: 8 kg	43/-
16.	Chili: 3 kg	48/-
17.	Chili powder: 8 kg	130/-
18.	Kottamalli (coriander): 6 kg	33/-
19.	Uluva (fenugreek): 3 kg	14/-
20.	Kāyam (*Assafoetida*): 1 kg	32/-
21.	Turmeric powder: 3 kg	30/-
22.	Jīrakam (cumin seed): 1 1/4 kg	12/-
23.	Cukku (dried ginger): 2 kg	22/-

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. PLATE 18A–B

Nambudiri Visitors

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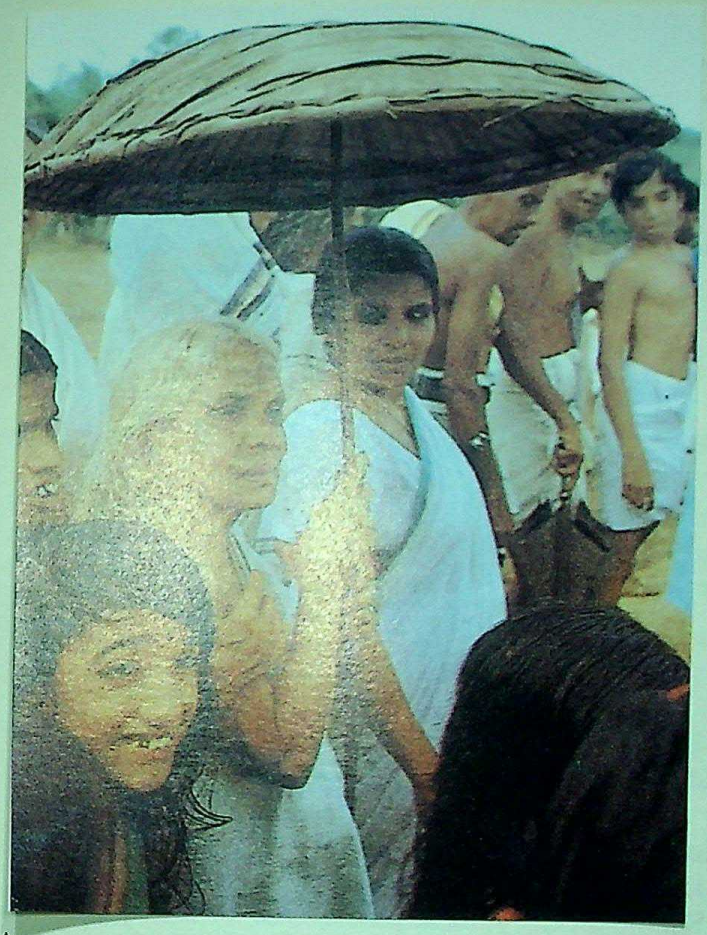

A

B

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24.	Black pepper: 1 kg	Rs.	11/-
25.	Black pepper powder: 1 1/2 kg		23/-
26.	Coconut oil: 80 kg		930/-
27.	Gingelly (sesame) oil: 15 kg		145/-
28.	Kerosine: 18 liters		55/-
29.	Sarkara (brown sugar candy): 60 kg		150/-
30.	Rava (cream of wheat): 80 kg		260/-
		Rs.	13,074/-

II

1.	Coffee powder: 12 kg		144/-
2.	Tea: 10 kg		160/-
3.	White sugar: 100 kg		450/-
4.	Milk: 280 liters		630/-
5.	Milk powder: 4 kg		120/-
		Rs.	1,504/-

III

1.	Gourd: 850 kg		510/-
2.	Pumpkin: 425 kg		300/-
3.	Yam: 60 kg		45/-
4.	Cembu (*Caladium esculentum*): 30 kg		45/-
5.	Cucumber: 150 kg		300/-
6.	Mangoes: 1500		150/-
7.	Drum sticks: 500		9/-
8.	Bitter gourd: 500		50/-
9.	Ladies finger: 1500		60/-
10.	Tomatoes: 10 kg		12/-
11.	Ginger (not dried): 5 kg		30/-
12.	Chili (another kind): 8 kg		25/-
13.	Kaṟiveppu (bay) leaves: 10 kg		40/-
14.	Coriander seedlings: 4 kg		15/-
15.	Bananas (long variety): 1500		525/-
16.	Bananas (short variety): 2500		250/-
17.	Jack fruits		50/-
18.	Banana leaves (to serve food): 11,250		1,700/-
19.	Pappaḍam: 170 packets		350/-
20.	Tamarind: 10 kg		30/-
		Rs.	4,496/-

IV

1.	Betal leaves: 150 packets		90/-
2.	Areca nut: 1500		75/-

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3.	Tobacco leaves: 8 kg	Rs.	96/-
4.	Beedi, cigarettes, matches		50/-
5.	Tobacco snuff		5/-
6.	Lime		4/-
7.	Eratti madhuram: 1/2 kg		10/-
		Rs.	330/-

V

1.	Soap: 18 cakes		27/-
2.	Washing soap: 10 bars		40/-
3.	Vaka: 1 para		15/-
		Rs.	82/-

VI

1.	Fire wood: 24 units		336/-
2.	Three-para bamboo container: 12		48/-
3.	Three-para bamboo containers (another size): 16		25/-
4.	Three-para bamboo containers (another size): 2		6/-
5.	Three-para bamboo containers (another size): 10		15/-
6.	Grass mat container: 3		15/-
7.	Bamboo mats: 4		25/-
		Rs.	470/-

VII

1.	Pottery of different sizes	Rs.	40/-

VIII

1.	Rent and repair charges for the vessels		600/-
2.	Rent for four numbers of gas lights		280/-
3.	Rent for electric wire and bulbs		280/-
		Rs.	1,160/-

IX

1.	Labor charges	Rs.	2,004/-

X

1.	Remuneration for eleven cooks: 14 days		3,850/-
2.	Remuneration for ten servers		1,680/-
3.	Renumeration for supervisor and head cook		500/-
		Rs.	6,030/

XI

1.	Unforeseen items of expenditure	Rs.	310/-
	Total	Rs.	29,500/-

(approximately U.S. $3,831)

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The entire catering operation was handled smoothly and efficiently. The number of guests during the last days increased unexpectedly, and as a result the quality and quantity of the meals decreased somewhat toward the end of the performance. Nambudiri guests slept in the temple, in or on the porches of adjacent buildings and homes, and sometimes in the śālā. Arrangements were made with the Traveller's Bungalow and the Guesthouse of the Public Works Department at Cheruthuruthy for foreign visitors (from Finland, Holland, Japan, and the United States). A group of ten visiting scholars from Poona found accomodation in the home of Mathur Alarkan Nambudiripad.

In the recent past, performances of Vedic rituals have taken place quietly, within Nambudiri compounds, and without being noticed by the outside world. In 1975 the situation was very different. Because of foreign participation, as well as the filming and recording activity, news about the impending performance spread rapidly to larger sections of the public and to the press. The Central and State Governments had been informed, which was not merely a matter of courtesy, but also necessary in view of the permission required to engage in the documentation and to import large amounts of equipment, films, tapes, and so forth. In fact, we provided facilities for a cameraman from the Ministry of Broadcasting and Information of the Government of India to make films, and gave copies of many of our recordings to All-India Radio at Kozhikode (Calicut).

Though few members of the public and representatives of the press had any idea of what the Agnicayana is, we witnessed the rapid formation of groups who were for or against it. Objections to the performance were primarily of two kinds. Some people did not approve of the filming of the event by foreigners. They claimed that the films would be used for cheap propaganda against India. The Communist Party (Marxist) decried in particular "the political penetration of Dollar Imperialism into India." But the chief objection was against the sacrifice of goats, a custom that was felt to be not merely barbaric, but contrary to the spirit of a nation dedicated to ahiṃsā, "non-violence." An influential Malayalam newspaper, *Mātṛbhūmi*, published an editorial urging that the ritual be performed without the sacrifice of goats. *Malayāla Manorama*, another well-known paper, defended the traditional procedure. An avalanche of articles and letters to editors appeared in the press, pro and contra. Many people visited us and expounded their views. I recall in particular a delegation of Jain monks who had come all the way from South Canara to hold forth on the hideous implications of violence. I continued to explain to whoever would listen that our feelings were irrelevant, and that we hoped simply to record whatever would happen.

Although discussions on the presence, dollars, and motives of foreign scholars and cameramen were relatively few, the outpouring of sentiment over the goats was practically unbounded, and continued long after the

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performance was over. A leader of one of the more militant political parties (Jan Sangh) declared that he would immolate himself in the sacrificial fire if the goats were to meet with that fate (which in any case they would not). The Trichur District Collector and Superintendent of Police, concerned about law and order, began to interfere, and consultations followed between them and ourselves involving the Panjal Village Council, the Kerala Government, and even the Central Government in New Delhi. PLATE 19

The priests did not oppose the exploration of alternatives to the goat sacrifice when popular sentiment and official pressure seemed to make this unavoidable. However, the ritual and technical questions of how to handle the prescribed recitations (mantra) and rites (kriyā) had to be resolved. A meeting was held on April 11, one day before the beginning of the performance, attended by Cherumukku Vaidikan, Erkkara Raman, Professor Sreekrishna Sarma, Dr. Kashikar together with some other Maharasthrian scholars, and myself. Dr. Kashikar explained the practice that had been adopted at Poona at a performance of the Vājapeya sacrifice in 1955. At that time, in the face of similar popular opposition, the animals, though present, were not sacrificed, and instead oblations of clarified butter were offered. Erkkara conveyed the Nambudiri decision: for the first time in the history of the Nambudiri tradition, the animals would be represented by rice flour folded in banana leaf in the same manner in which this is done at the śrāddha or funeral ceremonies, when the same substance also stands for an animal offering. The meeting was conducted in English and Malayalam, with Professor Sreekrishna Sarma translating.

The rice flour (aṭa) offered at the śrāddha is put in a banana leaf folded in the manner called paitṛkam "for ancestors." This is a representation of meat (māṃsapratinidhi), and was therefore adopted for the animal sacrifices. When an offering of aṭa is made in temples, it is put in a banana leaf folded in the manner called daivikam "for gods." Both methods are illustrated by the Exhibit inside the back cover of this volume.

The decision of the meeting of April 11 was issued to the press in the form of a statement in English and Malayalam:

STATEMENT ISSUED BY SRI MUTTATHUKATTIL MAMUNNA ITTI RAVI NAMBUDIRI AND DR. J. F. STAAL, CHAIRMAN, INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR ATIRATHRA AGNI CHAYANA

Members of the Namboodiri Community in Kerala decided some time ago to perform an Agni Chayana Vedic Yagam. An International Committee was formed consisting of several Sanskrit Scholars in India and abroad. Contributions were received from the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, and other foundations which would make it possible to film and record the rituals so that a permanent record would be available to scholars all over the world.

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PLATE 19

Helper Dissuading Policeman

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PLATE 19

Helper Dissuading Policeman

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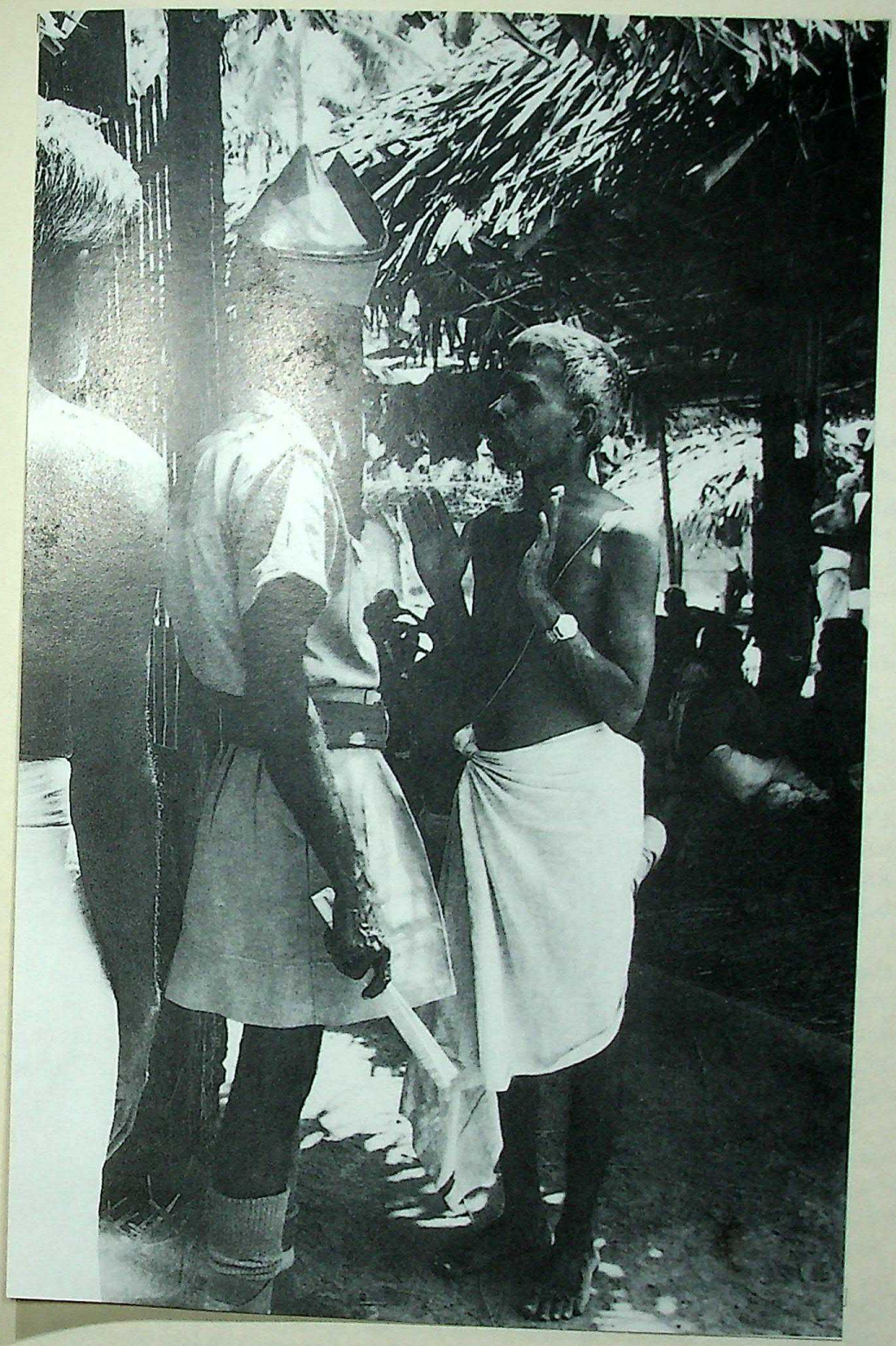

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An agreement was made with the Government of India, which provides all facilities to visiting scholars and which will receive copies of all the films to be taken. The Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting has also deputed its Film Division to cover the proceedings.

The performance was organized by Cherumukku Vaidikan Vallabhan Somayajipad. Cherumukku Neelakandan Somayajipad agreed to be the "Yajamana." Full cooperation was given by Sri Vedaratnam Erkkara Raman Namboodiri and other Nambudiri Scholars. A reception committee has been set up to receive scholars from abroad and from other parts of India.

We understand from the Press and the Trichur Collector that popular sentiment has been voiced against the sacrifice of the animals which in Vedic times was part of this ritual. In view of this development, the organizers have decided to substitute Inanimate Substances in place of the animals. The organizers hereby assure the public that no animal sacrifice will take place. We request the cooperation of the public for the successful conduct of the Yagna.

The decision not to sacrifice goats, which was earlier adopted not only in Poona but also among Mādhva brahmins in the area of Udipi, has so far been resisted in Tanjore and Andhra Pradesh among Smārta brahmins who perform Soma rituals. Yet it is in some sense quite consistent with tradition. Mantras can never be changed or deleted, but material substances are liable to replacement. Baudhāyana mentions, for example, that the animal heads may be made of clay, though they can also be real (below, page 613). Soma itself was long ago replaced by a substitute.

In 1975, in spite of the decision to avoid killing goats, controversy continued to surround the performance. Even after it was over, one paper reported that films of goat sacrifice were taken to America. The majority of the press reports, however, calmed down after the ceremonies had begun. Here is the beginning of a representative article, "Controversial Yagna Begins," from the front page of an English-language newspaper from Cochin, *Sunday Standard* (April 13, 1975):

TRICHUR, April 12

Against the glare of publicity provoked by the fierce controversy in the State, the Vedic Yagna Athirathram or Agnichayanam commenced at the remote village of Panjal, near Cheruthuruthy, this morning.

The solemn rituals, which will last for twelve days from today, have drawn a large number of scholars, foreign and Indian, to the paddy fields where the yaga salas have been erected, and the

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nearby Namboodiri illam, though the local people, except for a number of Namboodiris, were by and large unmoved.

The curiosity, evoked mainly by the controversy and the presence of nearly 25 foreign nationals from Canada to Japan with their batteries of movie cameras and sophisticated recording instruments, has lent some colour to the rare but elaborate rituals which otherwise would have gone almost unnoticed as a family ceremony.

However, despite an earlier talk that along with the prohibition of the sacrifice of goats the district authorities have also forbidden the filming and recording of the event by the foreigners, the latter were going about their jobs without hindrance and the small number of policemen present on the scene were there only to help them.

Similar press releases and word of mouth produced a gradually broadening stream of visitors. These included villagers from all over Kerala, curious to see the foreigners and their equipment, but increasingly arriving in a spirit and mood of devotion. Among these outsiders there was a strong tendency to conceive of the ritual enclosure as a kind of temple or place of pilgrimage, where devotees could receive "darshan" (a glimpse of a presiding deity), make a donation, perform a circumambulation, and return home with freshly acquired religious merit. The presence of these villagers, a diversion at first, became a nuisance, and during the final days developed into a threat. At times outsiders entered the enclosure (which the visiting scholars avoided scrupulously) and imperiled the filming, recordings, and indeed the ritual proceedings themselves. Some films were spoilt or made impossible, and in several recordings the chants and recitations, already endangered by Nambudiri chatter, were drowned in extraneous noise, thus more than preserving the flavor of authenticity. The priests themselves began to complain and at one point asked me to enter the enclosure and urge some of the outsiders to leave, as they hindered them in the performance of their tasks. (I declined.) On the whole, I opposed these intrusions by outsiders as best I could, operating with some Nambudiri youths, six policemen, and varying success. During the last days the best films and recordings were made during the early morning and night, when snoring was the only impediment. On the final day, a mass of some 10,000 people assembled, but was successfully kept at a distance.

PLATE 20

PLATE 21

The drowning out of our last recordings by outside noise is not as regrettable a loss as it may seem, for many of the rites were repetitions of earlier ones (in particular, the sequences of the Maitrāvaruṇa animal sacrifice). We continued with the recordings as long as we could, but our microphones, cables, and equipment had to be removed before the burning of the enclosure. When the ceremonies were almost completed, a live eagle flew high over the enclosure with its eagle-shaped altar. When the fire started, the crowds fled rapidly in all directions. Within two hours after

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PLATE 20

Visitors North of the Sacred Enclosure

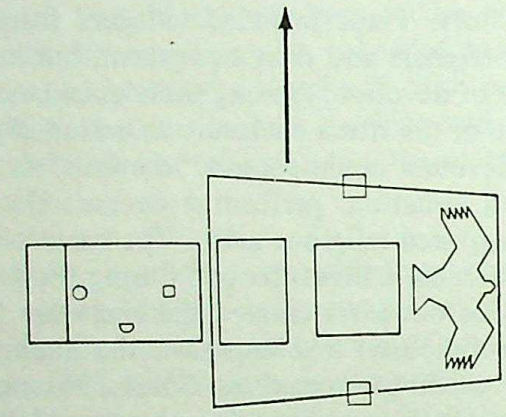

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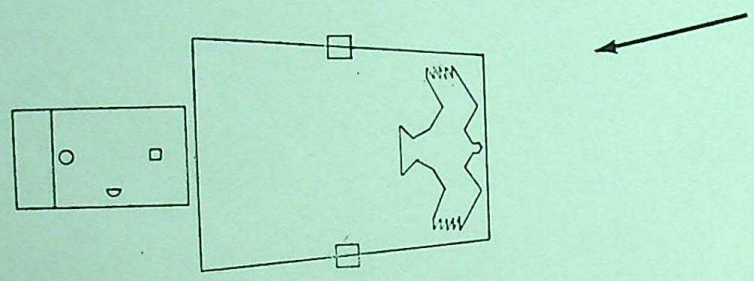
PLATE 21

Crowds During the Final Days



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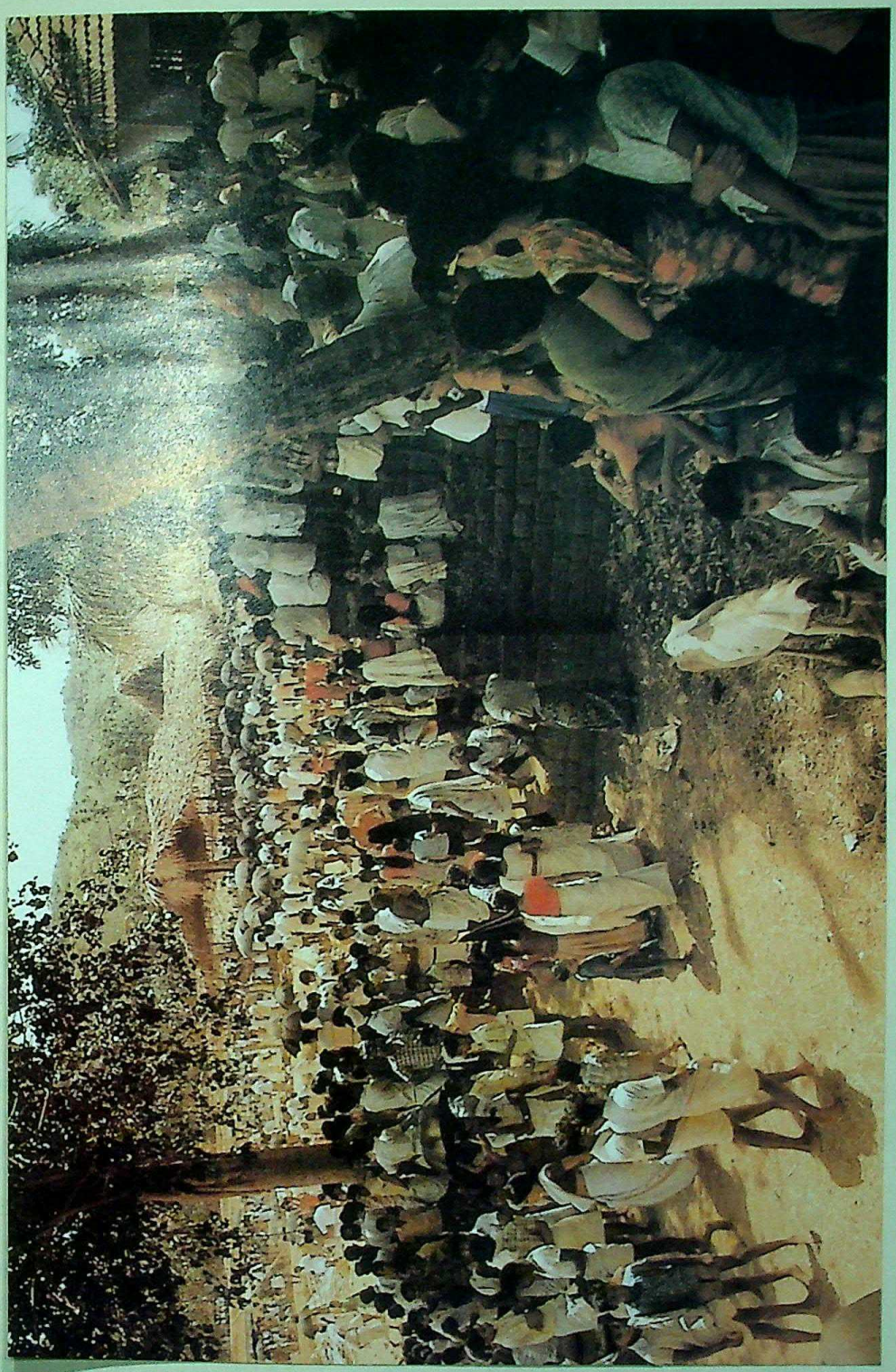

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the completion of the ceremonies, the first monsoon rains came pouring down. There was a widespread rumor that the chairman of the International Committee danced in the rains "with the innocent pleasure and satisfaction of a child."

The appearance of the eagle and the outburst of the monsoon were widely considered signs that the ritual performance was successful. Like many other periodicals, the *Illustrated Weekly of India* completed its article "Kerala Yajna with Foreign Participation" (May 25, 1975) with a glorious description of these miraculous events. *The Hindu*, India's best English language newspaper, released on April 25 a news item entitled "Heavy Rain After Yagam":

> TRICHUR, April 25
>
> The 12-day "Athiratra Yagna" ended at Panjal, 30 kms from here, on Thursday with the completion of all the rites and burning of the yagnasala (sheds).
>
> An hour later, a heavy downpour fell over the area which the sponsors claimed was true to tradition and marked the "success" of the yagna. Those present at the concluding rites claimed that a "garuda" (eagle) flew over the yagnasala as it was set on fire, in confirmation of another traditional belief.
>
> Trichur town too had a heavy shower last evening.

The controversies that had surrounded the Agnicayana continued after the performance in one form or other. Some members of the International Committee felt that the films should be edited in accordance with scriptural authority, which would imply that all real or apparent deviations, irregularities, and poorly executed sequences should be removed. In their view, the film, in order to be an efficacious tool for the study of Vedic ritual, should present to the public only rites that conform to the injunctions of the śrautasūtras. The majority of the Committee disagreed with this view, considering it our duty as scholars to record what was found and not tamper with it. Accordingly, the film "Altar of Fire" pictures the Nambudiri performance of 1975, not what the texts prescribe. The analysis and description given here do primarily the same, though they place the events in their traditional setting.

When the film was later reviewed in the *American Anthropologist* (80 [1978]: 197–199), the reviewer, Robert A. Paul, claimed that Robert Gardner and I had staged the ritual—that it was, in fact, a media event, a circumstance that we allegedly had "gone to great lengths to try to deny and disguise." He also complained that the filmmakers went "so far as to try to keep out" outsiders who entered the enclosure and who took "the religious meaning of the ceremony seriously." My reply, which need not detain us here, was published in the same journal (81 [1979]: 346–347). The present

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book by and large should make clear what happened in 1975, and this chapter on the vicissitudes of our Agnicayana project may place the event in its organizational context. Both combined illustrate the difference that sometimes exists between a thing-in-itself and its appearance to outsiders and in the press. Without such a difference, ignorance, rumors, and the media would suffice, and there would be no need for scholarship.

The 1975 Agnicayana was a traditional Nambudiri performance, though we were partly responsible for its occurrence and indirectly contributed to the nonsacrifice of goats, which was in some sense a deviation from the tradition. In the social sciences there is much interest in modernization and other changes that influence people's behavior and societies as a whole. The traditional philologist confines himself to texts and to what they can teach us about the past. In the humanities we are not only interested in people's behavior and in their past, but also in what is in their minds—for example, in what they know. Unfortunately, minds and knowledge are invisible, and therefore have to be made manifest, something that can be done in many ways, including outside prompting. This would cause no surprise to the scientist working in his laboratory, where he studies reactions he himself has induced. Naturally, we need not be surprised that, in any situation, the observer may influence what he observes. The philosopher muses on the boundaries of objectivity, the romantic may wish to limit such influence, and the moralist to direct it. The scholar or scientist is content to describe, analyze, and explain its occurrence and extent.

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PART IV

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

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BAUDHĀYANA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA ON THE AGNICAYANA

English Translation by
Yasuke Ikari and Harold F. Arnold

INTRODUCTION

THE AGNICAYANA IS DESCRIBED in five distinct groups of sūtras in the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra. The tenth praśna or "topic" of the main sūtra text describes the rite from beginning to end in a straightforward fashion. Twelve chapters of the Dvaidha Sūtras (22:1–12) record practices at variance with those described in the main sūtra text but authorized by different preceptors of the school, among whom the most frequently cited are Baudhāyana and Śālīki. Five chapters of the Karmānta Sūtras (25:27–32) supplement the main sūtra text and the Dvaidha Sūtras by describing certain points of the ritual in greater detail, as well as by recording a few variant practices.

In our translation we have preserved the distinction between the main sūtra text, the Dvaidha Sūtras, and the Karmānta Sūtras. When a variant of a certain point is recorded in the Dvaidha Sūtras, this is indicated by an asterisk (*) in the text of the translation of the main sūtra text. The various Dvaidha Sūtras are provided with marginal references citing the page and line numbers of the pertinent passages in the translation of the main sūtra text. Similarly, the existence of a Karmānta Sūtra referring to a certain point is indicated by a dagger(†). Dvaidha and Karmānta Sūtras not accompanied by marginal references do not refer to specific points in the main sūtra text, but give general rules for the performance of the ritual.

Our system parallels that used by Caland in his edition of the Sanskrit text, where the marginal references in the Karmānta and Dvaidha Sūtras refer to the volume, page, and line of his edition of the main sūtra text. In using this system it should be borne in mind that the tenth praśna of the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra was originally printed in the second volume of Caland's edition; therefore almost all of his references begin with the Roman numeral "II."

The fourth group of sūtras describing the Agnicayana are the Śulba Sūtras, the thirtieth praśna of Caland's edition. These describe, inter alia, the measurement of the sacrificial arena, the geometrical construction of different types of Agni altar and the shapes and sizes of different kinds of bricks. We have not translated the Śulba Sūtras since Thibaut's translation of 1875–77 has been reproduced and is readily available. But where reference

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to the Śulba Sūtras is necessary for understanding the main Sūtra text, footnote citations are provided. The fifth group of sūtras, consisting of the sections of the "uttaratatiḥ" that describe optional forms of the Agni altar to be constructed for the fulfillment of special desires (BŚS 17.28–30) and relevant passages from the Dvaidha and Karmānta Sūtras, have been added as an appendix.

The authors of the śrautasūtras organize their description of the ritual by dividing groups of similar sacrifices into prakṛti sacrifices and vikṛti sacrifices. The prakṛti or "normal" sacrifice is the paradigm, of which the vikṛtis are considered modifications. Thus, the Full and New Moon Sacrifice (*darśapūrṇamāsa*) is the paradigm of all the iṣṭis. It is also the paradigm of the Agniṣomīyapaśu, which in turn is the paradigm of all the animal sacrifices. Similarly, the Agniṣṭoma is the paradigm of all the Soma sacrifices in which there is a single pressing day. In the śrautasūtras, only the prakṛti or normal sacrifice of each group is described in detail. For the vikṛti sacrifices, only those points where they differ from the normal sacrifice are described in detail. The rest of the normal sacrifice is either tacitly understood, or briefly indicated.

A parallel system of describing śrauta rituals has evolved in the west. The Darśapūrṇamāsa, paradigm of all of the iṣṭis and animal sacrifices, has been described in A. Hillebrandt's *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*. The normal animal sacrifice has been described in J. Schwab's *Das altindische Thieropfer*. In this work Schwab deals with elements of the iṣṭi incorporated into the animal sacrifice by referring the reader to the relevant sections of Hillebrandt. Similarly, in *L'Agniṣṭoma: description complète de la forme normale du sacrifice de Soma dans le culte védique*, Caland and Henri deal with incorporated elements of the iṣṭi and animal sacrifice by referring to the relevant sections of Schwab and Hillebrandt (see Volume I, page 37, and this Volume, pages 133–134).

Since the Agnicayana is an aṅga or "subsidiary limb" of a Soma sacrifice, the author of the Baudhāyana śrautasūtra frequently refers to his own descriptions of the Soma sacrifice, the animal sacrifice, and the iṣṭi. In such cases we have followed the western scholarly tradition by referring the reader to the relevant sections of Caland and Henri, Schwab, and Hillebrandt for more details. In the case of the Pravargya, which is not treated in Caland and Henri, we have referred to Van Buitenen's *The Pravargya*. Since most of these works are out of print, and rare, we have also referred the reader to the relevant portions of the English Section of *Śrautakośa: Encyclopaedia of Vedic Sacrificial Ritual*, which contains a translation of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra in a somewhat revised order. The reader who wishes to consult the Sanskrit originals will find them in the corresponding Sanskrit Section of *Śrautakośa*.

In quoting mantra texts, the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra usually gives them by pratīka (indicating the mantra by its first few words only), but it sometimes cites them in full. In our translation we have usually given only

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the first words of the pratīka, with the last syllable in its primary presandhi form, followed by a reference to the source of the mantra. In cases where the sūtra gives the full mantra, this has been indicated by italicizing the letter of the quoted mantra (e.g., TS 4.1.2.2*h*). In cases where Weber's edition of the Taittirīya Saṃhita does not indicate the subdivisions of the mantras, these have been shown by the addition of a superscript number to the final letter of Weber's reference (e.g., TS 4.1.6.1a[1]-a[7]).

The present translation of the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra X is based on Caland's edition of the Sanskrit, which has been reproduced facing the translation. In some cases we have corrected the punctuation of the printed edition, or have preferred variant readings given in the text-critical notes at the foot of Caland's pages. In preparing our translation we have also utilized two commentaries: Bhavasvāmin's *Bodhāyanakalpavivaraṇavyākhyā* and Vāsudevadīkṣita's *Bodhāyanaśrautasūtravyākhyā* (*Mahāgnisarvasva*). The former covers the whole main sūtra text but is very short, explaining only such passages and words as the author found difficult for his students. The latter covers only the tenth praśna, Agnicayana. It is, however, exhaustive and very useful for understanding the sūtra's intention. Copies of manuscripts of these commentaries were obtained by Yasuke Ikari from the Tanjore Library (TMSSM Library) after observing the Cayana performance held in Panjal in 1975.

The coauthors had both read the text independently before the permance of the Agnicayana. Yasuke Ikari had read it in connection with his Ph. D. dissertation on the preparation of the ukhā, while Harold Arnold had been quick marched through it during a course on Vedic ritual given by J.C. Heesterman at the University of California, Berkeley, in the winter of 1975. During the following year we both prepared independent translations of the text. After a couple of brief meetings over coffee in Kyoto in 1977, Arnold revised Ikari's translation in the light of his own work, and these revisions were again checked by Ikari. Finally the translations of numerous terms were changed to conform to those used in the description of the 1975 performance in Part II of Volume I of the present work.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS CITED

ĀpŚS = *The Śrauta Sūtra of Āpastamba belonging to the Taittirīya Saṃhitā*. Edited by R. Garbe, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 92. 3 vols. Calcutta, 1882–1902.

AS = *Atharva Veda Saṃhitā*. Edited by R. Roth and W. D. Whitney. Berlin, 1855.

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KS = *Kāṭhakam: Die Saṃhitā der Kaṭha-śākhā*. Edited by L. Von Schroeder. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1900–1910.

MānŚS = *Mānava Śrautaūtra*. Edited by J. M. van Gelder. *Śata-Piṭaka Series* 17. New Delhi, 1961.

MS = *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā. Die Saṃhitā der Maitrāyaṇīya-śākhā*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1881–1886.

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RS = *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*. edited by Th. Aufrecht. *Indische Studien*, 6–7. 2 vols. Berlin, 1861–1863.

ŚB = *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina-śākhā with extracts from the commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmin, and Dvivedaganga*. Edited by A. Weber. Berlin & London, 1855.

Schwab, J. *Das altindische Thieropfer mit Benützung handschriftlicher Quellen*. Erlangen, 1886.

ŚK = *Śrautakośa: Encyclopaedia of Vedic Sacrificial Ritual*, comprising two sections namely the Sanskrit Section and the English Section. Edited by C. K. Dandekar, et al. 2 vols. Poona, 1958–1973.

TA = *The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka of the Black Yajur Veda with the Commentary of Sāyaṇāchārya*. Edited by Rājendralāla Mitra. *Bibliotheca Indica*. 2 vols. Calcutta, 1864–1872.

TB = *The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda with the Commentary of Sāyaṇāchārya*. Edited by Rājendralāla Mitra. *Bibliotheca Indica*. 3 vols. Calcutta, 1855–1870.

TS = *Die Taittirīya Saṃhitā*. Edited by A. Weber. *Indische Studien* 11–12. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1871–1872.

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उखाः संभरिष्यन्नुपकल्पयते ऽश्वं च गर्दभं च तयोरेव रशने मौञ्ज्यौ वा कुशमय्यौ वाभ्रिं च ब्राह्मणसंपन्नां मृदं च भावितां करणीयां वल्मीकवपां कृष्णाजिनं च पुष्करपर्णं च योक्त्रमुद-कुम्भꣳ हिरण्यमर्मकपालानि शर्करा अवाञ्चनपिष्टा अज-
५ लोमानि कृष्णाजिनलोमानि वैश्यꣳ सप्तदशꣳ सूनामधि-करणीमुखाकृतं कुशलमित्यथामावास्येन वा हविषेष्ट्वा नक्षत्रे वाग्रेण शालाꣳ शम्यान्यासे गर्तं खानयति। तद्भावितां मृद-मवलेपयति। समां बिलेन करोति। तदुपमार्दयति कृष्णाजिनं च पुष्करपर्णं च योक्त्रमुदकुम्भꣳ हिरण्यमित्यथ विषुवति
१० स्फ्येनोद्धृत्यावोक्ष्य वल्मीकवपां निदधाति। तां दक्षिणतो वैश्यो गोपायन्नास्ते। ऽथोत्तरꣳ शालाखण्डमग्रेण स्फ्येनोद्धृत्यावोक्ष्य सिकता निवपति। तं परिमण्डलं खरं करोत्यथैनꣳ सिक-ताभिराभ्राशिनं करोति। तं कुशतरुणकैर्दूर्वाग्रन्थिभिरिति संप्रच्छाद्यायेनं परिश्रयन्ति। तस्योदीचीं द्वारं कुर्वन्ति। तदुप-
१५ मार्दयत्यर्मकपालानि शर्करा अवाञ्चनपिष्टा अजलोमानि कृष्णाजिनलोमानि सूनामधिकरणीमुखाकृतं कुशलमित्यथैता-वश्वगर्दभावग्रेण शालां पल्पूलितौ तिष्ठतो। ऽन्तर्वेद्यभ्रिं निद-धात्युत्तरे वेद्यन्ते रशने। परिस्तृणन्ति। दक्षिणत उप-विशतो ब्रह्मा च यजमानश्चाथ गार्हपत्य आज्यं विला-
२० प्योत्पूय स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वाहवनीये सावित्राणि जुहो-त्यन्वारब्धे यजमाने। ॥ १ ॥

युञ्जानः प्रथमं मन इति षड्ऋचो ऽनन्तर्हिता देव सवितरि-

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One who is going to prepare the ukhā pots procures a horse, a donkey, 10.1
two reins made of muñja or kuśa grass for them, a hoe prepared in accordance with the Brāhmaṇa passage,[1] previously prepared clay suitable for molding, an anthill, a black antelope skin and a lotus leaf, a cord, a water pot, a piece of gold, potsherds from a ruined village, finely crushed gravel, hairs from a billy goat, hairs from a black antelope, a man belonging to the vaiśya class as the seventeenth, a woven basket as a support, and a skillful ukhā maker.

Then, after performing the New Moon Sacrifice (on the day of the new moon), or under a (suitable) lunar mansion, he (scil., the adhvaryu) has a hole dug as far in front of the śālā as one can throw a śamyā. He has it besmeared (i.e., filled up) with the prepared clay. He makes this level with the hole.†[2] He places the black antelope skin and the lotus leaf, the cord, the water pot, and the piece of gold next to it. Then he places the anthill at the midpoint (between the śālā and the clay pit) after digging there with the wooden sword and sprinkling. The vaiśya sits on guard to the south of it. Then he pours out the sand in front of the northern part of the śālā after digging with the wooden sword and sprinkling. He makes it into a circular mound.*[3] Then he makes it shine with sand. Then they enclose it on all sides, after covering it with kuśa sprouts and knotted bunches of dūrva grass. They make a door to the north of it. Near it he places the potsherds from a ruined village, the finely crushed gravel, the hairs from a billy goat, the hairs from a black antelope, the woven basket as a support and the skillful ukhā maker. Then both the horse and the donkey stand in front of the śālā after having been well washed.† He places the hoe within the vedi and the two reins at the northern end of the vedi.

They strew (darbha grass) around (the offering fire). The brahman and the yajamāna sit down south of (the offering fire). Then he (scil., the adhvaryu) melts and purifies clarified butter over the domestic fire, takes four spoonsful of it into a ladle, and offers the oblations for Savitṛ on the offering 10.2
fire, while the yajamāna holds him from behind. (The mantras accompanying these oblations are) the six verses (starting from) *yuñjānaḥ prathamam manaḥ* TS 4.1.1.1a–2f), the verse *deva savitaḥ* . . . (g), and the

[1] According to TS 5.1.14, the "hoe" is made of bamboo, is hollow, spotted, and sharpened at both ends. It is a fathom long and "unlimited in girth" (i.e. the girth is optional).
[2] A dagger (†) indicates that a topic is discussed in the Karmānta Sūtras.
[3] An asterisk (*) indicates that a topic is discussed in the Dvaidha Sutras.

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त्यृगेषेमं नो देव सवितरिति यजुरेतदृचा वा यजुषा वावस्य-
त्याऽऽहुतिं नवमीꣳ हुत्वोपतिष्ठत ऋचा स्तोमꣳ समर्धयेत्यथा-
भिमादत्ते देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसव इति चतुर्भिः पर्यायैस्ता-
मग्रेणाहवनीयं पर्याहृत्य दक्षिणत आसीनाय ब्रह्मणे प्रयच्छ-
त्यथ रशनामादत्त इमामग्रभ्णन्रशनामृतस्येति । तयाश्वमभि- ५
दधाति प्रतूर्तं वाजिन्नाद्रवेत्येवमेव द्वितीयाꣳ रशनामादत्ते ।
तया गर्दभमभिदधाति युञ्जायाꣳ रासभं युवं योगेयोगे तव-
स्तरमिति द्वाभ्यामश्वं पूर्वं नयन्ति । तमनुमन्त्रयते प्रतूर्वन्ने-
ह्यवक्रामन्नशस्तीरित्यन्वञ्चं गर्दभं पूष्णा सयुजा सह पृथिव्याः
सधस्थादग्निं पुरीष्यमङ्गिरस्वदच्छेहीति । प्रदक्षिणी वेश्यं कुर्वते । १०
वेश्यः पृच्छति पुरुषाः किमच्छेयेत्यग्निं पुरीष्यमङ्गिरस्वदच्छेम
इतीतरे प्रत्याहुरथ वल्मीकवपामुपतिष्ठते ऽग्निं पुरीष्यम-
ङ्गिरस्वद्धरिष्याम इत्यथोपातियन्त्यन्वग्निरुषसामग्रमख्यदन्वहानि
प्रथमो जातवेदाः । अनु सूर्यस्य पुरुत्रा च रश्मीननु द्यावा-
पृथिवी आततानेत्यथैतेनाश्वेन प्राचा मृदमाक्रमयत्यागत्य १५
वाज्यध्वन आक्रम्य वाजिन्पृथिवीमिति द्वाभ्यामथास्य पृष्ठं मर्मृ-
ज्यते द्यौस्ते पृष्ठं पृथिवी सधस्थमात्मान्तरिक्षꣳ समुद्रस्ते योनिः ।
विख्याय चक्षुषा त्वमभितिष्ठ पृतन्यत इत्यत्र यं यजमानो
द्वेष्टि तमश्वस्याधस्तादं ध्यायत्यथैनं प्राञ्चमुत्क्रमयत्युत्क्रामोदक्र-
मीदिति द्वाभ्यामथैतं पदाग्रयमङ्गिरुपसृजति ॥ २ ॥ १०

आपो देवीरुपसृज मधुमतीरयक्ष्माय प्रजाभ्यः । तासाꣳ
स्थानादुज्जिहतामोषधयः सुपिप्पला इत्यथ स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं

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prose formula (yajus) *imaṃ no deva savitaḥ* . . . (h). He may conclude with either the verse or the prose formula. After offering the oblation as the ninth (i.e., after offering a single oblation after reciting the eight mantras), he recites *rcā stomaṁ sam ardhaya* . . . (i) while standing near (the offering fire).*

Then he takes the hoe, with the four mantras that have a refrain beginning with *devasya tvā savituḥ prasave* . . . (TS 4.1.1.3k–n). He carries it around in front of the offering fire and gives it to the brahman who is sitting to the south. Then he takes a rein, with *imām agṛbhṇan raśanām ṛtasya* . . . (TS 4.1.2.1a). He fastens it on the horse, with *pratūrtaṃ vājinn ādrava* . . . (b). In the same way he takes the second rein.* He fastens it to the donkey with the two mantras *yuñjāthāṁ rāsabhaṃ yuvaṃ* . . . (c) and *yogeyoge tavastaraṃ* . . . (d). They lead the horse in front. He recites *pratūrvan ehy avakrāmann aśastīḥ* . . . (e) after it. (He recites) *pūṣṇā sayujā saha* . . . (*f*) (after) the donkey, which follows. They walk clockwise around the vaiśya.* The vaiśya asks, *puruṣāḥ kim acchetha* ("Gentlemen, what are you going to fetch?"). The others answer, *agniṃ purīṣyam aṅgirasvad acchemaḥ* ("We are going to fetch Agni of the earth in the manner of the Aṅgirases") (*g*). Then he stands next to the anthill and recites *agniṃ purīṣyam aṅgirasvad bharisyāmaḥ* . . . (*h*). Then they proceed, passing by (the anthill) with *anv agnir uṣasām agram akhyat* . . . (*k*).

Then he makes the horse step over the clay to the east, with two mantras: *āgatya vājy adhvanaḥ* . . . (l) and *ākramya vājin pṛthivīm* . . . (m). Then he rubs its back, with *dyaus te pṛṣṭham* . . . (*n*). At this point he should think of someone whom the sacrificer hates as under the foot of the horse. He then makes it step out to the east to the accompaniment of two (mantras): *ut krāma* . . . (o) and *ud akramīt* . . . (p). Then he pours 10.3
water onto the footprint, with *apo devīr upa sṛja* . . . (*q*). Then he takes four spoonsful (of clarified butter) into a ladle, places the

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गृहीत्वा दक्षिणे ऽवान्तरशफे हिरण्यं निधाय संपरिस्तीर्याभि-
जुहोति जिघर्म्यग्निं मनसा घृतेनेत्यपरं चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वोत्तरे
ऽवान्तरशफे हिरण्यं निधाय संपरिस्तीर्यैवाभिजुहोत्या त्वा
जिघर्मि वचसा घृतेनेत्यपोद्धृत्य हिरण्यमभिमादाय पदं परि-
५ लिखति परि वाजपतिः कविः परि त्वाग्ने पुरं वयं त्वमग्ने
द्युभिरिति तिसृभिः । खनति देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे
ज्योतिष्मन्तं त्वाग्ने सुप्रतीकमिति द्वाभ्यामथोत्तरतः पार्श्वतः
संभाराणां प्राचीनाग्राणि तृणानि संस्तीर्य तेषूपरि कृष्णाजिनं
प्राचीनग्रीवमुत्तरलोमोपस्तृणात्यथापां पृष्ठमसीति पुष्करपर्ण-
१० माहरति । तदुपरिष्टात्कृष्णाजिने निधायार्थेने संमृशति शर्म
च स्थः संवसाथामिति द्वाभ्यामपोद्धृत्य पुष्करपर्णमष्टाभि-
र्मृदꣳ हरति ॥ ३ ॥

पुरीष्यो ऽसि विश्वभरा इति । तासां चतस्रो गायत्र्यश्च-
तस्रस्त्रिष्टुभः । स पिण्डंपिण्डं वेवर्चा हरत्यपि वाष्टाभिरेकमेव
१५ पिण्डꣳ हरत्यथैतमवटं विश्वलोपेन परयित्वाङ्गिरुपसृजति सं
ते वायुर्मातरिश्वा दधातूत्तानायै हृदयं यद्विलिष्टम् । देवानां
यश्चरति प्राणथेन तस्मै च देवि वषडस्तु तुभ्यमित्यथोपरिष्टा-
त्पुष्करपर्णं मृदि निधाय समुच्चित्य कृष्णाजिनस्यान्तान्योत्तो-
णोपनह्यति सुजातो ज्योतिषा सह शर्म वरूथमासदः
२० स्वः । वासो अग्ने विश्वरूपꣳ संव्ययस्व विभावसो दीर्घायु-

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piece of gold on the southern half of the print of the frog of the hoof, strews (grass) around it, and makes an oblation (on it), with *jigharmi agniṃ manasā* . . . (r). He takes four more spoonsful, places the gold on the northern half of the print of the frog of the hoof, strews (grass) around it and makes an oblation (on it), with *ā tvā jigharmi vacasā* . . . (s). He removes the piece of gold, takes the hoe (from the brahman), and scratches around the footprint with three mantras: *pari vājapatiḥ kaviḥ* . . . (t), *pari tvāgne puraṃ vayam* . . . (v), and *tvam agne dyubhih* . . . (w). He digs, with two mantras: *devasya tvā savituḥ prasave* . . . (TS 4.1.3.1a) and *jyotiṣmantaṃ tvā'gne* . . . (b).* Then to the north (of the clay pit) beside the material collected (for the rite) he strews blades of grass with their tips to the east. Over them he spreads the black antelope skin with its neck to the east and its hairy side up. Then he takes the lotus leaf, with *apāṃ pṛṣṭham asi* . . . (c). He places it over the black antelope skin* and touches both of them, with two mantras: *śarma ca sthaḥ* . . . (d) and *saṃ vasāthām* . . . (e). He removes the lotus leaf and takes the clay, with eight 10.4
mantras starting from *puriṣyo 'si viśvabharāḥ* . . . (f–n). Four of these (f–i) are in the gāyatrī meter, four (k–n) are in the triṣṭubh meter. He either takes each lump (of clay) with one verse, or takes a single lump with (all) eight.* Then he has the pit filled with grass and pours water on it, with *saṃ te vāyur mātariśvā* . . . (TS 4.1.4.1a). He then places the lotus leaf over the clay, gathers the ends of the black antelope skin, and ties them with the cord to the accompaniment of *sujāto jyotiṣā saha* . . . (b). Then

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मादायोपोत्तिष्ठत्युद् तिष्ठ स्वध्वरोर्ध्वं ऊ षु ण ऊतय इति
द्वाभ्यामथैनमाहरति स जातो गर्भो असि रोदस्योरग्ने चारु-
र्विभृत ओषधीषु। चित्रः शिशुः परि तमाꣳस्यक्तः प्र मातृभ्यो
अधि कनिक्रदद्गा इत्यथैनं गर्दभ आसादयति स्थिरो भव
वीड्वङ्ग आशुर्भव वाज्यर्वन्। पृथुर्भव सुषदस्त्वमग्नेः पुरीषवाहन ५
इत्यथैनमुपतिष्ठते शिवो भव प्रजाभ्यो मानुषीभ्यस्त्वमङ्गिरः।
मा द्यावापृथिवी अभिशूशुचो मान्तरिक्षं मा वनस्पतीनित्यथैनं
पूर्वं नयन्ति। तमनुमन्त्रयते प्रैतु वाजी कनिक्रददित्यन्वञ्चं
गर्दभं नानदद्रासभः पत्वा। भरन्नग्निं पुरीष्यं मा पाद्यायुषः
पुरा॥ रासभो वां कनिक्रदत्सुयुक्तो वृषणा रथे। स वामग्निं १०
पुरीष्यमाशुर्दूतो वहादितः॥ वृषाग्निं वृषणं भरन्नपां गर्भꣳ
समुद्रियम्। अग्न आयाहि वीतय इत्यथैमे समीचत ऋतꣳ
सत्यमृतꣳ सत्यमिति। प्रदक्षिणी वैश्यं कुर्वते। वैश्यः पृच्छति
पुरुषाः किं भरथेत्यग्निं पुरीष्यमङ्गिरस्वद्भराम इतीतरे प्रत्या-
हरथैनं खर उपावहरन्त्योषधयः प्रतिगृह्णीताग्निमेतमोषधयः १५
प्रतिमोदध्वमेनमिति द्वाभ्यामङ्गिरभ्युक्ष्याश्वगर्दभावुत्सृजन्त्यपो
रग्ने अभ्यवहरन्त्यपि वाङ्गिरभ्युक्ष्य भुञ्जते॥ ४॥ प्रथमः॥
अथैनं विस्रꣳसयति वि पाजसा पृथुना शोशुचान इत्य-

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he takes this and stands up, with two mantras: *ud u tiṣṭha svadhvarā* . . . (c) and *ūrdhva ū ṣu ṇa ūtaye* . . . (d). He carries it, with *sa jāto garbho asi* . . . (*e*), and loads it on the donkey, with *sthiro bhava vīḍvaṅga* . . . (*f*). Then he stands near it and recites *śivo bhava prajābhyaḥ* . . . (*g*).

(On the way back to the molding site) they lead the horse in front. He recites *praitu vājī kanikradat* . . . (h^1) after it.* (After) the donkey, which follows, (he recites) *nānadad rāsabḥah patvā* . . . (h^{2-4}), *rāsabho vām kanikradat* . . . (*i*), *vṛṣāgniṃ vṛṣaṇaṃ bharan* . . . (k^{1-3}). Then he gazes at these two (i.e., sky and earth), with *ṛtaṁ satyam* . . . (k^4) *rtaṁ satyam* (ibid.).* They walk clockwise around the vaiśya. The vaiśya asks, *puruṣāḥ kiṃ bharatha* ("Gentlemen, what are you carrying?"). The others answer, *agniṃ purīṣyam aṅgirasvad bharāmaḥ* ("We are carrying Agni of the earth in the manner of the Aṅgirases") (TS 4.1.2.2*i*). Then they bring it (scil., the bundle of clay) down onto the mound (within the enclosure in front of the northern section of the śālā) with two mantras: *oṣadhayaḥ prati gṛhṇīta* . . . (TS 4.1.4.4l) and *oṣadhayaḥ prati modadhvam* . . . (m). They sprinkle the horse and donkey with water and let them loose. They throw the two reins down into the water; or they sprinkle them with water and keep them.*

Then he unties it (scil., the bundle of clay), with *vi pājāsā pṛthunā śośucānaḥ* . . . (TS 4.1.5.1a). 10.5

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[१०।५।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम्। ५

यैनमङ्गिरसपसृजत्यापो हि ष्ठा मयोभुव इति तिसृभि-
रनुच्छन्दसमथैनमर्मकपालैः शर्कराभिरवाञ्जनपिष्टाभिरजलोमैः
कृष्णाजिनलोमैरिति सꣳसृजति मित्रः सꣳसृज्य पृथिवीमय-
स्त्वाय त्वा सꣳसृजामीति द्वाभ्यामथैनꣳ संभरति रुद्राः संभृत्य
५ पृथिवीमिति पिण्डं करोति मखस्य शिरोऽसीति यज्ञस्य
पदे स्थ इत्यङ्गुष्ठाभ्यामुपनिगृह्यात्यथ तृतीयं मृदोऽपच्छिद्य
त्रीन्पिण्डान्करोति तेषामेकमुखाकृते प्रयच्छति सꣳसृष्टां
वसुभी रुद्रैरित्यनुमन्त्रयते वसवस्त्वा कृण्वन्तु गायत्रेण छन्दसे-
त्यतिग्रिष्टायै मृदोऽर्धं प्रयच्छति सिनीवाली सुकपर्देत्यनु-
१० मन्त्रयते रुद्रास्त्वा कृण्वन्तु त्रैष्टुभेन छन्दसेति सर्वामन्ततो
मृदं प्रयच्छत्युखां करोतु शक्वेत्यनुमन्त्रयत आदित्यास्त्वा
कृण्वन्तु जागतेन छन्दसा विश्वे त्वा देवा वैश्वानराः कृण्वन्त्वा-
नुष्टुभेन छन्दसेत्यथ वै भवति प्राग्याभिर्यच्छत्यन्यैर्मन्त्रयते
मिथुनत्वाय श्रुद्धिं करोतीति स यदेव चिर्हरति चिरनु-
१५ लिम्पति तेन श्रुद्धिस्तां प्रादेशमात्रीमूर्ध्वामपरिमितां तिरश्चीं
करोत्यथास्यै त्र्यङ्गुले वा चतुरङ्गुले वा रास्नां पर्यस्यत्यदित्यै
रास्नासीत्यथास्या अनुदिशमष्टावश्रीरुन्नयति रास्नासन्धिषु
चाश्रिसन्धिषु चाष्टौ स्तनान्करोति नवाश्रिमभिचरतः कुर्या-
दिति ब्राह्मणमस्तनां नवमीं करोत्यथास्यै बिसं गृह्णात्यदितिस्त्वे
२० बिसं गृह्णातु पाङ्क्तेन छन्दसेत्यथैनां खरे निदधाति कृत्याय

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Then he pours water onto it (thrice) with the three mantras (starting from) *āpo hi ṣṭhā mayobhuvaḥ* . . . (b–d). Then he mixes it with the potsherds taken from a ruined village, the finely crushed gravel, the hairs of a billy goat, and the hairs of a black antelope, with two mantras: *mitraḥ saṁ sṛjya pṛthivīm* . . . (e) and *ayakṣmāya tvā saṁ sṛjāmi* . . . (f). Then he packs it together, with *rudrāḥ saṃbhṛtya pṛthivīm* . . . (g). He makes it into a ball, with *makhasya śiro 'si* . . . (l). With *yajñasya pade sthaḥ* . . . (*m*), he presses it down with his thumbs. Then he cuts off one third of the clay and makes it into three balls. He gives one of them to the ukhā maker, with *saṁ sṛṣṭām vasubhī rudraiḥ* . . . (h). (While the ukhā maker molds the bottom part of the ukhā),[4] he recites *vasavas tvā kṛṇvantu* . . . (n^1 and n^5).[5] He gives him half of the remaining clay, with *sinīvālī sukapardā* . . . (i). (While the ukhā-maker molds the middle part of the ukhā), he recites *rudrās tvā kṛṇvantu* . . . (n^2 and n^5). Finally he gives him all of the (remaining) clay, with *ukhāṃ karotu śaktyā* . . . (k). (While the ukhā maker molds the top part of the ukhā), he recites two mantras: *ādityās tvā kṛṇvantu* . . . (n^3 and n^5) and *viśve tvā devā vaiśvānarāḥ kṛṇvantu* . . . (n^4 and n^5). There is (a Brāhmaṇa passage referring to this): "One gives (the clay) with one set of mantras and follows this with another set of mantras, in order to make pairs. One makes it (scil, the ukhā pot) have three elevations." (TS 5.1.6.4). One takes (the clay) three times and smears (it) three times, therefore it has three elevations. He makes it a span (*prādeśa*) in height and of unlimited (i.e., unspecified) width. Then, three aṅgulas or four aṅgulas (from the top), he puts a belt around it, with *adityai rāsnāsi* (TS 4.1.5.4*o*). Then he raises up eight corners on it, corresponding to the cardinal and intermediate quarters. He makes eight breasts on the joints of the belt and the corners. A Brāhmaṇa passage says, "For one who practises witchcraft he should make it have nine corners" (TS 5.1.6.4). (In this case) he makes the ninth corner without a breast. Then he grasps the bowl, with *aditis te bilaṃ gṛhṇātu* (TS 4.1.5.4*p*). Then he places it down on the mound, with *kṛtvāya sā mahīm ukhām* . . . (q) up to the end of the section.

[4] Cf. ŚK.II.ES, p. 30, 11. 14 seq.
[5] The mantras TS 4.1.5.3n^1–n^5 are condensed in the text. The concluding part of each mantra, n^5, is *dhārayā mayi prajāṁ rāyas poṣaṃ gaupatyaṁ suvīryaṁ sajātān yajamānāya.*

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सा महीमुखामित्यान्ताद्नुवाकस्यैवमेव द्वितीयां करोत्येवं
तृतीयां तूष्णीं पञ्च चर्षभाञ्स्तिस्रश्च मण्डलेष्टकाः ॥ ५ ॥

अथ या मृद्तिग्रिय्यते तया प्रवाते प्रतिलेपमुपवातयति
तासूपवातासूपकल्पयत एकविंशतिं तूष्णीं अश्वस्य शकृत्पि-
ण्डानभिमग्निं पचनमित्यथाश्वशकृमादीप्य मुख्यामुखां धूपयति ५
वसवस्त्वा धूपयन्तु गायत्रेण छन्दसेति प्रतिपद्य वरुणस्त्वा
धूपयत्वित्यातो ऽन्तरतश्च बाह्यतश्च सुधूपितां कृत्वा निदधा-
त्येवमेव द्वितीयां धूपयत्येवं तृतीयां तूष्णीं पञ्च चर्षभाञ्-
स्तिस्रश्च मण्डलेष्टका अथोत्तरेण शालामुरुबिलमिवावटं
खानयत्यदितिस्त्वा देवी विश्वदेव्यावती पृथिव्याः सधस्थे ऽङ्गि- १०
रस्वत्खनत्ववटेति तं पचनेनावस्तीर्य तस्मिन्मुख्यामुखां प्रवृणक्ति
देवानां त्वा पत्नीर्देवीर्विश्वदेव्यावतीः पृथिव्याः सधस्थे ऽङ्गि-
रस्वद्दधतूख इत्येवमेव द्वितीयां प्रवृणक्त्येवं तृतीयां तूष्णीं पञ्च
चर्षभाञ्स्तिस्रश्च मण्डलेष्टकास्ताः प्राचीर्वादीचीर्वायातयत्यथैनाः
पचनेनोपरिष्टात्संप्रच्छाद्य मृदावलिम्पति चतुरङ्गुलमनुदिग्- ११
मादीपनायातिग्रिनश्यथोपोषति ॥ ६ ॥

धिषणास्त्वेति पुरस्ताद् ग्रास्त्वेति दक्षिणतो वरूत्रयस्त्वेति

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In the same way he makes the second (ukhā), and in the same way the third. Without mantras (he makes) five Bull (bricks) (*ṛṣabha*), and three 10.6
Circle bricks (*maṇḍala*).*[6] Then he smears the remaining clay (on them) and exposes them to the air in a windy place.

When they have dried, he prepares twenty-one balls of stallion dung,* a hoe, fire, and fuel for firing. Then he lights the horse dung and fumigates the main ukhā, with (seven mantras) starting from *vasavas tvā dhūpayantu* . . . up to *varuṇas tvā dhūpayatu* . . . (TS 4.1.6.1a[1-7]).* Having fumigated it thoroughly inside and out, he puts it down. In the same way he fumigates the second (ukhā), and in the same way the third. Without mantras (he fumigates) the five bull bricks and the three circle bricks.

Then he has a pit shaped like a large bowl dug to the north of the śālā, with *aditis tvā devī* . . . (TS 4.1.6.1*b*). He covers (the bottom of) it with fuel and places the main ukhā into it, with *devānāṃ tvā patnīḥ* . . . (*c*). In just the same way he places the second (ukhā), (and) in the same way the third. Without a mantra (he places) the five Bull bricks and the three Circle bricks.* He arranges them towards the east or towards the north (i.e., from 10.7
west to east, or from south to north).* Then he covers them completely with fuel and covers (the pit) with clay. He leaves a space of four aṅgulas open in in each direction in order to light (the fire). Then he lights (the fire), with *dhiṣaṇās tvā* . . . (d[1]) in the east, with *gnās tvā* . . . (d[2]) in the south, *varutrayas tvā* . . . (d[3]) in the west, (and) with *janayas tvā* . . . (d[4])[8] in

[6] The form of a bull is drawn on the ṛṣabha brick and a circle is drawn on the maṇḍala brick (cf. BŚS 30.6.399.4–5).

[7] We have deviated slightly from Caland's punctuation.

[8] The mantras TS 4.1.6.2d[3] and TS 4.1.6.2d[4] are condensed into one in the mantra text which reads: *varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthe 'ṅigrasvat pacantūkhe;* d[3] is *varutrayas tvā devīr* .... In d[4] *varūtrayo* is replaced by *janayas.*

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पश्चाज्जनयस्वेत्युत्तरतो ऽथैनाः परिददाति मित्रैतामुखां पचैषा मा भेद्येतां ते परिददाम्यभित्त्या इति ता अह्ना वा रात्र्या वा पच्यन्ते यदि प्रातरुपोषति सायमुपैति यदि सायं प्रातस्तासु पक्वासूपकल्पयते गोपयश्छागापयो धृष्टिमश्मसंदावꣳ ५ सतꣳ संदꣳशं खारीꣳ शिक्यं कृष्णाजिनमित्येतत्समादायाभ्येत्यभीमां महिना दिवं मित्रो बभूव सप्रथाः। उत श्रवसा पृथिवीम्॥ मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतः श्रवो देवस्य सानसिम्। द्युम्नं चित्रश्रवस्तममित्यथ धृष्टिमादाय मुख्याया उखाया अङ्गारानुद्वपति देवस्त्वा सवितोद्वपतु सुपाणिः स्वङ्गुरिः। सुबाहुरुत ग्रभ्णेत्यथैनामुच्छ्रयत्युत्तिष्ठ बृहती भवोर्ध्वा तिष्ठ ध्रुवा त्वमित्यथैनामाग्नये प्रतिष्ठापयत्यपद्यमाना पृथिव्याग्ना दिश आपृणेत्यथैनाꣳ संदꣳशेन परिगृह्य सते ऽवधाय छागापयसाच्छृणत्ति॥ ७॥

वसवस्त्वाच्छृन्दन्तु गायत्रेण छन्दसेति प्रतिपद्य विश्वे त्वा १५ देवा वैश्वानरा आच्छृन्दन्त्वानुष्टुभेन छन्दसेत्यातो ऽन्तरतश्च बाह्यतश्च स्वाच्छृणां कृत्वा गोपयसाभिविष्यन्दयत्येवमेव द्वितीयामाच्छृणत्येवं तृतीयां तूष्णीं पञ्च चर्षभाꣳस्तिस्रश्च मण्डलेष्टका अथ यदि विधुर्वा प्रदरो वा जायते ऽश्मचूर्णानि छागापयसि संप्रकीर्य तैः प्रत्युच्छ्योल्मुकेनाभितपति सꣳ हैव १० रोहति यद्यु वै सर्वश्च एव भिद्यत एतान्येव कपालान्य-

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the north. Then he entrusts them (to (Mitra), with *mitrai'tām ukhām* . . . and *te paridadāmi* . . . (*e* and *f*). They are fired for a day or for a night. If he lights the fire in the morning, he approaches (the pit) in the evening. If (he lights the fire) in the evening, (he approaches) in the morning.*

When they have been fired he prepares cow's milk, goat's milk, a poker, powdered stone, a platter, a pair of tongs, a wicker basket, a sling, (and) a black antelope skin. Having collected these, he approaches (the pit) with *abhī'māṃ mahinā divam* . . . (TS 4.1.6.2.*g*) and *mitrasya carṣaṇīdhṛtah* . . . (*h*). Then he takes the poker and removes the coals from the main ukhā, with *devas tvā savito 'dvapatu* . . . (*i*). He then stands it up, with *uttiṣṭha bṛhatī bhava* . . . (k^2). Then he stands it firm in its place, with *apadyamānā pṛthivī* . . . (k^1). Then he grasps it with the tongs, places it down on the platter, and pours goat's milk over it with (the mantra) beginning *vasavas tvā 'chṛndantu* . . . and ending *viśve tvā devā* . . . (l). When he has 10.8
rinsed it thoroughly inside and out,[9] he pours cow's milk over it. In just the same way he rinses the second, and in the same way the third. Without mantras (he rinses) the five Bull bricks and the three Circle bricks.

Then, if there happens to be a hole or crack, he mixes the powdered stone with goat's milk, sprinkles (the hole or crack) with this, and heats (it) with a torch. Indeed thus is it mended. If it is completely broken, he grinds the potsherds themselves fine and mixes them with the clay left

[8] The mantras TS 4.1.6.2d^3 and TS 4.1.6.2d^4 are condensed into one in the mantra text which reads: *varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīh pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthe 'ṅigrasvat pacantūkhe*; d^3 is *varutrayas tvā devīr* . . .. In d^4 *varūtrayo* is replaced by *janayas*.
[9] We have deviated slightly from Caland's punctuation.

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वाञ्जनं पिष्ट्वा यैषा मृत्प्रायश्चित्ताय परिगेते तया सꣳसृज्य कृत्वा पक्वाच्छृद्य निदधाति । तासां यदा श्वसथ उपरमत्यथैनाः खार्याꣳ समवधाय कृष्णाजिनेनोपरिष्टात्संप्रच्छाद्योत्तरे शालाखण्डे शिक्य आसजति । ता आ कालात्परिगेरे ॥ ८ ॥ द्वितीयः ॥

अथैतस्मिन्नेव पूर्वपक्षे वायव्येन पशुना यजते । तस्य तदुपक्लृप्तं भवति यत्पशुना यक्ष्यमाणस्य संग्रामे हतयोरश्वस्य च वैश्यस्य च शिरसी । दोयन्त ऋषभं पचन्ते । वृष्णिं च वस्तं चाहरन्त्येतत्सर्पशिरो ऽथास्यैषा पूर्वेद्युरेव पाशुबन्धिकी वेदिर्विमिता भवति । तां परिस्तीर्य स्तम्बयजुर्हरतीदमेव प्रसिद्धं पौरोडाशिकं त्रिर्यजुषा तूष्णीं चतुर्थं । पूर्वं परिग्राहं परिगृह्णाति । करणं जपत्युद्धृत्युद्धृतादाग्नीध्रस्त्रिर्हरति । यदाग्नीध्रस्त्रिर्हरत्यथ चात्वालस्यावृता चात्वालं परिलिखत्युत्तरवेदेरावृतोत्तरवेदिं निवपत्युत्तरनाभिमुत्साद्याग्नेरावृताग्निं प्रणयत्यग्निवत्युत्तरं परिग्राहं परिगृह्य योयुपिला तिर्यञ्चꣳ स्फ्यꣳ स्तब्ध्वा संप्रेषमाह प्रोक्षणीरासादयेध्मबर्हिरुपसादय स्रुवꣳ स्रुचिꣳ स्रुचश्च संमृड्धि तूष्णीं पृषदाज्यग्रहणीं पत्नीꣳ संनह्याज्येन च दध्ना चोदेहि प्रतिप्रस्थातः पशुशीर्षाणि विद्धीत्यध्वर्युरेव प्रसिद्धं पाशुबन्धिकं कर्म चेष्टत्यथ प्रतिप्रस्थाता याचत्येकविꣳशतिं

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over for expiation rites. He should make (the ukhā) fire, rinse, and place it down.*

When the hissing stops, he sets these things down together in the basket, covers them with the black antelope skin, and hangs them up in the sling in the northern part of the śālā. They remain there until the proper time.

Now, during the same fortnight of the waxing moon, he offers an animal sacrifice to Vāyu. He has prepared the heads of a horse and a vaiśya, both killed in battle, as well as the requisites of one who is going to perform an animal sacrifice.[10] They play dice and cook a bull, a ram, and a billy goat. They bring the snake's head.*† 10.9

Now he has measured out the (uttara-) vedi for the animal sacrifice on the day before.[11] He strews grass around it and performs the stambayajus rite.[12] This (procedure) has been established in the section about the puroḍāśa cake offering: thrice with mantras, the fourth time silently. He performs the first tracing out of the uttaravedi. He murmurs the Karaṇa mantra. He digs up (the ground intended for the uttaravedi). The āgnīdhra throws out (earth) three times from what has been dug up. Then, while the āgnīdhra is throwing out (earth) three times, he (scil., the adhvaryu) draws (a line) around the cātvāla hole in accordance with the procedure for the cātvāla. He pours down (earth) on the uttaravedi in accordance with the procedure for the uttaravedi. Having raised up the "navel" of the uttaravedi he brings forth the fire in accordance with the procedure for the fire. When there is a fire, he performs the second tracing out of the uttaravedi and makes it level. He fixes the wooden sword crosswise (on the uttaravedi) and speaks the command: "Set down the sprinkling water, bring the kindling sticks and barhis grass, clean the spoon, the knife, and the ladles (with the relevant mantras), and the pṛṣadājya ladle silently. Fasten (the girdle) around the waist of the wife (of the yajamāna) and come here with the butter and the curds. Pratiprasthātā, get the heads of the sacrificial victims."

The adhvaryu himself performs the established rites connected with the animal sacrifice.[13] Then the pratiprasthātā asks for twenty-one

[10] ŚK.I.ES, p. 774. cf. Schwab, no. 30.

[11] For the preparation of the uttaravedi and the following procedures v. Schwab. nos. 18–36; ŚK. I. ES, pp. 776–780 (cf. 291–294). 788–790.

[12] This consists in cutting the grass with the wooden sword and throwing it outside the vedi together with the dug-out clods of earth.

[13] Cf. Schwab, nos. 37–44; ŚK. I. ES, pp. 790–794.

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माषाग्पर्णशाखां मृत्पिण्डमुदपात्रमुत्कुषीꣳ सप्तधा विदृष्टां वल्मीकवपाꣳ संदꣳशमित्येतत्समादाय पञ्चशीर्षाण्यस्येति दक्षिणत एतत्पुरुषशिर उपशेते ऽग्रेणेतराण्यथ प्राचीनावीतं कृत्वा सप्तभिर्माषैः पुरुषशिरः परिकीर्य चिरपसलैः पर्णशाखया परिकर्षति ॥ ९ ॥

अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं जगत्। वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति पञ्चभिर्मानवैर्यम इत्यपरैः सप्तभिः परिकीर्यैव परिकर्षति वैवस्वते विविच्यन्ते यमे राजनि ते जनाः। ये चेह सत्येनेच्छन्ते य उ चानृतवादिन इत्यपरैः सप्तभिः परिकीर्यैव परिकर्षति ते राजन्निह विविच्यन्ते ऽथा यन्ति त्वामुप। देवाꣳश्च ये नमस्यन्ति ब्राह्मणाꣳश्चापचित्यतीत्यथादत्ते दक्षिणेन वल्मीकवपाꣳ सव्येन संदꣳशेन पुरुषशिरः प्राणैः प्राणान्संनिधायाग्नये वल्मीकवपां निदधात्यथैतत्पुरुषशिरो ऽभ्युच्छ्योत्कुष्य प्रक्षाल्य मृदाभिलिम्पत्यनभिलिम्पन्प्राणानथेतराणि चये-

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beans, a parṇa branch, a lump of clay, a water jar, a torch, an anthill with seven holes in it, and a pair of tongs. He collects all this and approaches the heads of the victims. The human head is lying to the south (of the śālā) and the other (heads are lying) to the east (of it). Then, wearing his sacred thread over his right shoulder and under his left arm, he scatters seven beans around the human head and draws the parṇa branch around it three times, counterclockwise, with *aharahar nayamānaḥ* . . . (TA 6.5.3.*b*). He scatters 10.10
another seven around and draws around (the branch in the same manner), with *vaivasvate vivicyante* . . . (*c*). He scatters another seven around and draws around (the branch in the same manner), with *te rājann iha vivicyante* . . . (*d*).* He takes the anthill in (his) right (hand) and the human head with the tongs in his left, hand. He aligns the holes (of the anthill) with the sense orifices (of the head) and puts the anthill down in its place. Then he sprinkles the human head, burns (its hair), washes it, and smears it with the clay without smearing the orifices. They prepare the others

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णैव निखिष्टन्त्यभ्युत्कुर्य्येव प्रक्षाल्य मृदाभिलिम्पन्त्यनभिलिम्पन्तः प्राणानधेनान्यद्भिः प्रोक्षणतो निदधाति ' तान्या काष्ठात्परिशेरे ' ॥ १० ॥

अथ पशोः सामिधेनीकल्पः ' प्र वो वाजा अभिद्यव इत्येकादश ' समास्त्वाग्न ऋतवो वर्धयन्त्विति दश ' तासां ज्योतिष्मतीमपोद्धृत्य नव धाय्यालोके दधात्यथ पृथुपाजवत्यौ धाय्ये दधात्यथ युक्ष्वा हि देवहूतमानित्येतां दधाति ' ताः पराचीरनूच्यमानाश्चतुर्विꣳशतिः संपद्यन्ते ' ज्योतिष्मतीं त्वेवोत्तमामन्वाहाथ हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्र इत्याघारमाघारयत्यथात आप्रीणामेव मीमाꣳसोर्ध्वा अस्य समिधो भवन्तीति द्वादश ' १० तासां तानूनपातीमपोद्धृत्य नाराशꣳसीं वसिष्ठानां दधात्यपो-

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with three (rites) only: they burn (their hair), wash them, and smear them with clay without smearing the orifices. Then, sprinkling them with water, he sets them down. They remain until the proper time.

Now the procedure with regard to the firewood verses[14]: (there are) eleven (verses starting from) *pra vo vājā* . . . (TB 3.5.2.1a–3l) (and) ten (verses starting from) *samās tvāgne* . . . (TS 4.1.7.1a–4k). He omits the verse containing the word "light" (*jyotis*) (i.e., TS 4.1.7.4k) from these (latter verses) and puts nine into the place for intercalated verses.[15] Next he puts the two intercalary verses containing the word "broad chest" (*pṛthupāja*) (TB 3.6.1.3h–i). Then he puts the (verse) *yukṣvā hi devahūtam* . . . (TS 2.6.11.1a). When these are recited one after another, they add up to twenty-four. (Then) at the end he recites the verse containing the word "light" (*jyotis*) (TS 4.1.7.4.k). 10.11

Then he offers the āghāra oblation (of butter),[16] with *hiraṇyagarbhaḥ* . . . (TS 4.1.8.3n).*

Now the investigation of the Āprī verses:[17] there are twelve (verses starting from) *ūrdhvā asya* . . . (TS 4.1.8.1a–3m). For yajamānas belonging to the Vasiṣṭha gotra he takes out the verse addressed to Tanūnapāt (b) and puts in that addressed to Narāśaṃsa (c). For yajamānas

[14] Cf. Schwab, no. 50; ŚK. I. ES, p. 806, 813; Hillebrandt, pp. 74–79; SK. I. ES, p. 329, 340.
[15] After the ninth of the eleven verses of TB 3.5.2.1a–3l.
[16] Cf. Schwab, no. 52; ŚK.I.ES, p. 806; Hillebrandt, p. 80; ŚK.I.ES, p. 329.
[17] Cf. Schwab, nos. 57–61, 81; ŚK.I.ES, p. 807.

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हृत्य नाराशꣳसीं तानूनपातीमन्येषां गोत्राणामथ पीवो ऽन्नाꣳ राये ऽनु यमिति वपायै यः प्राणतो य आत्मदा इति पशु-पुरोडाशस्य प्र वायुमच्छा नो नियुद्भिरिति हविष इति नु यदि मिश्रो भवति यद्यु वै सर्ववाय्य एव भवति
५ पीवो ऽन्नाꣳ राये ऽनु यमित्येतासां द्वे वपायै द्वे पशुपुरो-डाशस्य द्वे हविषो ऽथ यदि सर्वप्राजापत्य एव भवति यः प्राणतो य आत्मदा इत्येतासां द्वे वपायै द्वे पशुपुरो-डाशस्य द्वे हविषः सर्वसꣳस्थां पशोः कुर्वन्त्यथैतानि पशु-शीर्षाण्यभिपर्यग्निकृतान्युत्तरे शालाखण्डे शिक्येष्वासजत्यथैत-
१० त्सर्पगिर स्रन्त्यया विगृह्य शिक्यपाशे प्रग्रथ्नाति तान्या कालात्परिशेरे ॥ ११ ॥ तृतीयः ॥

अथापरपक्षः प्रतिधीयते स उपकल्पयत इष्टकाश्चाग्नि-दक्षिणाश्च यदि राक्षिभृतं चेष्यमाणो भवति यद्यु वै संव-त्सरभृतं दीर्घो ऽध्वाजिरिति नाद्रियेत स उपकल्पयत
१५ औदुम्बरीसुख्यामन्दीं तस्याः प्रादेशमात्राः पादा भवन्त्यरत्नि-मात्राणि शीर्षाण्यनूच्यानि सा मौञ्जीभी रज्जुभिर्भूता भव-

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belonging to other gotras he takes out the verse addressed to Narāśaṃsa (c) (and puts in) that addressed to Tanūnapāt (b).

Now, *pīvo'nnaṃ* . . . (TB 2.8.1.1a) and *rāye'nu yaṃ* . . . (b) are (the puro'nuvākyā and yājyā verses) for the offering of the omentum. *Yaḥ prāṇataḥ* . . . (TS 4.1.8.4o) and *ya ātmadā* . . . (p) are for the offering of the puroḍāśa cake for the animal sacrifice. *Pra vāyum acchā* . . . (TB 2.8.1.1e) and *ā no niyudbhiḥ* . . . (2f) are for the offering of the havis. This is how it is done if (the animal sacrifice) is mixed.[18] But if it is all for Vāyu alone, then of the (six verses starting) *pīvo'nnaṃ* . . . , *rāye'nu yaṃ* . . . (TB 2.8.1.1a–2f), two are for the omentum, two for the cake of the animal sacrifice, and two for the havis. Now if it is all for Prajāpati alone, then of the (six verses beginning) *yaḥ prāṇataḥ* . . . , *ya ātmadā* . . . (TS 4.1.8.4o–5t), two are for the omentum, two for the cake of the animal sacrifice, and two for the havis.[19] They perform the concluding parts of the animal sacrifice. Then, after a torch has been carried around the heads of the sacrificial victims, he hangs them in slings at the northern section of the śālā. Then he strings the snake's head on a cord and ties it to the loop of a sling. They remain until the proper time.

Now the second half of the month begins.† If he is going to pile a fire that is maintained (in the ukhā) for some days, (the yajamāna) prepares the bricks and the dakṣināś for the Agnicayana. But if (he is going to pile a fire) that is maintained (in the ukhā) for a year, he should ignore this, thinking, "The race is long" (i.e., the actual performance of the rite is still a long way off).* He prepares a stool made of udumbara wood for the ukhā. Its legs are a prādeśa long. The crossbars at the top of the leg are an aratni long. Its (seat) is woven with cords made of a single strand of muñja grass. 10.12

[18] I. e., if the omentum and havis are offered to Vāyu, but the puroḍāśa is offered to Prajāpati, as at the Agnicayana of 1975. On that occasion, however, a different verse was used as the yājya for the puroḍāśa. See Volume I, page 312.

[19] Yasuke Ikari, "Notes on the Vāyavya paśu" (Baudh ŚS X.9–11), *Indogaku Bukkyō-gaku Kenkyū* (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*) XXIV. 2 (Mar. 1976: 951–943).

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त्येकसराभिः फल्गकाभिस्तीर्णा मृदावलिप्ता षडुद्यामं द्वादशोद्यामं वा मौञ्जꣳ ग्रिक्यं मुञ्जकुलायं क्रमुकमाज्यसंयुतं वैकङ्कतीं च शमीमयीं च समिधौ सप्तौदुम्बरीः समिधस्त्रिस्रो नानावृत्त्या एकविꣳशतिनिर्बाधꣳ रुक्मं प्रज्ञाता आग्निष्टोमिकाः संभारा जुष्टे देवयजने शाला कारिता भवत्यथैनं ५ तीर्थादानीय पवयित्वा त्रिहविषमग्निदीक्षणीयामिष्टिं निर्वपत्याग्नावैष्णवमेकादशकपालमदित्यै घृते चरुं वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालमिति तस्यै तावन्त्युत्सीदन्ति यावन्ति दीक्षणीयाया अथाध्वर्युः प्रदक्षिणमावृत्य प्रत्यङ्ङाद्रुत्य पत्नीः संयाज्य प्राङेत्य ध्रुवामाप्याय्याज्यस्थाल्यां प्रत्यवनीयाज्यस्थाल्याः स्रुवेणोपघात- १० मग्निदीक्षाहुतीर्जुहोति ॥ १२ ॥

आकूतिमग्निं प्रयुजꣳ स्वाहा मनो मेधामग्निं प्रयुजꣳ स्वाहा चित्तं विज्ञातमग्निं प्रयुजꣳ स्वाहा वाचो विधृतिमग्निं प्रयुजꣳ स्वाहा प्रजापतये मनवे स्वाहाग्नये वैश्वानराय स्वाहेत्यथ स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वाज्यस्य पूर्णाꣳ स्रुचमौद्गहणं १५ जुहोति विश्वे देवस्य नेतुर्मर्तो वृणीत सख्यं विश्वे राय इषुध्यसि द्युम्नं वृणीत पुष्यसे स्वाहेत्यैतत्पूर्णपात्रमन्तर्वेदि निनयत्यथाग्नेणाहवनीयं पर्याहृत्य यजमानाय प्रयच्छत्यथ मुख्या-

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There are boards (*phalakā*: pl.) across (the top of it). It is smeared with clay. (He also prepares) a sling of six or twelve muñja cords, a wad of muñja grass, a chip of wood dipped in clarified butter, two kindling sticks: one of vikaṅkata wood and one of śamī, seven udumbara kindling sticks, three of different kinds of wood, and a golden breastplate with twenty-one knobs. (He also prepares) the well-known requisites for the Agniṣṭoma.[20] A śālā (i.e., the Old Hall) has been constructed on a suitable sacrificial site.[21] Then having led him (scil., the yajamāna) from the bathing place and purified him,[22] (the adhvaryu) begins the iṣṭi of the consecration for the Agnicayana. This consists of three oblations: a cake cooked on eleven potsherds for Agni and Viṣṇu, an oblation of rice porridge (*caru*) cooked in clarified butter for Aditi, and a cake cooked on twelve potsherds for (Agni) Vaiśvānara. As many of (the rites) are omitted as in the (normal) consecration iṣṭi (of the Agniṣṭoma).[23] The adhvaryu turns around clockwise, runs to the west and performs the patnīsaṃyāja offerings.[24] He goes towards the east, fills the dhruvā ladle (with clarified butter), pours it back into the butter dish, and, ladling out of the butter dish with the sruva ladle, performs the (six) dīkṣāhutis of the Agnicayana, with (the six mantras starting from) *ākūtim agniṃ prayujaṁ svāhā* . . . (TS 4.1.9.1*a*).* Then he takes four spoonsful (of clarified butter) into the ladle and offers the ladleful of clarified butter as the audgrahaṇa oblation, with *viśve devasya netur* . . . (*b*). At this juncture he pours the vessel full (of the praṇītā water) inside the vedi.[25] Then he carries (the paraphernalia of the yajamāna) in front of the offering fire and gives them to the yajamāna.[26] 10.13

[20] C–H, no. 11; ŚK. II. ES, p. 1.
[21] C–H, nos. 8–10; ŚK.II.ES, p. 2, p. 17.
[22] I.e., having performed all of the rites of the consecration before the dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi, see C-H, nos. 12–14; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 47–52.
[23] C–H, no. 15; ŚK. II. ES, pp. 52–53.
[24] C–H, no. 16; ŚK.II.ES, p. 53, 1. 15; Hillebrandt p. 151f; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 407f.
[25] C–H, no. 16; ŚK.II.ES, p. 67–68, 1. 8; Hillebrandt, p. 170; ŚK. I. ES, p. 410.
[26] C–H, no. 17; ŚK.II.ES, p. 68, 11.8–13.

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मुखां याचति। तस्याᳬ शकृत्पिण्डान्पूतिदृणानीति संप्रकीर्या-
ज्यस्रुवं प्रत्यस्याहवनीयस्यान्तमेष्वङ्गारेषु प्रदृणक्ति मा सु भित्था
दृᳬहस्वेति द्वाभ्यामथैनां परिददाति भिन्नैतामुखां तपैषा मा
भेद्येतां ते परिददाम्यभित्त्या इत्यथ वै भवति यदि भिद्येत
५ तैरेव कपालैः सᳬसृजेदिति। सा यदि भिद्यत एतान्येव[१]
कपालान्यवाञ्चनं पिष्ट्वा यैषा मृत्प्रायश्चित्ताय परिशेते तया
सᳬसृज्य कृत्वा पक्त्वाच्छृद्य निदधात्यथान्यां प्रदृणक्त्यथ वै भव-
त्यम्बरीषादन्नकामस्यावदध्यादित्यथ वै भवति यं कामयेत
यजमानं भ्रातृव्यमस्मै जनयेयमित्यन्यतस्तस्याहृत्यावदध्यादित्यथ
१० वै भवति यो गतश्रीः स्यान्मथित्वा तस्यावदध्यादित्यथ वै
भवति यो भूतिकामः स्याद्य उखायै संभवेत्स एव तस्य
स्यादिति। स य एवैष उखायै संतापाज्जायते तस्मिन्मुञ्ज-
कुलायमवदधाति या ते अग्न ओजस्विनी तनूरोषधीषु प्रविष्टा
तां त एतेनावयजे स्वाहेत्यथ क्रुचुकमाज्यसंयुतमवदधाति
१५ द्रुवः सर्पिरासुतिरित्यथ वैकङ्कतीं च शमीमयीं च समिधा-
वादधाति परस्या अधि संवत इति वैकङ्कतीं परमस्याः
परावत इति शमीमयीमथ सीद त्वं मातुरस्या उपस्थ
इति तिसृभिर्जातमुपतिष्ठते। अथ पञ्चौदुम्बरीः समिध
आदधाति ॥ १३ ॥

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Then he asks for the principal ukhā. Into it he strews balls of dung and dry grass (*pūtitṛṇāni*) and pours a spoonful of clarified butter. He places it in the embers at the edge of the offering fire with two mantras: *mā su bhitthā* . . . and *dṛṁhasva* . . . (TS 4.1.9.1c and 2d). Then he entrusts it (to Mitra) with two (mantras): *mitraitām ukhām* . . . (*e* and *f*). Now there is (a Brāhmaṇa passage): "If it breaks he should mix (it) with the potsherds themselves" (TS 5.1.9.3). If it should break he grinds the potsherds themselves fine and mixes them with the clay left over for expiation rites. He (should) make (the ukhā), fire it, rinse it, and place it down. Then he places another one on the fire.[27] Now there is (a Brāhmaṇa passage): "He should place (fire into the ukhā) from the fire of the frying pan for one who wishes food" (TS 5.1.9.4). Now there is (a Brāhmana passage): "He should take (fire) from someplace else and place (it into the ukhā) for a sacrificer for whom he desires, 'May I produce a rival for him'" (ibid.).[28] Now there is (a Brāhmaṇa passage): "He should produce fire by friction and place (it into the ukhā) for one who has attained the highest prosperity (TS 5.1.9.3).* Now there is (a Brāhmaṇa passage): "That which is born from the ukhā should be the only fire for one who desires prosperity" (TS 5.1.9.4). He places the wad of muñja grass into just that fire which is born from the ukhā from heating, to the accompaniment of *yā te agne* . . . .[29] Then he adds the chip of wood dipped in clarified butter, with *drvannaḥ sarpirāsutiḥ* . . . (TS 4.1.9.2g). Then he adds the two kindling sticks of vikaṅkata and śamī, that of vikaṅkata with *parasyā adhi saṃvataḥ* . . . (h), that of śamī with *paramasyāh parāvataḥ* . . . (i). Then he stands near (the fire) which has sprung up and recites to it the three (mantras starting from) *sīda tvaṃ* . . . (k–m).

[27] I. e., after remaking the principal ukhā he puts it aside and uses one of the two "spares."

[28] Baudhāyana has added an explanatory *yajamānaṃ* to the text of TS.

[29] This mantra occurs only here.

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यदग्ने यानि कानि च यदत्त्युपजिह्विका रात्रिꣳरात्रिम-
प्रयावं नाभा पृथिव्या याः सेना अभीवरीरित्यथैनं पञ्चर्चेन
राचोन्नेनोपतिष्ठते कृणुष्व पाजः प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीमित्यथ तिस्रो
नानावृत्त्याः समिधो ऽभ्यज्याद्धाति दꣳष्ट्राभ्यां मलिम्लूनित्या-
श्वत्थीं ये जनेषु मलिम्लव इति वैकङ्कतीं यो अस्मभ्यमरा- ५
तीयादिति शमीमयीमथ सꣳशितं मे ब्रह्मोदेषां बाहू अति-
रमित्युत्तमे औदुम्बरी वाचयन्नेवाभ्याद्धात्यथ कृष्णाजिने
यजमानं वाचयति । मुष्टी चैव न करोति वाचं च न यच्छ-
त्यथैतामामन्दीं व्यस्तशिक्यपाशां जघनेनाहवनीयं निद्धाति ।
तस्यामिण्ड्वाभ्यां परिगृह्योख्यमासादयति ॥ १४ ॥ १०

मातेव पुत्रं पृथिवी पुरीष्यमग्निꣳ स्वे योनौ बिभर्तु खा ।
तां विश्वैर्देवैर्ऋतुभिः संविदानः प्रजापतिर्विश्वकर्मा युनक्त्वि-
त्यथासीन उत्तरनिर्बाधꣳ रुक्मं प्रतिमुञ्चते दृशानो रुक्म
इत्यथ शिक्यपाशं प्रतिमुञ्चते विश्वा रूपानि प्रतिमुञ्चते कवि-
र्नक्रोषासेति द्वाभ्यां । तूष्णीं कृष्णाजिनमुत्तरमथैनमवेक्षते १५
सुपर्णो ऽसि गरुत्मान्त्रिवृत्ते शिरो गायत्रं चक्षु स्तोम आत्मा
साम ते तनूर्वामदेव्यं बृहद्रथन्तरे पक्षौ यज्ञायज्ञियं पुच्छं
छन्दाꣳस्यङ्गानि धिष्णियाः शफा यजूꣳषि नामेत्यथैनमुद्गृह्णाति
सुपर्णो ऽसि गरुत्मान्दिवं गच्छ सुवः पतेति । पुरस्तादेवास्यैते

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Then he adds the five kindling sticks of udumbara, with *yad agne yani kāni* 10.14
ca . . . (TS 4.1.10.1a), *yad atty upajihvikā* . . . (b), *rātrim̐rātrim apra-yāvam* . . . (c), *nābhā pṛthivyāḥ* . . . (d), *yāḥ senā abhītvariḥ* . . . (e).* Then he stands near this (scil., the fire) and recites to it the five "Rakṣas Slaying" verses (starting from) *kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ* . . . (TS 1.2.14.1a–2e). Then he smears the three kindling sticks of different kinds of wood (with clarified butter) and puts them into the ukhā. (He puts in) the one of aśvattha with *daṁṣṭrābhyāṃ malimlūn* . . . (TS 4.1.10.2f), that of vikaṅkata with *ye janeṣu malimlava* . . . (g), that of śamī with *yo asmabhyam arātīyāt* . . . (h). Then he adds the last two udumbara kindling sticks while making (the yajamāna) recite *saṁsitaṃ me brahma* . . . (and) *ud eṣāṃ bāhū* . . . (TS 4.1.10.3i and k). At this point he makes the yajamāna, (sitting) on the black antelope skin, recite (the Yajñānvārambha mantra, TS 1.2.2.3n).[30] But (the yajamāna) does not clench his firsts or restrain his speech.†[31] Then he places the stool behind the offering fire with the sling loosened. He grasps the ukhā with the fire in it using a pair of potholders and places (it) on it (scil., 10.15
the stool) with *māteva putraṃ* . . . (TS 4.2.5.2*e* with variants). Then (the yajamāna), seated, puts on the golden breast plate with its knobs upward, with *dṛśāno rukma* . . . (TS 4.1.10.4l). Then he puts on the sling with two (mantras): *viśvā rūpāni* . . . (m) and *naktoṣāsā* . . . (n). (He puts) the black antelope skin on top without a mantra. Then he gazes at this (scil., the ukhā fire), with *suparṇo'si garutmān trivṛt te śiraḥ* . . . (*o*). Then he lifts it up, with *suparṇo 'si garutmān divaṃ gaccha* . . . (*p*).

[30] C–H, no. 17h; ŚK.II.ES, p. 69, 1. 36.
[31] C–H, no. 17h; ŚK.II.ES, p. 70, 1. 2.

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दीर्घाः शिक्यपाशाः कारिता भवन्ति । यो ऽत्र वैव सति क्रमते ऽपि वैनमुपोद्यच्छते ॥ १५ ॥

विष्णोः क्रमो ऽस्यभिमातिहा गायत्रं छन्द आरोह पृथिवीमनुविक्रमस्व निर्भक्तः स यं द्विष्म इति चतुर्भिरनु-
५ च्छन्दसं । तृतीये चतुर्थमनुवर्तयति । न चतुर्थाय प्रक्रामति । नाहवनीयमुपात्येत्यथाक्रन्ददित्येतामन्वाहाथ दक्षिणमंसमभि पर्यावर्तते ऽग्ने ऽभ्यावर्तिन्नग्ने अङ्गिरः पुनरूर्जा सह रय्येति चतसृभिरथोदङ् पर्यावृत्य कृष्णाजिनमुन्मुच्य शिक्यपाश-मुन्मुञ्चत उदुत्तमं वरुण पाशमस्मदित्यथैनमाहरत्या त्वाहार्ष-
१० मग्ने बृहन्नुषसामूर्ध्वो अस्थादिति द्वाभ्यामथ यं कामयेत राजन्यं राष्ट्रं स्यादिति तं मनसा ध्यायेद्राष्ट्रमेव भवतीति ब्राह्मणमथैनं यथाहृतं प्रतिपर्याहृत्यान्तर्वेद्यासादयति सीद त्वं मातुरस्या उपस्थ इति चतसृभिः सहसमाभिरथ मुष्टी च करोति वाचं च यच्छत्यथास्मै व्रतं प्रदास्यन्नन्नपतीयां समि-
१५ धमभ्यादधाति वा जपति वान्नपते ऽन्नस्य नो देहीत्यथोख्य-मुपसमिन्द्धे येन देवा ज्योतिषोर्ध्वा उदायन्निति । स यावत्तावो ऽस्मै व्रतं प्रदास्यन्भवत्येवमेवान्नपतीयां समिधमभ्या-दधाति वा जपति वैवमुख्यमुपसमिन्द्धे । ऽथ प्रातरुदित

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The loops of the sling have already been made long (enough) for him (to be able to carry the ukhā). He either takes one stride (towards the east) with each of the four successive mantras starting from *viṣṇoḥ kramo 'si* . . . (TS 10.16
4.2.1.1a) while it (scil,. the fire in the ukhā) remains in place, or he picks it up (and takes the strides). At the third step he (also) recites the fourth mantra (TS 4.2.1.1a[4]). He does not take a stride for the fourth mantra. He does not go beyond the offering fire.[32] Then he further recites *akrandat* . . . (b). Then he turns around (his) right shoulder (i.e., he revolves clockwise) with the four mantras (starting from) *agne 'bhyāvartin* . . . (c–f). Then he turns towards the north, takes off the black antelope skin, and takes off the sling, with *ud uttamam* . . . (g). Then he takes it (scil., the ukhā fire) (to the place where it was before the Viṣṇu strides) with two mantras: *ā tvā hārṣam* . . . (h) and *agre bṛhan* . . . (i). At this point, if he (scil., the adhvaryu) wishes a royal yajamāna to have the kingship, he should meditate on him mentally, (since) a Brāhmaṇa passage says, "The kingship indeed comes (to him)" (TS 5.2.1.4). Then he carries it back around as it was brought, and sets it inside the vedi with four mantras (starting from) *sīda tvaṃ* . . . (TS 4.2.1.3k–n) including the one containing the word "*haṁsa*" (n). At this point he clenches his fists and restrains his speech.[33]

Then, when he is about to give him (scil., the yajamāna) the vrata milk he either adds a kindling stick (to the ukhā fire) for (Agni) Annapati with *annapate* . . . TS 4.2.3.1a) or murmurs (the mantra) (without adding a kindling stick). Then he makes the fire in the ukhā flare up, with *yena devā* . . . TS 5.7.2.2c).* Whenever he is about to give him the vrata milk he either adds the kindling stick for (Agni) Annapati, or murmurs (the mantra) in the same way, and makes the fire in the ukhā flare up in the same way. Then (next) morning, after the sun has risen and (the yajamāna) has

[32] For the Viṣṇu strides (*viṣṇukrama*), see Hillebrandt pp. 171f.; ŚK. I. ES, pp. 428f.; C-H, nos. 17h–21; ŚK.KI.ES, p. 70, 1. 2.
[33] C-H nos. 17h–21; ŚK. II. ES, p. 70, 1. 2.

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आदित्ये विसृष्टायां वाचि वात्सप्रेणोपतिष्ठते दिवस्परि प्रथमं जज्ञे अग्निरित्येतेनैकादशर्चेन। स एवमेव पूर्वेद्युः प्रक्रामत्युत्तरेद्युरुपतिष्ठते। ऽयास्योपवसथीये ऽहन्वात्सप्रꣳ संपद्यते॥ १६॥ चतुर्थः॥

अथातः प्रयाणस्यैव मीमाꣳसा। दीक्षितं वायोगक्षेमो विन्दत्यन्यत्र वा देवयजनाद्दीक्षते सꣳसृजन्ति व्रते। संबध्नन्ति व्रतदुघयोर्वत्सावादधति यदाधेयं भवति नीडे गार्हपत्यं प्रउग आहवनीयमित्यथोख्यमुद्यच्छत उदु त्वा विश्वे देवा इत्यथैनमनसः प्रउग आसादयति सीद त्वं मातुरस्या उपस्थ इति चतसृभिः सहꣳसाभिरथैतानासन्दीपादान्फलकेषु यथासुष्ठु विनिबध्नन्ति। मध्यमे वꣳशे शिक्यपाशं प्रग्रथ्नन्त्यपि वारण्योरग्नीन्समारोह्य प्रयाति भद्रादभि श्रेयः प्रेहि प्रेदग्ने ज्योतिष्मान्याहीति द्वाभ्यामथ यद्यत्र उत्सर्जत्यक्रन्ददित्येतामन्वाहाथावसिते घृतानुषिक्ताꣳ समिधमभ्यादधाति समिधाग्निं दुवस्यत घृतैर्बोधयतातिथिम्। अस्मिन्हव्या जुहोतन स्वाहेति गायत्र्या ब्राह्मणस्य प्रयायामग्निर्भरतस्य शृण्व इति त्रिष्टुभा राजन्यस्य। स यावत्कलः प्रयास्यन्भवत्येवमेवैतत्सर्वं करोति॥ १७॥

अथातो भस्मन एवातिवृद्धस्य मीमाꣳसा। भस्म चेदतिवर्धते स उपकल्पयते सतमयोदर्वीꣳ संदꣳशमित्येतत्समादाय

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released his speech, (he) stands near (the ukhā fire) and recites to it the Vātsapra song of eleven verses starting from *divas pari* . . . (TS 4.2.2.1a–4l). In this way (during the period of consecration) he strides (the Viṣṇu strides) on one day and worships (with the Vātsapra song) on the next. Then for him the Vātsapra song falls on the day before the ritual purchase of Soma.*

Now with regard to setting out on a journey:[34] (The yajamāna sets out) when he suffers the loss of property after he has been consecrated or when he has been consecrated in some place other than the place of sacrifice. They fasten (the vessels containing) the two vrata milks (to the cart). They tether the calves of the two cows which have produced the vrata milk (to the cart). They load whatever is to be loaded: the domestic fire in the body (of the cart), the sacrificial fire on the front part of the yoke pole. Then (the yajamāna) picks up the fire in the ukhā (i.e., the ukha in its stool), with *ud u tvā* . . . (TS 4.2.3.1b). Then he sets it on the front part of the yoke pole (of the cart) with four mantras (starting from *sīda tvam* . . . (TS 3.2.1.3k–4n) including the one containing the word *haṁsa* (n). Then they tie the legs of the stool tightly to the boards (of the cart). They fasten the sling to the center beam (of the roof of the cart). Or he consigns the fires to the two pieces of wood forming the firedrill, (places them on the cart,) and sets out with two mantras: *bhadrād abhi śreyaḥ* . . . (TS 1.2.3.3m–n[1]), *pred agne* . . . (TS 4.2.3.1c).* Then, if the axle creaks, he recites the verse *akrandad* . . . (TS 4.2.2.2.d). Then, when (the cart) stops for the night, he adds a kindling stick dipped in clarified butter (to the ukhā fire), with the gāyatrī verse *samidhā 'gnim* . . . (TS 4.2.3.1*d*) *svāhā* for a brahmin (yajamāna), with the triṣṭubh verse *praprā 'yam agnir* . . . (e) for a royal (yajamāna). He does all of this in the same way whenever he is about to set out. 10.17

Now with regard to (the ritual procedures concerning) an excessive quantity of ash (in the ukhā): If the ash becomes excessive he prepares a platter, an iron spoon, and a pair of tongs. After they have collected these 10.18

[34] Cf. C-H, no. 24; SK. II. ES, pp. 100–101.

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यत्रापस्तद्यन्ति सोख्या। अथैतमग्निꣳ संदꣳशेन परिगृह्य सते ऽवधायायोदर्व्यामु भस्म प्रवेशयत्यापो देवीः प्रतिगृह्णीत भस्मै-तदस्यग्ने सधिष्टव गर्भो ओषधीनामिति तिसृभिरनुष्टुब्भि-समयैनं ज्योतिष्मतीभ्यां प्रत्यवदधाति प्रसद्य भस्मना योनिं ५ पुनरासद्य सदनमपस्येति द्वाभ्यामथ पुनरूर्जा सह रय्येति द्वाभ्यां पुनरुदैत्यथोख्यमुपसमिन्द्धे पुनस्त्वादित्या रुद्रा वसवः समिन्धतामित्यथैनं यथाहृतं प्रतिपर्याहृत्य यजमानायतने तिष्ठन्नुपतिष्ठते बोधा स बोधीत्यान्तादनुवाकस्य। स यावत्तत्तो भस्मातिवर्धत एवमेवैतत्सर्वं करोत्यथातः कालायैवोपगेते १० संभारेभ्यः। ॥ १८ ॥ पञ्चमः ॥

अथातः क्रयस्यैवोपवसथः पर्याप्लवते। स उपकल्पयते पञ्चशतमिष्टका अपरिमिता अपस्या नैर्ऋतीः कृष्णास्तिस्रस्तुष-पक्वा भस्म पुरीषमूषान्सिकता इत्यथोपवसथीये ऽहन्देवयजन-मध्यवस्यत्येदमगन्मापेतेति द्वाभ्यामथ महावेदिं विमिमीत १५ एतानेव ज्यायसः प्रक्रमान्प्रक्रम्याक्ष्णया मानेन प्रमाय समन्तꣳ स्रन्त्यया परितनोति। पृष्ठ्यामातनोत्यथैतमग्निं प्रत्यञ्चं यूपा-वटीयाच्छङ्कोर्विमिमीते पुरुषमात्रेण वेणुना समपचपुच्छम-रत्निना[२] पत्नौ द्राघीयाꣳसौ भवतः। षड्विधं वा सप्तविधं वा द्वादशविधं वा यावद्विधं वा चेष्यमाणो भवत्यथैनमक्ष्णया

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they go with the ukhā fire to a place where there is water. Then he grasps the fire (i.e., the burning coals in the ukhā) with the tongs, places it on the platter, and puts the ash in the water with the iron spoon (thrice), with three successive mantras: *āpo devīḥ* . . . (TS 4.2.3.2f), *apsu agne sadhiṣṭava* . . . (g), and *garbho asy oṣadhīnām* . . . (h). Then he puts this (fire) back (into the ukhā) with the two mantras containing the word *jyotis: prasadya bhasmanā yonim* . . . (i) and *punar āsadya* . . . (k). Then he comes back up (from the water) with two (mantras): *punar ūrjā* . . . (l) and *saha rayyā* . . . (m). Then he adds fuel to the fire in the ukhā, with *punas tvāditya* . . . (n). Then (the yajamāna) carries it back around the same way it had been taken and recites *bodhā* . . . (o) (and) *sa bodhi* . . . (p) up to the end of the section, while standing in the place of the yajamāna. Whenever the ash becomes excessive he does all of this in the same way.* Thereafter (the ukhā fire) is kept until the time (of being used, that is, until the time of preparing) the paraphernalia (for piling the domestic fire).

Now the day preceding the ritual purchase of Soma approaches.[35] 10.19
The yajamāna prepares one hundred five bricks, an unspecified number of pebbles, three black bricks for Nirṛti, baked in a fire of chaff, ash (from the ukhā), dirt, saline soil, and sand. Then, on the day preceding (the ritual purchase of Soma), he (formally) occupies the sacrificial site with two mantras: *edam aganma* . . . (TS 1.2.3.3o) and *apeta* . . . (TS 4.2.4.1a)*[36] Then (the adhvaryu) measures out the mahāvedi. He strides those same larger strides,[37] measures (the mahāvedi) with the diagonal measuring,[38] and stretches a cord around (it). He stretches out the pṛṣṭhyā line (down the centre of the mahāvedi).[39] Then, to the west of the peg marking the place of the hole for the sacrificial post, he measures out the Field of Agni with a piece of bamboo as long as a man (i.e., the yajamāna) so that the wings and the tail are of the same size. The two wings are made an aratni longer.[40] (The Agni is measured in this way) if (the yajamāna) is going to pile up a sixfold or a sevenfold, or a twelvefold (Agni), or one of any size.[41]

[35] Concerning this section, see C-H, no. 24f.; ŚK. II. ES, pp. 101f.
[36] Cf. C-H, no. 24; ŚK.II.ES, p. 102.
[37] See above Part II p. 380.
[38] The "diagonal measuring" is based upon what we call "Pythagorean relationship." Here, owing to limited space, we refer only to the passages of Baudhāyana Śulbasūtra that treat the themes of mahāvedi construction and measuring that it presupposes: BŚS 30.1: 390, 2f; BŚS 30.2: 392.1–3; BŚS 30.4:395.3f.
[39] C-H, no. 64; ŚK. II. ES, p. 236.
[40] This refers to the square type of bird-shaped altar. See BŚS 30.8:401.12–402.5.
[41] According to the Baudhāyana Śulbasūtra, an area of seven and one half square puruṣas (i.e., sevenfold) is the basic area of the altar. Cf. BSS 30. 5:396. 10f. For other Forms of the Agni altar see below, pp. 667–675.

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मानेन प्रमाय समन्तꣳ स्यन्द्यया परितनोत्यनुस्यन्द्यं लेखां लिखत्यपोद्धृत्य स्यन्द्यां कर्षूः खानयन्त्युच्छ्रयन्त्यपस्या । दक्षिणतश्च पश्चाच्च वर्षीयसीः कुर्वन्त्येतावदेवैतदहः कर्म क्रियते । वसन्त्येताꣳ रात्रिमथाध्वर्युरपररात्र आद्रुत्य सꣳशास्ति चिरुतनव्रतं दोहयतेत्यथैतमग्निꣳ सते समुप्य दक्षिणतो ज्वलयन्त आसते । ऽथैतदग्न्यायतनꣳ शकृत्पिण्डेन परिलेपयति । तस्मिꣳस्वतस्रः प्राचीरिष्टका आयातयति द्वे पुरस्तात्समीची द्वे पश्चात्समीची । अथैनं प्रदक्षिणं त्रयोदशभिरिष्टकाभिः परिचिनोत्यन्विष्टकं लेखां लिखत्यपोद्धृत्येष्टकाः कर्षूः खानयन्त्युच्छ्रयन्त्यपस्या । दक्षिणतश्च पश्चाच्च वर्षीयसीः कुर्वन्ति ॥ १९ ॥ १०

अथ द्वाभ्यामात्मन्यग्निं गृह्णीते मयि गृह्णाम्यग्ने अग्निं यो नो अग्निरिति । स्वयंचितिं जपति यास्ते अग्ने समिधो यानि धामेति । श्वेतमश्वमभिमृश्यान्तःशर्करमिमामुपदधाति प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु तथा देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीदेत्यत्र संभाराञ्जिवपत्यग्नेर्भस्मासीति भस्माग्नेः पुरीषमसीति पुरीषꣳ संज्ञानमसि कामधरणमित्यूषान्मयि ते कामधरणं भूयादिति सिकता । अथैनान्संप्रयौति सं या वः प्रियास्तनुवः सं प्रिया हृदयानि वः । आत्मा वो अस्तु संप्रियः संप्रियास्तनुवो ममेत्यथैनान्कल्पयति कल्पेतां द्यावापृथिवी कल्पन्तामाप ओषधीः । कल्पन्तामग्नयः पृथङ्मम ज्यैष्ठ्याय सव्रता इत्यथोर्ध्वचित उप- १०

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Then he measures it diagonally and stretches a cord around it. He draws a line along the cord. They remove the cord and have trenches dug (along the line). They set up the pebbles (in the trenches). They make them higher in the south and in the west. Just so much work is done that day. They pass the night.

Then, in the latter half of the night (i.e., in the early morning) the adhvaryu runs up and gives the order, "Milk the vrata milk from three teats."[42] Then they pour the old offering fire onto the platter and sit to the south (of the hearth) making it flare up. Then he has the place for the (new domestic) fire smeared with a ball of dung. On it he arranges four bricks (in a straight line) towards the east (and) two parallel in the east and two parallel in the west. Then he piles thirteen bricks clockwise around this (scil., the area for the new domestic altar) (thus filling it in). He draws a line around the bricks. They remove the bricks and have trenches dug (along the line). They set up the pebbles (in the trenches). They make them higher in the south and in the west. Then (the adhvaryu) (formally) takes the fire into 10.20
himself with two mantras: *mayi gṛhṇāmy agre agnim . . . yo no agniḥ . . .* (TS 5.7.9.1a). He murmurs the "self-piling" mantra (*svayaṃciti*): *yās te agne samidho yāni dhāma . . .* (TS 5.7.8.1a). Then he touches the white horse[43] and ritually places this (earth) inside the pebbles,[44] with *prajāpatis tvā sādayatu tayā devatāyāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda* (TS 5.5.2.*4*). At this point he pours out the collected materials: the ash (from the ukhā) with *agner bhasmāsi . . .* (TS 4.2.4.1 b^1), the soil with *agneḥ purīṣam asi* (b^2), the saline soil with *saṃjñānam asi kāmadharaṇam* (c^1), the sand with *mayi te kāmadharaṇam bhūyāt* (c^2).*† Then he mixes these together, with *saṃ yā vaḥ priyās tanuvaḥ . . .* (*d*). Then he arranges them, with *kalpetāṃ dyāvapṛthivī . . .* (TB 1.2.1.18*a*).

[42] C-H, no. 59; ŚK.II.ES, p. 102.
[43] A white horse stands to the south of the area, a black one to the north; cf. TS 5.7.1b; BŚS 22.8:127.12–14, below , page 629.
[44] I. e., he transforms the earth into a "brick" by touching it and reciting a mantra.

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दधाति चित स्थ परिचित ऊर्ध्वचितः श्रयध्वं तया देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवाः सीदतेत्यथानुव्यूहत्याप्यायस्वेति गायत्र्या ब्राह्मणस्य सं ते पयाꣳसीति त्रिष्टुभा राजन्यस्य यथासुष्ठु यथाशर्करमनुव्यूहति तस्मिꣳस्त्रतस्रः प्राचीर्याजुषीरुपदधाति ॥ २० ॥

५ अयꣳ सो अग्निरग्ने दिवो अर्णमच्छा जिगास्यग्ने यत्ते दिवि वर्चः पृथिव्यां पुरीष्यासो अग्नय इति द्वे पुरस्तात्समीची इडामग्न इति दक्षिणामयं ते योनिर्ऋत्विय इत्युत्तरां द्वे पश्चात्समीची त्वदग्नीति दक्षिणां परित्वदग्नीत्युत्तरामथैनं प्रदक्षिणं चयोदशभिर्लोकंपृणाभिः परिचिनोति लोकं पृण

१० छिद्रं पृणाथो सीद शिवा त्वम्। इन्द्राग्नी त्वा बृहस्पतिरस्मिन्योनावसीषदन्निति तयादेवतं करोति तया देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीदेत्यथ सूददोहसं करोति ता अस्य सूददोहसः सोमꣳ श्रीणन्ति पृश्नयः। जन्मन्देवानां विशस्त्रिष्वा रोचने दिव इत्यथावद्रुत्य कृष्णमश्वमभिमृश्य तनुपुरीषमुपदधाति

१५ पृष्ठो दिवीति तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोतीति त्वा इयं प्रथमा चितिर्निष्ठीयत एवमेव द्वितीया निष्ठीयत एवं तृतीयैवं चतुर्थ्यैवं पञ्चमी तान्यदि चेष्यत आदित्यो ऽभ्युदियादाचंयमो ऽध्वर्युं यजमानो ऽन्वारभत उखामेवाध्वर्युरादत्ते प्रतिसमेधनीयं प्रतिप्रस्थाता तौ पुरस्तात्प्रत्यञ्चौ समितमिति

२० चतसृभिः संनिवपतो ऽथ शिक्यादुखां निरूहति ॥ २१ ॥

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Then he (formally) "places" the (pebbles that have been stood up in the trenches and are now called) ūrdhvacits with *cita stha paricita ūrdhva-citaḥ* . . . (TS 4.3.7.4*l*). Then he spreads out (the materials) with the gāyatrī verse *āpyāyasva* . . . (m) for a brahmin (yajamāna), with the tṛṣṭubh verse *saṃ te payāṁsi* . . . (n) for a royal (yajamāna). He spreads 10.21
(the materials) smoothly in the area enclosed by the pebbles. On it he places four "yajus"[45] bricks (in a straight line) towards the east with *ayaṁ so agnir* . . . (TS 4.2.4.2e), *agne divo arṇam achhā jigāsi* . . .(f), *agne yat te dive varcaḥ pṛthivyāṃ* . . . (g), *purīṣyāso aganyaḥ* . . . (h). (Then he places) two parallel in the east, with *iḍāṃ agne* . . . (i) for the one on the south (and) *ayaṃ te yonir ṛtviyo* . . . (k) for the one on the north. (Then he places) two parallel in the west, with *cid asi* . . . (l) for the one on the south, and *paricid asi* . . . (m) for the one on the north. Then he piles thirteen "space filler" bricks clockwise around this (area) with *lokaṃ pṛṇa chidraṃ pṛṇa* . . . (*n*) (thus filling it in). He recites the Tayādevata mantra: *tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda* (TS 5.5.6.3; cf. 4.2.4.6l) (over each of the bricks). Then he recites the Sūdadohas mantra: *tā asya sūdadohasaḥ* . . . (TS 4.2.4.6*o*) (over each of the bricks). Then he dismounts (from the layer of bricks), touches the black horse,[43] and deposits a thin layer of loose soil (*tanupurīṣa*) over the layer of bricks) with *pṛṣṭo divi* . . . (TS 1.5.11.ld). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it). Thus the first layer is completed. In the same way the second is completed; in the same way the third, the fourth, and the fifth.* If the sun should rise on them when they are about to pile (the new domestic altar) the yajamāna should restrain his speech and take hold of the adhvaryu from behind. The adhvaryu takes the fire in the ukhā, the pratiprasthātā takes the fire which is to be augmented (i.e., the old sacrificial fire previously placed on a platter). Facing the west in front (of the new domestic altar) these two pour down (the fires) together (upon the altar) with four mantras starting from *sam itam* . . . (TS 4.2.5.la–d).*

[45] "Yajus bricks" are put down with their own mantras and contrast with "space-filler" bricks, which are all put down with TS 4.2.2.2n.

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मातेव पुत्रं पृथिवी पुरीष्यमग्निꣳ स्वे योनावभारुषा। तां विश्वैर्देवैर्ऋतुभिः संविदानः प्रजापतिर्विश्वकर्मा विमुञ्चतु। इति। तां नावेक्षेतेत्याहुः शुम्बत्येव हि भवतीति। तस्यामन्यत्रावेक्षमाणो दधिद्रप्सान्प्राश्यत्यसुं ते शुचि दधामीति वा तूष्णीं वायेनाꣳ सिकताभिः पूरयित्वा दध्नोपरिष्टात्संप्रच्छाद्योत्तरे शालाखण्डे निदधात्येवमेव द्वितीयां पूरयत्येवं तृतीयां। ता आ कालात्परिगेरे। अथ वैश्वानर्यां शिष्यमादत्ते यदस्य पारे रजसः शुक्रं ज्योतिरजायत। तत्र पर्षदति द्विष इत्यथ याचति नैर्ऋतीः कृष्णास्तिस्रस्तुषपक्वा आसन्दीꣳ रुक्मस्य प्रबन्धनमुदपात्रमित्येतत्समादाय दक्षिणया द्वारोपनिष्क्रम्य तां दिशं यन्ति यत्रास्य स्वकृतमिरिणꣳ स्पष्टं भवति प्रदरो वा। तदेतत्पराचीनपाग्रꣳ शिष्यं न्यस्यत्यग्ने वैश्वानर स्वाहेति। शिष्यपाग्रमनु पराचीर्नैर्ऋतीरुपदधाति नमः सु ते निर्ऋते विश्वरूपे यत्ते देवी निर्ऋतिराबबन्ध यस्यास्ते अस्याः क्रूर आसञ्जुहोमीत्युपास्यत्यासन्दीꣳ रुक्मस्य प्रबन्धनमथोपतिष्ठते ऽसुम्बन्तमयजमानमिच्छ देवीमहं निर्ऋतिं वन्दमान इति द्वाभ्यामथापो व्यतिषिच्य परास्य पात्रमनवेक्षमाणा

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Then (the adhvaryu) removes the ukhā from the sling, with *māteva putraṃ* . . . (TS 4.2.5.1*e*, with variants). It is said, "He should not look at it (scil., the empty ukhā) because it is full of pain."[46] Looking aside he throws drops of curd into it with "I give your heat (i.e., pain) to so and so,"[47] or without a mantra.* Then he fills it with sand, covers the top with curds, and places it in the northern part of the śālā.* In the same way he fills the second (ukhā) and likewise the third. They remain until the proper time. Then he takes the sling, with the Vaiśvānara verse: *yad asya pāre rajasaḥ* . . . (*f*, omitting the last three words).* Then he asks for the three bricks for Nirṛti, which have been baked with chaff, the stool, the cord for the golden breastplate, and the water vessel. They take these, step out (of the śālā) through the southern door, and go in the direction where he sees the soil is naturally saline, or cleft.[48] (The adhvaryu) puts down the sling with the noose outwards (i.e., to the southwest), with *agne vaiśvānara svāhā* (the last three words of f). He places the Nirṛti bricks outwards (in a line) along the sling, with *namaḥ su te nirṛte viśvarūpe* . . . (g), *yat te devī nirṛtir ābabandha* . . . (h), *yasyās te asyāḥ* . . . (i).* He places the stool and the cord for the golden breastplate next to them. Then he stands near (the Nirṛti bricks) and recites two mantras: *asumantam* . . . (k) and *devīm iha* . . . (l). Then they pour out water (between the bricks and themselves),* throw away the vessel, and return without looking (at them). 10.22

[46] Source unidentified, but cf. MS 3.2.7:26.12; and ŚB 7.1.1.40.
[47] This mantra occurs only here.
[48] Probably to the southwest, the direction of Nirṛti.

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[१०।२२, २२।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम्। २१

आयन्ति। दक्षपादाग्रचाख्येतेनैव यथेतमेत्य गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठन्ते निवेशनः संगमनो वसूनामित्याहवनीयमु हैक उपतिष्ठन्ते ऽयमितो ऽधि गार्हपत्यो भविष्यतीति। ॥ २२ ॥ षष्ठः ॥

अथ प्रायणीयेन चरति। प्रायणीयेन चरित्वा पदेन ५ चरति। पदेन चरित्वा राजानं क्रीत्वोत्सातिथ्यं निर्वपत्यातिथ्येन प्रचर्य प्रथमाभ्यां प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्यथोपनिष्क्रम्य संप्रेषमाह सुब्रह्मण्य सुब्रह्मण्यामाह्वय चिस्तनमतं प्रयच्छतेत्याह्वयति सुब्रह्मण्यः सुब्रह्मण्यां। चिस्तनमतं प्रयच्छति। स पुच्छादेवाग्ने चतुरः प्रतीचः प्रक्रमान्प्रक्रामति दक्षिणा पञ्चमं। तत्पत्नं १० निदधाति। स उपरवाणां कालो। ऽथ महावेद्या उत्तरादृष्टीयाच्छङ्कोर्वेद्यन्तेन द्वादश प्रतीचः प्रक्रमान्प्रक्रामत्युदञ्चं चयोदशं। तदाग्नीध्र उपसीदति। स उत्करस्य कालो। ऽथोपरवाणां कालात्स्तम्बयजुर्हरतीदमेव प्रसिद्धं पौरोडाशिकं चिर्यजुषा तूष्णीं चतुर्थं। पूर्वं परिग्राहं परिगृह्णाति। करणं १५ जपत्युद्धन्त्युद्धृतादाग्नीध्रस्त्रिर्हरति। यदाग्नीध्रस्त्रिर्हरत्यथाग्नेण शालां तिष्ठन्संप्रेषमाह वेदिकारा वेदिं कल्पयतेति। यथासंप्रेषं ते कुर्वन्त्यथ कार्ष्णाजिनीरुपानह उपमुञ्चन्ते चिते त्वेत्यध्वर्युराचिते त्वेति प्रतिप्रस्थाता मनश्चिते त्वेति ब्रह्मा तपश्चिते त्वेति यजमानश्चिते त्वा चिते त्वेत्येव वा सर्वे। ऽपि वा १० तूष्णीमेवाथ याचति धनुर्बाणवच्चतुरो ऽश्मन ऐन्द्रीमिष्टकां विभक्तिमुदपात्रं दर्भस्तम्बं दूर्वामाज्यस्थालीं वसुवामित्येत-

[55] C-H, nos. 53–55; ŚK.II.ES, p. 217.
[56] BŚS 25.29:263.5–7, below p. 655, *l.* 12.
[57] For the preparation of the mahāvedi see C-H, no. 64; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 236–237.
[58] For these mantras cf. ĀpŚS 17.13.3.

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They wash their hands and feet, return in the same way they went, stand near the old domestic fire, and recite *niveśanaḥ saṃgamanaḥ* . . . (m) to it. But according to some (ritualists) (they) stand near the old offering fire and recite to it, thinking, "Henceforth this will be the domestic fire."*[49]

Then he performs the introductory iṣṭi of the Soma sacrifice.[50] After he has performed the introductory iṣṭi he performs the rites involving the 10.23
footprint of the Soma cow. After he has performed the footprint rites, purchased King Soma and carried it (on a cart),[51] he performs the guest offering for Soma (*ātithyeṣṭi*).[52] After he has performed the guest offering he performs the first Pravargya[53] and Upasad.[54] Then he steps out (of the Old Hall), and gives the following order: "Subrahmaṇya, recite the Subrahmaṇya chant. Give (the yajamāna) the vrata milk from three teats." The subrahmaṇya priest recites the Subrahmaṇya chant, they give (the yajamāna) the vrata milk from three teats.[55]

First (the adhvaryu) paces four prakramas to the west from the tail (of the Field of Agni) and a fifth to the south. He puts the wooden sword down there. That is the place for the uparava resounding holes. Then, from the peg marking the northern shoulder of the mahāvedi, he paces twelve prakramas to the west along the edge of the (mahā)vedi and a thirteenth to the north. The āgnīdhra sits down there. That is the place for the rubbish heap (*utkara*). Then (the adhvaryu) takes the stambayajus clods from the place for the resounding holes.*†[56] This (procedure) has been explained in the section concerning the cake offering: thrice with mantras, the fourth time silently. He performs the first tracing out of the mahāvedi. He whispers the Karaṇa mantra. He digs up (the ground intended for the mahāvedi). The āgnīdhra throws out (earth) three times from what has been dug up. Then, while the āgnīdhra is throwing out earth three times, (the adhvaryu), standing in front of the śālā (i.e., the Old Hall), gives the command: "Vedi makers, prepare the (ground of the) vedi." They do as commanded.[57]

Then they put on the sandals made of black antelope skin: the adhvaryu with *cite tvā*, the pratiprasthātā with *ācite tvā*, the brahman with *manaścite tvā*, the yajamāna with *tapaścite tvā*. Or they all (put them on) with *cite tvā cite tvā*.[58] Or (they put on the sandals) without any mantra.*

Then (the adhvaryu) asks for a bow and arrow, four stones, the Aindrī brick, the vibhakti brick, a pot of water, a bunch of darbha grass, dūrvā grass and the dish of clarified butter with the sruva ladle. They

[49] The upasthāna of the old domestic fire is supported by TS 5.2.4.4, that of the old offering fire by KS 20.2:20.14.
[50] C-H, nos. 26–28; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 101–105.
[51] C-H, nos. 29–38; ŚK. II. ES, pp. 112–117.
[52] C-H, nos. 39–49; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 145–151.
[53] C-H, nos. 50–51; van Buitenen, pp. 63–123; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 166–169, 192–195.
[54] C-H, no. 52; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 214–217.

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त्समादायोत्तरे श्रोण्यन्ते सꣳसादयन्त्यथ द्वाभ्यामात्मन्यग्निं
गृह्णीते मयि गृह्णाम्यग्रे अग्निं यो नो अग्निरिति । स्वयंचितिं
जपति यास्ते अग्ने समिधो यानि धामेति । श्वेतमश्वमभि-
मृश्यान्तःशर्करमिमामुपदधाति प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु तया
देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीदेत्यथादत्ते धनुर्बाणवच्चतुरो ऽश्मन ५
इत्येतत्समादाय जघनेन दक्षिणेनाग्निं परीत्याग्रेण यूपा-
वटीयꣳ शङ्कुं तिष्ठन्धनुरधिज्यं कृत्वायत्यान्तःशर्करमिषुं
निहन्ति ॥ २३ ॥

इन्द्रस्य वज्रो ऽसि वार्चघ्नस्तनूपा नः प्रतिस्पश इत्यावृत्त्या-
श्मानमुपदधाति यो नः पुरस्तादघायुरभिदासत्येतꣳ सो ऽश्मान- १०
मृच्छत्वित्यथ दक्षिणस्य पक्षस्य दक्षिणे पक्षोपप्लव आयत्यान्तः-
शर्करमिषुं निहन्त्यावृत्त्याश्मानमुपदधाति यो नो दक्षिणत
इत्यथ पुच्छस्यापरे पुच्छोपप्लव[१] आयत्यान्तःशर्करमिषुं निह-
न्त्यावृत्त्याश्मानमुपदधाति यो नः पश्चादित्यथोत्तरस्य पक्षस्यो-
त्तरे पक्षोपप्लव[१] आयत्यान्तःशर्करमिषुं निहन्त्यावृत्त्याश्मानमुप- १५

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take these things and place them at the edge of the northern hip (of the Field of Agni). Then (the adhvaryu) (formally) takes the fire into himself with two mantras: *mayi grhṇāmy agre agnim* . . . (TS 5.7.9.1a[1]) and *yo no agniḥ* . . . (a[2]). Then he murmurs the Self-Piling Mantra: *yās te agne samidho yāni dhāma* . . . (TS 5.7.8.1a). He touches the white horse*[59] and ritually places this (earth) inside the pebbles,[60] with *prajāpatis tvā sādayatu tayā devatayāngirasvad dhruvā sīda* (TS 5.5.2.4).

Then he takes the bow and arrow and the four stones. Having taken these, he walks around behind the (Field of) Agni to the south and, standing in front of the peg that marks the place of the hole for the sacrificial post, he strings the bow, draws it, and shoots the arrow inside the pebbles, with *indrasya vajro 'si* . . . (TS 5.7.3.1*a*[1]). He pulls it out and puts down a stone (on the spot) with *yo naḥ purastāt* . . . (*a*[2]). Then he draws the bow at the southern edge of the southern wing and shoots the arrow inside the pebbles.[61] He pulls it out and puts down a stone (on the spot) with *yo no dakṣiṇataḥ* . . . (a[2]). Then he draws the bow at the western edge of the tail and shoots the arrow inside the pebbles. He pulls it out and puts down a stone (on the spot), with *yo naḥ paścād* . . . (a[2]). Then he draws the bow at the northern edge of the northern wing and shoots the arrow inside the pebbles. He pulls it out and puts down a stone (on the spot), with 10.24

[59] See also BŚS 22.8: 127.12–14, below p. 629, *l.* 17.
[60] See above p. 519, n. 44.
[61] According to Vāsudevadīkṣita, TS 5.7.3.1a[1] is again used here.

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दधाति यो न उत्तरत इति । दिचूपदधातीति ब्राह्मणं । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथैतामैन्द्रीमिष्टकामाक्रमणं प्रत्युपदधाति स इं पाहि य ऋजीषी तरुत्रो यः शिप्रवान्वृषभो यो मतीनाम् । धो गोत्रभिदृज्रभृद्यो हरिष्ठाः स

५ इन्द्र चित्राᳬ अभिदन्धि वाजानिति । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथ दक्षिणतो विभक्तिमुपदधात्यग्न आयाहि वीतय इति । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथाधिद्रुत्य स्रुचमादत्तीयᳬ शङ्कुमुद्धृत्योदपात्रमुपनिनीय दर्भस्तम्बमुपदधाति वाक्वा समुद्र उपदधात्विति वा तूष्णीं वाथैनᳬ स्रुवा-

१० ऽतिभिरभिजुहोति सजूरब्दो ऽयावभिरिति पञ्चभिरथ दूर्वामुपदधात्यायने ते परायणे दूर्वा रोहन्तु पुष्पिणीः । उत्सो वा तत्र जायातै ह्रदो वा पुण्डरीकवानिति । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसौ करोत्यथास्यैतत्पुरस्तादेवौदुम्बरं युगस्तात्रस्तं कारितं भवति ॥ २४ ॥

१५ षड्वं वा द्वादशगवं वा । तस्य वरत्राः संमृशति सं वरत्रा दधातन निष्कृताश्चावमवटमिति द्वाभ्यां । युनक्ति सीरा

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yo na uttarataḥ . . . (a[1]).*[62] A Brāhmaṇa passage says, "He places (them) on the quarters" (TS 5.7.3. 1–2). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he places the Aindrī brick on the spot upon which one steps to mount the altar,[63] with *sa īṃ pāhi* . . . (TB 2.5.8.1*a*).* He recites the Tayādevata and the Sūdadohas mantras over it. Then he places the Vibhakti brick in the south (i.e., at the southwestern corner of the southern wing), with *agna āyāhi vītaye* . . . (TB 3.5.2.1, cf. TS 5.5.6.1a). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it). Then he runs (onto the Field of Agni), pulls out the peg that marks the place of the naturally perforated stone (at the centre of the body), pours out the pot of water,* and puts down a bunch of darbha grass, with *vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu* (KS 38.13:116.1–3, cf. ĀpŚS 19.11.11), or without a mantra.* Then he makes (five) oblations of clarified butter on it with the sruva ladle, to the accompaniment of five mantras: *sajūr abdo 'yāvabhiḥ* . . . (TS 5.6.4.1). Then he places the dūrvā grass (on the bunch of darbha grass), with *āyane te parāyaṇe dūrvā rohantu puṣpiṇīḥ* . . . (AS 6.106.*l*) with variants).* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over them). Now he has prepared beforehand a yoke and plow made of udumbara wood for six or twelve oxen.* 10.25
The adhvaryu touches the straps with two mantras: *saṃ varatrā dadhātana* . . . (TS 4.2.5.5n) and *niṣkṛtāhāvam avaṭam* . . . (o). He yokes (it) with

[62] The mantras with which the stones are put down are identical except for the words indicating the directions. In the mantra text they are condensed into a single mantra: TS 5.7.3.1a[2].

[63] According to other ŚS texts, this is at the northern junction of the tail and the body, cf. MānŚS 6.1.6.12; ĀpŚS 16.21.12; also cf. TS 5.5.7.2; TS 5.7.6.1b.

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युञ्जन्ति कवयो युगा युनक्त सीरेति द्वाभ्यां । कृषति लाङ्गलं पवीरवꣳ शुनं नः फाला इति द्वाभ्याꣳ । सीतां प्रत्यवेक्षते कामं कामदुघे धुक्ष्व घृतेन सीतेति द्वाभ्याꣳ । स पुच्छादेवाग्रे तिस्रः प्राचीः सीताः कृषत्युत्तरायै श्रोणेर्दक्षिणमꣳसमभि तिस्रो । दक्षिणायै श्रोणेरुत्तरमꣳसमभि तिस्रो । दक्षिणा- ५
त्पक्षादुत्तरं पक्षमभि तिस्रो । ऽथैतान्विमुच्य प्रदक्षिणमावर्त्या-ङ्गिरभ्युक्ष्योदीच उत्सृजति । त एते ऽध्वर्यो भवन्ति यदि दक्षिणावता यजते । यद्यु वै सक्तियो ऽग्निर्यथागवं व्युदक्षन्ति । यत्रैवानड्वाहस्तद्युगलाङ्गलमथास्यैतत्पुरस्तादेवौदुम्बरे द्रोणे सर्वौ-षधं दध्नाज्येन समुदायुतं भवति । स पुच्छादेवाग्रे तिस्रः १०
प्राचीः सीता वपति या जाता ओषधय इति तिसृभिरनु-च्छन्दसमुत्तरायै श्रोणेर्दक्षिणमꣳसमभि तिसृभिर्दक्षिणायै श्रोणेरुत्तरमꣳसमभि तिसृभिर्दक्षिणात्पक्षादुत्तरं पक्षमभि पञ्चभिश्चतुर्दशभिर्वपतीति ब्राह्मणमथ दिग्भ्यो लोष्टान्सम-स्यति । सो ऽत एव प्राङ् द्रुत्वा बहिःशर्करालोष्टमादत्ते । १५
तमन्तःशर्करं न्यस्यति ॥ २५ ॥

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two mantras: *sīrā yuñjanti kavayo yugā* . . . (p) and *yunakta sīra* . . . (q).* He plows each furrow with two mantras: *lāṅgalaṃ pavīravaṁ* . . . (r) and *śunaṃ naḥ phālā* . . . (s). He gazes at the furrow, with two mantras: *kāmaṃ kāmadughe dhukṣva* . . . (t) and *ghṛtena sītā* . . . (u). He plows three furrows toward the east from the tail, three from the northern hip to the southern shoulder, three from the southern hip to the northern shoulder, (and) three from the southern wing to the northern wing.*† Then he unyokes these (oxen), makes them turn around clockwise, sprinkles them with water, and lets them loose toward the north. If one is performing a sacrifice in which the sacrificial fee (dakṣiṇā) is given, they are for the adhvaryu. But if the Agnicayana is part of a sattra, they go back to their original owners.[64] The yoke and plow go with the oxen. Now he has prepared beforehand a mixture of all kinds of grains mixed with clarified butter and curds in a trough of udumbara wood. He sows the three furrows running eastward from the tail with three successive mantras: *yā jātā oṣadhayaḥ* . . . (TS 4.2.6.1a–c) (using one mantra for each furrow).* (Then he sows the three furrows running) from the northern hip to the southern shoulder with three mantras (d–f). Then he sows the three furrows running) from the southern hip to the northern shoulder with three mantras (g–i). (Then he sows the three furrows running) from the southern wing to the northern wing with five mantras (k–o).† A Brāhmaṇa passage says, "He sows with fourteen (mantras)" (TS 5.2.5.5).

Then he throws clods from the quarters. He runs to the east from the spot (where he finished sowing) and takes a clod from outside the pebbles. He throws it inside the pebbles with *mā no hiṁsīj janitā yaḥ*

[64] Because in a sattra no sacrificial fee is given.

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मा नो हिꣳसीज्जनिता यः पृथिव्या इत्यथ दक्षिणं पक्ष-
मनुद्रुत्य बहिःशर्कराश्लोष्टमादत्ते । तमन्तःशर्करं न्यस्यत्यभ्या-
वर्तस्व पृथिवीत्यथ पुच्छमनुद्रुत्य बहिःशर्कराश्लोष्टमादत्ते ।
तमन्तःशर्करं न्यस्यत्यग्ने यत्ते शुक्रं यच्चन्द्रमित्यथोत्तरं पक्षमनु-
५ द्रुत्य बहिःशर्कराद्वौ श्लोष्टावादत्त इषमूर्जमहमित आददे
इति । तयोरन्यतरमन्तःशर्करं न्यस्यत्या नो गोषु विशत्वौषधी-
ष्विति । तां दिशमितरं निरस्यति यस्यामस्य दिशि द्वेष्यो
भवति जहामि सेदिमनिराममीवामित्यादद्दान एवैतां दिश-
मभि संपादयेदित्येतदेकं । यजुषा यजुर्विपरिहरेदित्येतदपर-
१० मथ महावेद्या उत्तरादꣳसीयाच्छङ्कोर्वेद्यन्तेन चीन्प्रतीचः प्रक्र-
मान्प्रक्रामत्युदञ्चं चतुर्थं । तच्चालालस्यावृता चालालं परिलिख-
त्युत्तरवेदेरावृतोत्तरवेदिं निवपत्युत्तरनाभिमुत्सृज्य सिकता
निवपत्यग्ने तव श्रवो वय इति षड्भिरनुच्छन्दसमथोर्ध्वचित
उपदधाति चित स्थ परिचित ऊर्ध्वचितः श्रयध्वं तया देव-
१५ तयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवाः सीदतेत्यथानुव्यूहत्याप्यायस्वेति गायत्र्या
ब्राह्मणस्य सं ते पयाꣳसीति त्रिष्टुभा राजन्यस्य । यथासुष्टु
यथाशर्करमनुव्यूहति ॥ २६ ॥ सप्तमः ॥

अथैतां महाचितिꣳ सꣳसादयन्त्यग्रेण शालामुच्छ्राय्यां वा

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pṛthivyāh . . . (TS 4.2.7.1a). Then he runs along the southern wing and takes a clod from outside the pebbles. He throws it inside the pebbles, with *abhyāvartasva pṛthivi* . . .(b). Then he runs along the tail and takes a clod from outside the pebbles. He throws it inside the pebbles with *agne yat te śukraṃ yac candram* . . . (c). Then he runs along the northern wing and takes two clods from outside the pebbles with *iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādade* . . . (d[1]). He throws one of them inside the pebbles with *ā no goṣu viśatv auṣadhīṣu* . . . (*d*[2]). He throws the other in the direction of the person he hates, with *jahāmi sedim anirām amīvām* . . . (*d*[3]). Another view is that even when taking (the last two clods) he should make (the direction from which these clods are taken) correspond with this direction.[65] Another view is that he should transpose one mantra with another.*[66] 10.26

Then, starting from the peg marking the northern shoulder of the mahāvedi, he paces three prakramas to the west along the edge of the (mahā)vedi, and a fourth to the north. There he circumscribes the cātvāla trench in accordance with the procedure for the preparation of the cātvāla. He pours (earth) on the uttaravedi (i.e., on the Field of Agni) in accordance with the procedure for the preparation of the uttaravedi. He raises the "navel" of the uttaravedi and scatters sand (over the Field of Agni) (six times) with six successive mantras: *agne tava śravo vayaḥ* . . . (TS 4.2.7.2e–3k).[67] Then he ritually places (the pebbles that have been stood up in the trenches and are now called) ūrdhvacits, with *cita stha paricita ūrdhvacitaḥ* . . . (*l*). Then he spreads out (the sand), with the verse in the gāyatrī meter *āpyayasva* . . . (m) for a brahmin (yajamāna), with the verse in the triṣṭubh meter *saṃ te payāṁsi* . . . (n) for a royal (yajamāna). He spreads (the sand) smoothly in the area enclosed by the pebbles.

Then they deposit (the following materials called) the "great piling" in front of the śālā (i.e., the Old Hall), on a straw mat or on a hide: 10.27

[65] I.e., he should take the two clods from the direction of the person he hates.

[66] I. e., when, proceeding clockwise around the Agni, he comes to the direction of the person he hates he should used d[3] rather than the mantra specified for that direction, which is then used at the north.

[67] For the preparation of the cātvāla and uttaravedi, C-H, no. 66; ŚK.II.ES, p. 237; cf. Schwab, nos. 20–21; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 777–780.

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चर्मणि वा द्वाविꣳशतिं च दर्भपुञ्जीलानि पयःप्रोक्षं चाज्य-
प्रोक्षं चाश्वं चौत्तरवेदिकाꣳस्त्र संभारान्बार्हस्पत्यचथोदश्वाश्च
कुम्भेष्टकास्तावत एव हिरण्यशल्कान्सतं चोदकुम्भं च पुष्करपर्णं
च दृक्षं च हिरण्मयं च पुरुषं स्रुचौ च सर्पशिरश्च सर्वं च
स्वयमातृण्णानिकोतं दश च स्कन्ध्या अश्वकाश्च या उ चान्या ५
उपधास्यन्भवति ता दधि च मधुमिश्रं कूर्मं चौदुम्बरं चोलू-
खलमुसलꣳ सर्वौषधं चोखाश्च पशुशीर्षाणि चेति। द्वाविꣳ-
शतिं दर्भपुञ्जीलानि पयःप्रोक्षे ऽवधाय तैः प्रोक्षत्यग्नीध्रो
ऽग्निभ्यो जुष्टाम्प्रोक्षामीति वा तूष्णीं वाग्निनाग्निः समिध्यत
इत्याज्यप्रोक्षेणाथ संप्रैषमाहाग्निभ्यः प्रणीयमानेभ्यो ऽनुब्रूहीति। १०
यदि होता न कामयते यजमान एव पुरीष्यासो अग्नय
इत्येतामेकां चिरम्बाहायाग्निप्रथमाः प्रतिपद्यन्ते। ऽथैतेनाश्वेन
प्राचाधिद्रवति ॥ २७ ॥

भभ्यस्यादिशाः पृतना अरातीरित्यथ दक्षिणमꣳसमभ्यव-
क्रामन्तमनुमन्त्रयते यदक्रन्दः प्रथमं जायमान इत्युत्तरे १५

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twenty-two bunches of darbha grass, milk for sprinkling, clarified butter for sprinkling, a horse, the requisites for the uttaravedi, (twelve) "pot bricks" with the (pot of rice porridge) for Bṛhaspati as the thirteenth, the same number of chips of gold (i.e., twelve), a bowl, a pot of water, a lotus leaf, the golden breastplate, a golden image of a man, two offering ladles, the snake's head, the entire svayamātṛṇṇa nikota [i.e., a "golden brick" (*hiraṇya*), a Circle brick (*maṇḍala*), and a Seed-Discharging brick (*retaḥsic*)]†[68] the ten Shoulder bricks (*skandhyā*), avakā plants, and whatever other (bricks) he is going to place (on the Agni altar), curds mixed with honey, a tortoise, a mortar and pestle made of udumbara wood, a mixture of all kinds of grains, the ukhā pots, and the heads of the sacrificial victims.

Then he dips the twenty-two bunches of darbha grass into the milk for sprinkling and sprinkles (the materials) with them, to the accompaniment of *agnīn vo 'gnibhyo juṣṭān prokṣāmi*[69] or without a mantra.* (He sprinkles) the clarified butter, with *agnināgniḥ samidhyate* . . . (TS 1.4.46.3l-TS 3.5.11.5s, cf. TS 5.5.6.1c). Then he gives a command (to the hotā), *agnibhyaḥ praṇīyamānebhyo 'nubrūhi* ("Recite for the fires being brought forward.)"[70] If the hotā does not wish for himself (the merit of the rite),[71] the yajamāna himself recites the one mantra *purīṣyāso agnayaḥ* . . . (TS 4.2.4.3h) thrice. They then proceed (to the Field of Agni) with (the materials for) the Agni altar before them. Then (the adhvaryu) runs eastward onto (the field of Agni) with the horse, with *abhyasthād viśvāḥ pṛtanā arātīḥ* . . . (TS 10.28
4.2.8.1a). He recites *yad akrandaḥ prathamaṃ jāyamānaḥ* . . . (b) when it steps on the southern shoulder. They deposit (the materials) at the edge

[68] BŚS 25.30:263.11–13, below p. 655, *l.* 23.
[69] This mantra is found here only.
[70] For the following cf. C-H, no. 79.
[71] I.e., if the hotā has not undergone dīkṣā and may not perform the acts that belong to the yajamāna; in other words, if the present Agnicayana is not part of a sattra.

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श्रोण्यन्ते सꣳसादयन्त्यथ द्वाभ्यामात्मन्यग्निं गृह्णीते मयि गृह्णाम्यग्ने अग्निं यो नो अग्निरिति। स्वयंचितिं जपति यास्ते अग्ने समिधो यानि धामेति। श्वेतमश्वमभिमृश्याधिद्रवत्यपामिदं न्ययनं नमस्त इति द्वाभ्यामथ पुच्छसन्धौ चात्मसन्धौ च
५ सतं निदधात्यथोदकुम्भं पर्यस्यत्यादक्षे दक्षिणेन कुम्भꣳ सव्येन कुम्भीꣳ सतात्पूरयित्वा हिरण्यशल्कौ प्रत्यस्य या एता दक्षिणादꣳसात्स्वयमातृण्णामभ्याद्रवन्ति तासु विषुवत्यनुसीतमुपदधाति ॥ २८ ॥

हिरण्यवर्णाः शुचयः पावका यासाꣳ राजा वरुणो याति
१० मध्य इति द्वाभ्यामेवमेव पूरयित्वैवं प्रत्यस्य या एता उत्तरायै श्रोणेः स्वयमातृण्णामभ्याद्रवन्ति तासु विषुवत्यनुसीतमुपदधाति तृतीयया च चतुर्थ्या चैवमेव पूरयित्वैवं प्रत्यस्य या एता दक्षिणायै श्रोणेः स्वयमातृण्णामभ्याद्रवन्ति तासु विषुवत्यनुसीतमुपदधाति पञ्चम्या च षष्ठ्या चैवमेव पूरयित्वैवं प्रत्यस्य
१५ या एता उत्तरादꣳसात्स्वयमातृण्णामभ्याद्रवन्ति तासु विषुवत्यनुसीतमुपदधाति सप्तम्या चाष्टम्या चैवमेव पूरयित्वैवं प्रत्यस्य या एता दक्षिणात्पक्षात्स्वयमातृण्णामभ्याद्रवन्ति तासु विषुवत्यनुसीतमुपदधाति नवम्या च दशम्या चैवमेव पूरयित्वैवं प्रत्यस्य या एता उत्तरात्पक्षात्स्वयमातृण्णामभ्याद्रवन्ति तासु

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of the northern hip. Then he (ritually) takes the fire into himself with two mantras: *mayi gṛhṇāmy agre agnim* . . . (TS 5.7.9.1a[1]) and *yo no agniḥ* . . . (a[2]). He murmurs the Self-Piling Mantra: *yās te agne samidho yāni dhāma* . . . (TS 5.7.8.1a). He touches the white horse and runs onto (the Field of Agni), with two mantras: *apām idaṃ nyayanaṃ* . . . (TS 4.6.1.3l) and *namas te* . . . (m).

Then he places the bowl at the junction of the tail and the body. Then he turns the jar of water over (into the bowl). He takes a male pot (*kumbha*) in his right hand and a female pot (*kumbhī*) in his left hand, fills (them) from the bowl, tosses a chip of gold into each of them, and places (them) in the middle of the furrows that run from the southern shoulder to the naturally perforated stone, with two mantras: *hiraṇyavarṇāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ* . . . 10.29
(TS 5.6.1.1a) and *yāsāṁ rājā varuṇo yāti madhye* . . . (b). He fills (another two pots with water), tosses (chips of gold into them) in the same way, and places them in the middle of the furrows that run from the northern hip to the naturally perforated stone with the third and fourth (mantras of this section: c and d). He fills (another two pots with water), tosses (chips of gold into them) in the same way, and places them in the middle of the furrows that run from the southern hip to the naturally perforated stone, with the fifth and sixth (mantras of this section: e and f). He fills (another two pots with water), tosses (chips of gold into them) in the same way and places them in the middle of the furrows that run from the northern shoulder to the naturally perforated stone with the seventh and eighth (mantras of this section: g and h). He fills (another two pots with water), tosses (chips of gold into them) in the same way and places them in the middle of the furrows that run from the southern wing to the naturally perforated stone with the ninth and tenth (mantras of this section: i and k). He fills (another two pots with water), tosses (chips of gold into them) in the same way and places them in the middle of the furrows that run from the northern wing to the naturally perforated stone

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विषुवत्यनुसीतमुपदधात्येकादश्या च द्वादश्या च । तासां बार्हस्पत्यं मध्य उपदधाति दिवि अग्रस्यान्तरिक्षे यतस्य पृथिव्या संभव ब्रह्मवर्चसमसि ब्रह्मवर्चसाय त्वेत्यनुसीतमुपदधातीति ब्राह्मणं । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोति । ॥ २९ ॥

अथोत्तरवेदेरावृतोत्तरवेदिमलङ्करोत्यथोत्तरवेद्यामपां पृष्ठमसीति पुष्करपर्णमुपदधाति । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथोत्तरवेद्यामेवोत्तरनिर्बाधꣳ रुक्मसुपदधाति ब्रह्म जज्ञानमित्यथैनमक्षण्या पञ्चगृहीतेन व्याघारयति कृणुष्व पाजः प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीमित्यथ दक्षिणतः प्राञ्चꣳ हिरण्मयं पुरुषमुपदधाति हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्र इत्यथैनमभिमृशति द्रप्सश्चस्कन्देति । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसौ करोत्यथोत्तरतः प्रक्रमवेलायाꣳ स्रुचावुपदधात्याज्यस्य पूर्णां कार्ष्मर्यमयीं दध्नः पूर्णामौदुम्बरीं दक्षिणां कार्ष्मर्यमयीमुत्तरामौदुम्बरीमियमसीति कार्ष्मर्यमयीमभावसीत्यौदुम्बरीं मनसैव । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसौ करोत्यथ दक्षिणे प्रललाटे सर्पशिर उपदधाति नमो अस्तु सर्पेभ्य इति तिसृभिरनुच्छन्दसमपि वा यतउच्चारं जनपदस्य जन्यं भयं मन्यते । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोति । ॥ ३० ॥ अष्टमः ॥

अथ स्वयमातृण्णां यजुषा करोति ध्रुवासि धरुणास्तृता विश्वकर्मणा सुकृता । मा त्वा समुद्र उदधौन्मा सुपर्णो ऽव्यथ-

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with the eleventh and twelfth (mantras of this section: l and m). In the middle of these he places the (pot of rice porridge cooked) for Bṛhaspati, with *divi śrayasvāntarikṣe* . . . (*o*). A Brāhmaṇa passage says, "He places them along the furrows" (TS 5.6.2.5). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).*

Then he completes the uttaravedi (i.e., Field of Agni) in accordance with the procedure for the uttaravedi.[72] Then he places the lotus leaf in (the center of the uttaravedi), with *apāṃ pṛṣṭham asi* . . . (TS 4.2.8.1c). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it). Then he places the golden breastplate with its knobs upward (upon the lotus leaf) on the uttaravedi, with *brahma jajñānam* . . . (d). Then he takes five spoonsful of clarified butter into a ladle and pours it out diagonally over (the golden breast plate), with *kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ prasitiṃ na pṛthvīm* . . . (TS 1.2.14.1a–e).[73] Then, to the south (of the golden breastplate) he places the golden man, with its head towards the east, with *hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatāgre* . . . (TS 4.2.8.2e).† Then he touches it, with *drapsaś caskanda* . . . (f). He recites the Tayādevata and the Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).* He then places the two offering ladles a step to the north: the one made of kārṣmarya wood is filled with clarified butter, the one made of udumbara wood is filled with curds. (He places) the kārṣmarya ladle on the right, thinking, *iyam asi* ("you are this [earth]"), and the udumbara ladle on the left, thinking, *asāv asi* ("you are that [sky]") (cf. TS 5.2.7.3). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them). Then he places the snake's head on the southern part of the forehead of the (Field of Agni) with three consecutive mantras: *namo astu sarpebhyaḥ* . . . (TS 4.2.8.3g–i). Or (he places the snake's head in the direction) from which he thinks human danger to the country might come.* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it). 10.30

Then he consecrates the naturally perforated stone with: *dhruvāsi* . . . 10.31

[72] C-H, no. 79; SK.II.ES, p. 266; Schwab, nos. 22, 24, 25; SK.I.ES, pp. 788, 1.20–789, 1.38.
[73] For details see Schwab, no. 24; ŚK. I. ES, p. 789.

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माना पृथिवीं दृꣳहेत्यथैनामश्वमवघ्राप्याविदुषा ब्राह्मणेन सहाधिद्रुत्योपदधाति यथैतस्य पुरुषस्य प्राणैः प्राणाः संनिधीयेरन्नापिधीयेरन्भूः प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयत्वित्यनुद्रुत्याग्निस्त्वाभिपातु मह्ना स्वस्त्या छर्दिषा शंतमेन तया देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीदेत्यनुप्राण्यात्प्रथमाꣳ स्वयमातृण्णामुपधायेत्यनुप्राणित्यथैष ब्राह्मणो वरं ददात्यथ स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वा स्वयमातृण्णावकाशे जुहोति चित्तिं जुहोमि मनसा घृतेनेत्यङ्गुष्ठाभ्यामन्वारभ्यान्वारोहं वाचयति पृथिवीमाक्रमिषं प्राणो मा मा हासीदित्यपरे बिले हिरण्येष्टकामुपदधाति तेजोऽसि तेजो मे यच्छ पृथिवीं यच्छ पृथिव्यै मा पाहीति तां जघनेन प्रक्रमवेलायां मण्डलेष्टकामुपदधाति पृथिव्युदपुरमन्नेन विष्टेति दक्षिणतो रेतःसिचमुपदधाति पृथिवी रेतःसिक्ता मे रेतो दधातु सा मे रेतः प्रजनयत्विति तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूद्दोहसः करोति ॥ ३१ ॥

अथैता दश स्कन्ध्याः प्राचीरायातयति द्वे ऋतव्ये द्वे द्वियजुषी विराजं च विश्वज्योतिषं च सयुजं चाषाढां च द्वे संयान्यार्तव्ये उपदधाति मधुश्च माधवश्चेत्यवकामनूपदधात्यग्नेर्योनिरसीत्यथ द्वियजुषी उपदधाति काण्डात्काण्डात्प्ररोहन्ती या प्रतेन प्रतनोषीति द्वाभ्यां दूर्वेष्टकामथ हिरण्यमूर्ध्नीमुपदधाति यास्ते अग्ने सूर्ये रुचो या वो देवाः सूर्ये रुच इति विराजं च विश्वज्योतिषं च विराट् ज्योतिरधारयद्बृहस्पतिस्त्वा सादयत्वित्युत्तरामथ सयुजमुपदधातीन्द्राग्निभ्यां त्वा सयुजा

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(TS 4.2.9.1*a*). Then he has the horse sniff it, mounts (the altar) with an ignorant brahmin and places it so that its holes line up with the sense apertures of the (golden) man. (The sense apertures) should not be blocked. (While placing it he recites) the word *bhūḥ*, then runs through *prajāpatis tvā sādayatu* . . . up to *agnis tvābhipātu mahyā svastyā chardiṣā śaṃtamena tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda* (b). (There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says,) "He should breathe out after he puts the first naturally perforated stone in place" (TS 5.5.5.2). (Therefore) he breathes out. Then that brahmin (i.e., "ignorant" one) gives a gift (to the adhvaryu). Then (the adhvaryu) takes four spoonsful of clarified butter into the ladle and makes an oblation on the holes in the naturally perforated stone with *cittiṃ juhomi manasā ghṛteṇa* . . . (TS 5.5.4.3). Then he has (the yajamāna) touch (the naturally perforated stone) with his thumbs and recite the Ascent mantra (*anvāroha*): *pṛthivīm ākramīṣaṃ prāṇo mā mā hāsit* (TS 5.6.8.1*a*[1]). He places a "golden brick" (i.e., a piece of gold) on the western hole of the naturally perforated stone, with *tejo 'si* . . . (TS 4.4.5.1*c*[1]). A prakrama behind it he places a Circle brick (*maṇḍala*), with *pṛthivy udapuraṃ annena viṣṭā* . . . TS 4.4.5.1c). To the south (of the naturally perforated stone) he places a Seed-Discharging brick (*retaḥsic*) with *prthivī retaḥsik sā me reto dadhātu sā me retaḥ prajanayatu*.[74] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras over each of them.

Then he arranges the ten Shoulder bricks (*skandhyā*)[75] in a line to the east[76] (from the naturally perforated stone). (These are:) two Season bricks (*ṛtavyā*), two two-yajus bricks (*dviyajuṣī*), a Brilliance brick (*virāj*), an All-Light brick (*viśvajyotis*), a Companion brick (*sayuj*), an Invincible brick (*aṣādhā*), and two Way bricks (*saṃyānī*). He puts the two Season bricks in place (together), with *madhuś ca mādhavaś ca* . . . (TS 4.4.11.1a). He adds an avakā plant, with *agner yonir asi*.[77] Then he puts the two two-yajus bricks in place: a dūrvā brick (*dūrveṣṭakā*)*[78] with two mantras: *kāṇḍāt kāṇḍāt prarohantī* . . . (TS 4.2.9.2c) and *ya śatena pratenoṣi* . . . (d); then he puts a Golden-Headed brick (*hiraṇyamūrdhnī*) in place with *yās te agne sūrye rucaḥ* . . . (n), *yā vo devāḥ sūrye rucaḥ* . . . (o). (He places) the Brilliance brick and the All-Light brick, (the latter) to the north (of the former), with *virāṭ jyotir adhārayat* (*p*[1]), (and) *bṛhaspatis tvā sādayatu* . . . (TS 4.4.6.1a). He puts the Companion brick in place with *indragnibhyāṃ tvā* 10.32

[74] This mantra occurs here only; cf. TS 5.6.8.4–6f.
[75] I.e., bricks to be placed on the shoulder of the Agni altar.
[76] This and similar instructions refer only to the square variety of bird-shaped altar BŚS 30.6:399.10–11; cf. BŚS 30.8:402.5ff.
[77] This mantra is not found in the Saṃhitā, but its use is implied by TS 5.4.2.1.
[78] See BŚS 22.5:124.7–9, below p. 623. *l.* 10.

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युजा युनज्मीत्यथाषाढां आलिखितामुत्तरलक्षाणमुपदधात्य-
षाढासि सहमानेत्यथ संयान्यावुपदधात्यग्नेर्यान्यसि देवानामग्ने-
यान्यसीति । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोति । ॥ ३२ ॥

अथोत्तरेण आलिखितामुपविश्य याचति दधि च मधु-
मिश्रं कूर्मं च । तं दध्ना मधुमिश्रेणाभ्यनक्ति मधु वाता ऋता- ५
यत इति तिसृभिरनुच्छन्दसमथैनमवकाभारेण परिवेष्य
पुरस्तात्प्रत्यञ्चमुपदधाति मही द्यौः पृथिवी च नस्कृतस्व आशाः
प्रचरन्त्वग्नय इति द्वाभ्यामथैनꣳ शङ्कुभिः परिणिहन्त्यभितो
ऽनवसर्पणाय । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथाचैव तिष्ठ-
न्याचत्यौदुम्बरं चोलूखलमुसलꣳ सर्वौषधं च । तदेतत्प्रादेश- १०
मात्रमुलूखलं भवत्यरत्निमात्रं मुसलं । तस्मिन्सर्वौषधमवहन्त्यूर्जा
भागो ऽस्यूर्जः पवित्रमूर्गन्नमक्षाद्यायेत्यथैनदुत्तरतः प्रक्रमवेला-
यामुपदधाति तद्विष्णोः परमं पदमिति । लोकंपृणामुत्तरतो
मुसलं करोति । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसौ करोत्यथ
मुख्यामुखां याचति । तस्यामन्तरवस्राविणी द्वे सुवाहुती १५
जुहोत्यग्ने युक्ष्वा हि ये तवेति दक्षिणे बिले जुहोति युक्ष्वा
हि देवहूतमानित्युत्तरे । ऽथैनामुत्तरतः प्रक्रमवेलायामुप-
दधाति ध्रुवासि पृथिवि सहस्व पृतन्यत इति । लोकंपृणे
उत्तरत इतिरे करोति । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करो-
त्यथैतत्पुरुषशिरो याचति । तस्य प्राणेषु हिरण्यशल्काम्प्रत्यस्यति २०

82 Things that would take up the place of bricks, such as the mortar and pestle, the heads of the sacrificial victims, etc, are to be placed into holes in the earth (BŚS 30.6: 399.3–4).

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sayujā yujā yunajmi (TS 4.4.5.1*a*).[79] He places the Invincible brick, on which three lines are drawn, with the mark upward, with *aṣādhā'si sahamānā* . . . (TS 4.2.9.2e–f).[80] He puts the two Way bricks in place, with *agner yāny asi* (TS 4.4.6.2*e*[1]) and *devānām agne yāny asi* (*e*[2]). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he sits down, to the north of the (Invincible) brick, on which three lines are drawn, and asks for curds mixed with honey, and the tortoise. He smears it (scil., the tortoise) thrice with the curds mixed with honey, with three consecutive mantras: *madhu vātā ṛtāyate* . . . (TS 4.2.9.3g–i). Then he wraps it in a bunch of avakā plants and places it to the east (of the naturally perforated stone) with its head to the west with two mantras: *mahī dyauḥ pṛthivī ca naḥ* . . . (k) and *catasra āśāḥ pracarantv agnayaḥ* . . . (TS 5.7.8.2b). Then he hammers pegs around it so that it will not crawl away. He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it). 10.33

Then, standing right there, he asks for the mortar and pestle made of udumbara wood* and the mixture of all kinds of grains. The mortar is a prādeśa wide and the pestle is an aratni long. In it (scil., the mortar) he husks the mixture of all kinds of grains, with *ūrjo bhāgo 'sy ūrjaḥ pavitram ūrg annam annādyāya.**[81] Then he places it (scil., the mortar containing the grains)[82] a prakrama to the north, with *tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam* . . . (TS 4.2.9.31). He places the pestle to the north (of the mortar) as a space filler (with TS 4.2.4.4n). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

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Then he asks for the main ukhā pot. With the sruva ladle he makes two oblations of clarified butter that flow down inside it. He makes one oblation in the southern (half of the) bowl, with *agne yukṣvā hi ye tava* . . . (TS 4.2.9.5q). (He makes the other) in the northern (half of the) bowl, with *yukṣvā hi devahūtamān* . . . (r). Then he places it a step to the north (of the naturally perforated stone), with *dhruvāsi pṛthivi sahasva pṛtanyataḥ* . . . (m). He places the other two (ukhā pots) to the north as space fillers (with TS 4.2.4.4n).* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he asks for the human head. He places chips of gold in its sense

[79] Eight mantras for the eight Companion bricks are condensed in TS 4.4.5.1a. The first is given in full in the text. The word *indrāgnibhyāṃ* is replaced by *aghārābhyāṃ* and *tejasā* in the two mantras used on p. 553 below, by *varcasā* and *ukthebhiḥ* on p. 559, by *stomebhiḥ* and *chandobhiḥ* on p. 563. The last part of the whole mantra beginning from *rayyai poṣāya* . . . is used on p. 567.

[80] According to a prescription included in the Pravargya section, two more bricks are placed immediately after the Invincible brick: "Then, after placing the three-lined Invincible brick with its mark upward, one should place at this moment a Heat brick (*gharma*) and a Nest brick (*kulāyinī*), the Heat brick with *ud asya suṣmāt*: . . (TA 4.17), the nest brick with *yās te agne* . . . (18) (BŚS 9.17:292.3–5)

[81] This mantra occurs here only.

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द्रुपसस्कन्देत्याखे ऽभूदिदं विश्वस्य भुवनस्य वाजिनमिति दक्षिणस्यां नासिकायामग्नेर्वैश्वानरस्य चेत्युत्तरस्यामग्निर्ज्योतिषा ज्योतिष्मानिति दक्षिणे ऽक्षिणि रुक्मो वर्चसा वर्चस्वानित्युत्तर स्रुचे चेति दक्षिणे कर्णे रुचे चेत्युत्तरे । ऽथ स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं ५ गृहीत्वा दक्षिणे ऽक्षिणि जुहोति चित्रं देवानामुदगादनीक-मित्यपरं चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वोत्तरे ऽक्षिणि जुहोति चित्रं देवा-नामिति । समान्या जुहोतीति ब्राह्मणमथैनद्दध्ना मधुमिश्रेण पूरयति समित्स्रवन्ति सरितो न धेना इत्यान्तादनुवाकस्या-थैनत्प्राचीनमुत्तानमुखायामुपदधाति ॥ ३३ ॥

१० आदित्यं गर्भं पयसा समञ्जन्नित्यनुद्रुत्येमं मा हिꣳसीर्द्वि-पादं पशूनामिति । मयुमारण्यमनु ते दिशामीति शुचमनूत्सृ-जति । ललाटे हिरण्येष्टकामुपदधाति विश्वकर्मा दिशां पतिरि-त्यथ पुरस्तात्प्रत्यङ्मुख उपविश्यान्तरात्मन्नश्वस्य शिर उपदधाति वातस्य भ्राजिं वरुणस्य नाभिमित्यनुद्रुत्येमं मा हिꣳसीरेकशफं १५ पशूनामिति । गौरमारण्यमनु ते दिशामीति शुचमनूत्सृजति । ललाटे हिरण्येष्टकामुपदधाति प्रजापतिर्दिशां पतिरित्यथ पश्चात्प्राङ्मुख उपविश्यान्तरात्मन्नृषभस्य शिर उपदधात्यजस्र-मिन्दुमरुषं भुरण्युमित्यनुद्रुत्येमꣳ समुद्रꣳ ऽ ाधारमुत्समिति । गवयमारण्यमनु ते दिशामीति शुचमनूत्सृजति । ललाटे १० हिरण्येष्टकामुपदधाति रुद्रो दिशां पतिरित्यथ दक्षिणत उदङ्मुख उपविश्यान्तरात्मन्वृष्णेः शिर उपदधाति वरूत्रिं त्वष्टुर्वरुणस्य नाभिमित्यनुद्रुत्येमामूर्णायुं वरुणस्य मायामित्युद्र-

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apertures: in the mouth, with *drapsaś caskanda* . . . (TS 4.2.9.5s), in the right nostril, with *abhūd idaṃ viśvaysa bhūvanasya vājinam* (t^1), in the left, with *agner vaiśvānarasya ca* (t^2), in the right eye, with *agnir jyotiṣā jyotiṣmān* (t^3), in the left, with *rukmo varcasā varcasvān* (t^4), in the right ear, with *ṛce tvā* (u^1), in the left, with *ruce tvā* (u^2). Then he takes four spoonsful of clarified butter into the ladle and makes an oblation in the right eye, with *citraṃ devānām udagād anīkam* . . . (TS 1.4.43.1b = 2.4.14.4p). He takes four more spoonsful of clarified butter and makes an oblation in the left eye, with *citraṃ devānām* . . . (ibid.). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says "He makes an oblation with the same (verse)" (TS 5.5.3.3). Then he fills it (scil., the human head) with curds mixed with honey, with *sam it sravanti sarito na dhenāḥ* . . . up to the end of the section (i.e., TS 4.2.9.6v–w). Then he places it upright with its face toward the east in the the (main) ukhā 10.34
pot, with *ādityaṃ garbhaṃ payasā samañjan* . . . (TS 4.2.10.1a) up to *imaṃ mā hiṁsīr dvipādaṃ paśūnām* . . . (b^1). He (symbolically) casts out (its) burning pain (onto a wild animal) with *mayum āraṇyam anu te diśāmi* . . . (b^2). He places a "golden brick" (i.e., a piece of gold) on (its) forehead, with *viśvakarmā diśāṃ patiḥ* . . . (TS 5.5.5.1).[83]

Then he sits down to the east, facing west, and places the horse's head inside the body (of the Agni-altar), with *vātasya dhrājiṃ varuṇasya nābhim* . . . (TS 4.2.10.1c) up to *imaṃ mā hiṁsīr ekaśapham paśūnām* . . . (d^1). He (symbolically) casts out (its) burning pain (onto a wild animal) with *gauram āraṇyam anu te diśāmi* . . . (d^2). He places a "golden brick" on (its) forehead, with *prajāpatir diśāṃ patiḥ* . . . (TS 5.5.5.1).

Then he sits down to the west, facing east and places the bull's head inside the body (of the Agni-altar), with *ajasram indum aruṣam bhuraṇyum* . . . (TS 4.2.10.2e) up to *imaṁ samudraṁ śatadhāram utsam* . . . (f^1). He (symbolically) casts out (its) burning pain (onto a wild animal) with *gavayam āraṇyam anu te diśāmi* . . . (f^2). He places a "golden brick" on (its) forehead, with *rudro diśām patiḥ* . . . (TS 5.5.5.1).

Then he sits down to the south, facing north, and places the ram's head inside the body (of the Agni altar), with *varūtriṃ tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhim* . . . (TS 4.2.10.3g) up to *imām ūrṇāyuṃ varuṇasya māyām* . . . (h^1).

[83] TS 5.5.5.1 gives in condensed form the five mantras to accompany the placing of pieces of gold on the foreheads of the five sacrificial victims. The mantras are identical except for the names of the deities: Viśvakarman, Prajāpati, Rudra, Varuṇa, and Agni. The first and last mantras are given in full. Only the deities of the others are indicated.

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मारण्यमनु ते दिशामीति शुचमनूत्सृजति । ललाटे हिरण्ये-
ष्टकामुपदधाति वरुणो दिशां पतिरित्यथोत्तरतो दक्षिणा-
मुख उपविश्यान्तरात्मन्वस्तस्य शिर उपदधाति यो अग्नि-
रग्नेस्तपसो ऽधि जात इत्यनुद्रुत्याजा ह्यग्नेरजनिष्ट गर्भादिति ।
शरभमारण्यमनु ते दिशामीति शुचमनूत्सृजति । ललाटे ५
हिरण्येष्टकामुपदधात्यग्निर्दिशां पतिरित्यन्तेषु तस्य व्युदू-
ह्योपदध्यादिति ब्राह्मणं । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः
करोति । ॥ ३४ ॥ नवमः ॥

अथापस्या उपदधात्यपां त्वेमन्त्सादयामीति पञ्च पुर-
स्तात्प्रतीचीरुपदधाति पञ्च दक्षिणतः पञ्च पश्चात्प्राचीः पञ्चो- १०
त्तरतश्छन्दस्यास्तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ प्राणभृत
उपदधात्ययं पुरो भुवस्तस्य प्राणो भौवायनो वसन्तः प्राणायनो
गायत्री वासन्ती गायत्र्यै गायत्रं गायत्रादुपाꣳशुरुपाꣳशो-
स्त्रिवृत्त्रिवृतो रथंतरꣳ रथंतराद्वसिष्ठ ऋषिः प्रजापतिगृहीत-
तया त्वया प्राणं गृह्णामि प्रजाभ्य इति । दश प्राचीरायातयति १५
स्वयमातृण्णाया अयं दक्षिणा विश्वकर्मेति । दश दक्षिणा
आयातयति स्वयमातृण्णाया अयं पश्चाद्विश्वव्यचा इति । दश
प्रतीचीरायातयति स्वयमातृण्णाया इदमुत्तरात्सुवरिति । दशो-
दीचीरायातयति स्वयमातृण्णाया इयमुपरि मतिरिति । दश-
भिरुपरिष्टात्प्रदक्षिणं परिचिनोत्यक्षण्योपदधातीति ब्राह्मणं । २०
तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ संयत उपदधात्यायुषः
प्राणꣳ संतन्विति द्वादश तिस्रस्तिस्रो दिक्षु भ मध्ये । तया-

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He (symbolically) casts out (its) burning pain (onto a wild animal) with *uṣṭram āraṇyam anu te diśāmi* . . . (h²). He places a "golden brick" on (its) forehead with *varuṇo diśām patiḥ*. . . (TS 5.5.5.1).

Then he sits down to the north, facing south, and places the billy goat's head inside the body (of the Agni altar), with *yo agnir agnes tapaso 'dhi jātaḥ* . . . (TS 4.2.10.4i) up to *ajā hy agner ajaniṣṭa garbhāt* . . .(k). He (symbolically) casts out (its) burning pain (onto a wild animal) with *śarabham āraṇyam anu te diśāmi* . . .(k²). He places a "golden brick" on (its) forehead, with *agnir diśām patiḥ* . . .(TS 5.5.5.1). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says "For the yajamāna (whom the adhvaryu wishes to obtain more food) he should separate (the heads) and place them at the edges (of the body of the Agni altar)" (TS 5.7.10.3).* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts the Water bricks (*apasyā*) in place: he places five in the east in a straight line toward the west, with *apām tvemant sādayāmi* . . . (TS 4.3.1.1a),[84] five in the south (with b), five in the west in a straight line toward the east (with c) and five meter bricks (*chandasyā*)[85] in the north (with d). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdodohas mantras (over each of them). 10.35

Then he puts the Exhalation Supporting bricks (*prāṇabhṛt*) in place: he arranges ten in a straight line toward the east from the naturally perforated stone, with *ayam puro bhuvaḥ* . . . (TS 4.3.2.1*a*);[86] he arranges ten in a line toward the south from the naturally perforated stone, with *ayaṃ dakṣiṇā viśvakarmā* . . . (b); he arranges ten in a line to the west from the naturally perforated stone, with *ayaṃ paścād viśvavyacāḥ* . . . (c); he arranges ten in a line to the north from the naturally perforated stone, with *idam uttarāt suvaḥ* . . . (d); he piles ten on top clockwise around (the naturally perforated stone), with *iyam upari matiḥ* . . . (e).[87] (But) there is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says, "He places (them) diagonally" (TS 5.2.10.4–5). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them). Then he puts twelve Unifying bricks (*saṃyat*) in place with (the twelve mantras starting from) *āyuṣaḥ prāṇaṁ saṃtanu* . . . (TB 1.5.7.1); (he places) three in each direction, none in the middle.

[84] TS 4.3.1.1a, b, c, and d contain five mantras each, one of which is to be recited while placing each brick.
[85] So called because the mantras with which they are put in place contain the names of meters.
[86] TS 4.3.2.1a, b, c, d, and e contain ten mantras each, one of which is to be recited while placing each brick.
[87] In this section we have deviated slightly from Caland's punctuation.

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देवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथापानभृत उपदधाति प्राची दिशां वसन्त ऋतूनामग्निर्देवता ब्रह्म द्रविणं त्रिवृत्स्तोमः स उ पञ्चदशवर्तनिस्त्र्यविर्वयः कृतमयानां पुरोवातो वातः सानस ऋषिरिति। वाचयति पितरः पितामहा इति। दक्षिणेन
५ प्राणभृतो दश प्रतीचीरायातयति स्वयमातृण्णामभि दक्षिणा दिशामिति। जघनेन प्राणभृतो दशोदीचीरायातयति स्वयमातृण्णामभि प्रतीची दिशामित्युत्तरेण प्राणभृतो दश प्राचीरायातयति[1] स्वयमातृण्णामभ्युदीची दिशामित्यग्रेण प्राणभृतो दश दक्षिणा आयातयति स्वयमातृण्णामभ्यूर्ध्वा दिशामिति।
१० बाह्येन प्राणभृतो दशभिरुपरिष्टादपसलैः परिक्षिणोति। विषूचीरुपदधातीति ब्राह्मणमपानभृद्भिश्चितिराप्यते। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथाग्निꣳ सर्वतोमुखं चिनुते॥ ३५॥

गायत्रीं पुरस्तादुपदधाति त्रिष्टुभं दक्षिणतो जगतीं पश्चादनुष्टुभमुत्तरतः पङ्क्तिं मध्ये। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः
१५ करोत्यथाग्नेरङ्गान्युपदधाति प्राच्या त्वा दिशा सादयामि गायत्रेण छन्दसाग्निना देवतयाग्नेः शीर्ष्णाग्नेः शिर उपदधामि दक्षिणया त्वा दिशा सादयामि प्रतीच्या त्वा दिशा सादयाम्युदीच्या त्वा दिशा सादयाम्यूर्ध्वया त्वा दिशा सादयामि पाङ्क्तेन छन्दसेति। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथोत्त-

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He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts the Inhalation Supporting bricks (*apānabhṛt*) in place. To the south of the (first group of) prāṇabhṛts he arranges ten (bricks) in a line to the west toward the naturally perforated stone, with *prācī diśām* . . . (TS 4.3.3.1*a*).[88] He has (the yajamāna) recite *pitaraḥ pitāmahāḥ* . . . (f).[89] To the west of (the second group of) prāṇabhṛts he arranges ten (bricks) in a line to the north toward the naturally perforated stone, with *dakṣiṇā diśām* . . . (b). To the north of (the third group of) prāṇabhṛts he arranges ten (bricks) in a line to the east toward the naturally perforated stone, with *pratīcī diśām* . . . (c). To the east of the (fourth group of) prāṇabhṛts he arranges ten (bricks) in a line to the south toward the naturally perforated stone, with *udīcī diśām* . . . (d). Outside the (fifth group of) prāṇabhṛts he piles ten (bricks) on top counterclockwise around (the naturally perforated stone), with *ūrdhvā diśām* . . . (e).[90] There is a Brāhmaṇa passage that says "He places them going in opposite directions" (TS 5.2.10.6). The layer is completed with the apānabhṛts.[91] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).*

Then he piles the Agni altar so that it faces in all directions (*sarvato-mukha*): he places a brick in the east with a mantra in the gāyatrī meter, one in the south with a mantra in the triṣṭubh meter, one in the west with a mantra in the jagatī meter, one in the north with a mantra in the anuṣṭubh meter, and one in the centre with a mantra in the paṅkti meter.*[92] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them). 10.36

Then he places the (five bricks called) Agni's Limbs (*agner aṅgāni*), with *prācyā tvā diśā sādayāmi* . . . *dakṣiṇayā tvā diśā sādayāmi* . . . , *udīcyā tvā diśa sādayāmi* . . . , and *ūrdhvayā tvā disā sādayāmi* . . . (TS 5.5.8.2–3).* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

[88] TS 4.3.3.1a, b, c, d, and e contain ten mantras each, one of which is to be recited while placing each brick.

[89] This recitation by the yajamāna follows the placing of each of the groups of apānabhṛts.

[90] In this section we have deviated slightly from Caland's punctuation.

[91] I.e., the bricks particular to the first layer have been placed. The rest are common to all five layers.

[92] According to the commentaries, these mantras are respectively TS 4.4.4.1a, d, 2g, 3k, and 6t.

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रतः प्राजापत्यामुपदधाति संवत्सरस्य प्रतिमामिति । तां जघनेन प्रक्रमवेलायां प्राञ्चमृषभमुपदधाति त्वामग्ने वृषभं चेकितानमिति । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसौ करोत्यथ लोकंपृणा उपदधाति लोकं पृण छिद्रं पृणाथ सीद शिवा त्वम् । इन्द्राग्नी त्वा बृहस्पतिरस्मिन्योनावसीषदन्निति । तयादेवतं ५ करोति तया देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्भुवा सीदेत्यथ सूददोहसं करोति ता अस्य सूददोहसः सोमꣳ श्रीणन्ति पृश्नयः । जन्मन्देवानां विशस्त्रिष्वा रोचने दिव इति । प्राच्यात्र लोकंपृणया प्रसौत्यग्निं प्राचीभिः संप्रच्छादयन्ति । संप्रच्छन्नं पलाशशाखया परिकर्षति लोकं पृण छिद्रं पृणेत्यथ चितिकृष्याभिमृशति १० चित्तिमचित्तिं चिनवद्वि विद्वानित्याग्नेय्या गायत्र्यैतां चितिमभिमृश्य द्वाभ्यामवद्रवति वाचा आसन्प्राणदा इत्यथापराजिकीभ्यां प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्येतावदेवैतदहः कर्म क्रियते । वसन्येताꣳ राजिम् । ॥ ३६ ॥ दशमः ॥

अथ द्वितीये ऽह्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्यथ १५ कार्ष्णाजिनी[१] उपानहावुपमुञ्चते अध्वर्युश्च यजमानश्चाथ द्वाभ्यामात्मन्यग्निं गृह्णीते मयि गृह्णाम्यग्ने अग्निं यो नो अग्निरिति । स्वयंचितिं जपति यास्ते अग्ने समिधो यानि

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Then he places a Prājāpatya brick to the north, with *saṃvatsarasya pratimām* . . . (TS 5.7.2.1b). He places a Bull brick (*ṛṣabha*) a prakrama behind it, (with the head of the bull drawn on it) towards the east, with *tvām agne vṛṣabhaṃ cekitānam* . . . (a).* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them.)

Then he puts the Space-Filler bricks in place, with *lokaṃ pṛṇa chidraṃ pṛṇa* . . . (TS 4.2.4.4*n*).[93] He recites the Tayādevata mantra (over each of them): *tayā devatayā'ṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda* (TS 5.5.6.*3*, cf. 4.2.4.4l–m). Then he recites the Sūdadohas mantra (over each of them): *tā asya sūdadohasaḥ* . . . (TS 4.2.4.4*o*). This time he commands (the officiating priests and the yajamāna) (to cover the Agni altar) with the eastward space filler. They completely cover the Agni altar with (Space-filler) bricks from west to east. When it has been completely covered, (the adhvaryu) sweeps it with a palāśā branch, with *lokaṃ pṛṇa chidraṃ pṛṇa* . . . (n). Then he touches (the completed first layer) with the Accomplishment of the Layer mantra (*citi-kḷpti*): *cittim acittiṃ cinavad vi vidvān* . . . (TS 5.5.4.4). He touches the layer with the mantra for Agni in the gāyatrī meter (TS 4.4.4.1a?) and dismounts from the altar with two mantras: *vāṅ mā āsan* . . . (TS 5.5.9.2g) and *prāṇadāḥ* . . . (TS 4.6.1.4q).* Then he performs the afternoon Pravargya and Upasad. Just this much ritual work is done on this day. They pass the night.

Then on the second day, after the sun has risen, he performs the (morning) Pravargya and Upasad. Then the adhvaryu and the yajamāna put on the sandals made of black antelope skin. Then (the adhvaryu) (symbolically) takes the fire into himself with two mantras: *mayi gṛhṇāmy agre agnim* . . . (TS 5.7.9.1a[1]) and *yo no agniḥ* . . . (a[2]). He murmurs the Self-Piling mantra: *yās te agne samidho yāni dhāma* . . . (TS 5.7.8.1a). 10.37

[93] The bricks used to fill up the layer are called "space-fillers," and are all placed with the same mantra.

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धामेति। कृष्णमश्वमभिमृश्य तनुपुरीषमुपदधाति पृष्टो दिवीति। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथापराह्णिकीभ्यां प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्येतावदेवैतदहः कर्म क्रियते। वसन्येताः राचिमथ तृतीये ऽह्न्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरति। ५ सर्व एव कार्ष्णाजिनीरुपानह उपमुञ्चन्ते। अथ याचत्याच्य-स्थालीः ससुवां विभक्तिमुदपात्रं पञ्च च स्कन्ध्या अवकाश्च या उ चान्या उपधास्यन्भवति ता। एतत्समादायोत्तरे ओष्णन्न सꣳसादयन्त्यथ द्वाभ्यामात्मन्यग्निं गृह्णीते मयि गृह्णाम्यग्ने अग्निं यो नो अग्निरिति। स्वयंचितिं जपति यास्ते अग्ने समिधो १० यानि धामेति। श्वेतमश्वमभिमृश्याधिद्रवत्यपामिदं न्ययनं नमस्त इति द्वाभ्यामथाधिद्रुत्य प्रथमे संचिताहुती जुहोत्यग्न उदधे तत्त्वा यामीति। दक्षिणतो विभक्तिमुपदधात्यग्निं दू॰ तृणीमह इति। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोति॥ ३७॥

अथैताः पञ्च स्कन्ध्याः प्राचीरायातयति द्वे ऋतव्ये द्वे १५ सयुजावेकाꣳ संयानीमृतव्ये उपदधाति शुक्रश्च शुचिश्चेत्यव-कामनूपदधात्यग्नेर्योनिरसीत्यथ सयुजावुपदधात्याघाराभ्यां त्वा सयुजा युजा युनज्मि तेजसा त्वा सयुजा युजा युनज्मीत्यथ संयानीमुपदधाति वायोर्योन्यसीति। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूद-दोहसः करोत्यथाश्विनीरुपदधाति ध्रुवचितिर्ध्रुवयोनिरिति १० पञ्चैकैकां दिक्षेकां मध्ये। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करो-

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He touches the black horse and spreads a thin layer of soil (over the first layer), with *pṛṣṭo divi* . . . (TS 1.5.11.1d; cf. TB 3.11.6.4).* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras. Then he performs the afternoon Pravargya and Upasad. Just this much ritual work is done on this day. They pass the night.

Then on the third day after the sun has risen, he performs the (morning) Pravargya and Upasad. They all (scil., the adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, brahman and yajamāna) put on the sandals made of black-antelope skin. Then (the adhvaryu) asks for the dish of clarified butter and the sruva ladle, a Vibhakti brick, a jar of water, five Shoulder bricks, avakā plants and whatever other bricks he is going to place (in the layer). They collect these things and place them at the edge of the northern hip (of the Agni altar); then (the adhvaryu) (symbolically) takes the fire into himself with two mantras: *mayi gṛhṇāmy agre agnim* . . . (TS 5.7.9.1a[1]) and *yo no agniḥ* . . . (a[2]) He murmurs the Self-Piling mantra: *yās te agne samidho yāni dhāma* . . . (TS 5.7.8.1a). He touches the white horse and mounts (the altar) with two mantras: *apām idaṃ nyayanam* . . . (TS 4.6.1.3l) and *names te* . . . (m). Then, having mounted (the altar), he makes the first two saṃcita oblations (on the first layer) with *agna udadhe* . . . (TS 5.5.9.1a) and *tat tvā yāmi* . . . (TS 2.1.11.6w, cf. TS 5.7.6.4–5). In the south he places a Vibhakti brick with *agniṃ dūtaṃ vṛṇīmahe* . . . (TB 3.5.2.3; cf. TS 5.5.6.1b). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it).

Then he places the five shoulder bricks in a line to the east: two Season 10.38
bricks, two Companion bricks and one Way brick. He puts the two Season bricks in place together, with *śukraś ca śuciś ca* (TS 4.4.11.1*b*). He adds an avakā plant, with *agner yonir asi*.[94] Then he puts the two Companion bricks in place, with *āghārābhyāṃ tvā sayujā yujā yunajmi* and *tejasā tvā sayujā yujā yunajmi* (TS 4.4.5.1a).[95] Then he puts the Way brick in place with *vāyor yāny asi* . . . (TS 4.4.6.2*f*[1]). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he places five Āśvina bricks (āśvinī) one in each direction and one in the middle, with *dhruvakṣitir dhruvayonir* . . . (TS 4.3.4.1 a-e). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

[94] See above, p. 541, n. 77.
[95] See above, p. 543, n. 79.

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३६ बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम् । [१० । ३८ ।]

त्यथर्तव्या उपदधाति सजूर्ऋतुभिः सजूर्विधाभिरिति पञ्चैकैकां
दिक्षेकां मध्ये । समानप्रभृतयो भवन्ति समानोदर्का इति
ब्राह्मणं । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ प्राणभृत उप-
दधाति प्राणं मे पाह्यपानं मे पाहीति पञ्चैकैकां दिक्षेकां
मध्ये । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ वृष्टिसनीरुप- ५
दधात्यपस्विन्वौषधीर्जिन्वेति पञ्चैकैकां दिक्षेकां मध्ये । ऽनु-
परिहारꣳ सादयतीति ब्राह्मणं । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः
करोत्यथ मूर्धन्वतीरुपदधाति विष्टम्भो वय इति चतस्रः पुर-
स्ताद्धꣳसपातिनीस्तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ वयस्या
उपदधाति । त्र्यविर्वय इति पञ्च दक्षिणायाꣳ श्रोण्यामुप- १०
दधाति षष्ठवाहय इति पञ्चोत्तरस्यां । वस्तो वय इति
दक्षिणे ऽꣳस उपदधाति । वृष्णिर्वय इत्युत्तरे । व्याघ्रो वय इति
दक्षिणे पक्ष उपदधाति । सिꣳहो वय इत्युत्तरे । पुरुषो वय
इति मध्ये । पुरुषेण चितिराप्यते । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूद-
दोहसः करोत्यथाग्निꣳ सर्वतोमुखं चिनुते ऽग्नेरङ्गानि प्राजा- १५
पत्यान्यृषभं लोकंपृणा । उदीच्याच लोकंपृणया प्रसौत्यग्नि-
मुदीचीभिः संप्रच्छादयन्ति । संप्रच्छन्नं पलाशशाखया परि-
कर्षति लोकं पृण छिद्रं पृणेत्यथ चितिकृत्याभिमृशति चित्ति-

[98] So called because the mantra with which the fourth of them is put in place contains the word *mūrdhan* ("head").
[99] I.e., the brick placed with the mantra beginning *puruṣaḥ* . . .(1[13]) is the last of the bricks particular to the second layer. The rest are common to all five layers.
[100] For details, see above, pp. 549–51.

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Then he puts five Season bricks (*ṛtavyā*) in place, one in each direction and one in the middle, with *sajūr ṛtubhiḥ sajūr vidhābhiḥ* . . . (f). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says, "(The mantras accompanying the Season bricks) have the same beginning and the same end"[96] (TS 5.3.1.2). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them). Then he puts five Exhalation Supporting bricks (*prāṇabhṛt*) in place, one in each direction and one in the middle, with *prāṇaṃ me pāhi apānaṃ me pāhi* . . . (TS 4.3.4.3g). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts five Rain Bringing bricks (*vṛṣṭisanī*) in place, one in each direction and one in the middle, with *apas pinvauṣadhīr jinva* . . . (h). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says, "He deposits them after carrying them around (the Agni altar)" (TS 5.3.1.3).[97] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he places four "containing 'head'" bricks (*mūrdhanvatī*)[98] in the east, to make the wild goose fly upward, with *viṣṭambho vayaḥ* . . . (TS 4.3.5.1[16–19]). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them). Then he puts the Vigor bricks (*vayasyā*) in place. He places five on the southern hip, with *tryavir vayaḥ* . . . (1^{1-5}), five on the northern (hip), with *paṣṭhavād vayaḥ* . . . (1^{6-10}). He places (one) on the southern shoulder, with *basto vayaḥ* . . . (1^{11}), (one) on the northern (shoulder), with *vṛṣṇir vayaḥ* . . . (1^{12}). He places one on the southern wing, with *vyāghro vayaḥ* . . . (1^{14}), (one) on the northern (wing), with *siṁho vayaḥ* . . . (1^{15}), (one) in the middle, with *puruṣo vayaḥ* . . . (1^{13}). The layer is completed with the puruṣa.[99] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he piles the Agni altar so that it faces in all directions. (He places the five bricks called) Agni's Limbs, a Prājāpatya brick, a Bull brick, and the Space Fillers.[100] This time he commands (the officiating priests and the yajamāna) (to cover the Agni altar) with the northward space filler. They completely cover the Agni altar with bricks from south to north. When it has been completely covered (the adhvaryu) sweeps it with a palāśa branch, with *lokaṃ pṛṇa chidraṃ pṛṇa* . . . (TS 4.2.4.4n). Then he touches (the completed second layer), with the Accomplishment of the Layer mantra:

[96] Five mantras are condensed in TS 4.3.4.3f. The phrase *sajūr ṛtubhiḥ sajūr vidhābhiḥ* . . . *sajūr devair vayonādhair agnaye tvā vaiśvānarāyāśvinā dhvaryū sādayatām iha tvā* is common to all of them. The phrases containing the names of the deities—*sajūr vasubhiḥ, sajū rudraiḥ, sajūr ādityaiḥ, sajur visvair devaiḥ,* and *sajūr devaiḥ*—are inserted in the empty space to complete the mantras.

[97] Each of these bricks is carried clockwise around the Agni altar before it is placed in position.

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[१० । ३८, ३९ ।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम् । ३०

मचित्तिं चिनवद्वि विद्वानित्याग्नेय्या त्रिष्टुभैतां चितिमभि-
मृश्य द्वाभ्यामवद्रवति वाङ्म आसन्प्राणदा इत्यथापराह्णिकीभ्यां
प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्येतावदेवैतदहः कर्म क्रियते । दशन्येताᳬ
राचिम् ॥ ३८ ॥ एकादशः ॥

५ अथ चतुर्थे ऽह्न्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरति ।
समानं पुरौडाशोपधानमथ पञ्चमे ऽह्न्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्योप-
सद्भ्यां प्रचरति । सर्व एव कार्ष्णाजिनीरुपानह उपमुञ्चन्ते ।
ऽथ याचत्याज्यस्थालीᳬ सस्रुवां विभक्तिमुदपात्रᳬ सर्वं च स्वय-
मातृण्णानिकोतं दध्न च स्कन्ध्या अवकाश्य या उ चान्या उप-
१० धास्यम्भवति ता । एतत्समादायोत्तरे ओणान्ते सᳬसादयन्त्यथ
द्वाभ्यामात्मन्यग्निं गृह्णीते मयि गृह्णाम्यग्ने अग्निं यो नो
अग्निरिति । स्वयंचितिं जपति यास्ते अग्ने समिधो यानि
धामेति । श्वेतमश्वमभिमृश्याधिद्रवत्यपामिदं न्ययनं समुद्र
इति द्वाभ्यामथाधिद्रुत्य द्वितीये संचिताहुती जुहोत्यग्ने दुध्र
१५ तत्ता यामीति । दक्षिणतो विभक्तिमुपदधात्यग्निनाग्निः समि-
ध्यत इति । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथ स्वयमातृ-
ण्णामश्वमवघ्राय्याविदुषा ब्राह्मणेन सहाधिद्रुत्योपदधाति भुव
इन्द्राग्नी अव्यथमानामित्यनुद्रुत्य वायुस्त्वाभिपातु मह्या स्वस्त्या
छर्दिषा शंतमेन तया देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीदेति । अन्या-
२० द्वितीयामुपधायेति । प्राणापानिति । स व्यानो । ऽथैष ब्राह्मणो
वरं ददात्यथ स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वा स्वयमातृण्णावकाशे
जुहोति चित्तिं जुहोमि मनसा घृतेनेत्यङ्गुष्ठाभ्यामन्वारभ्या-

into the space in the phrase *agne . . .yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛḍa tasyās te namas tasyās ta upa jīvanto bhūyāsma.*

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cittim acittiṃ cinavad vi vidvān . . . (TS 5.5.4.4). Then he touches the layer, with the mantra for Agni in the tṛṣṭubh meter (TS 4.4.4.1d?) and dismounts from the altar with two mantras: *vāṅ ma āsan* . . . (TS 5.5.9.2g), and *prāṇadāḥ* . . . (TS 4.6.1.4q). Then he performs the afternoon Pravargya and Upasad. Just this much ritual work is done on third day. They pass the night.

Then, on the fourth day, after the sun has risen, he performs the (morning) Pravargya and Upasad. The spreading of the (thin layer of) soil (over the second layer) is the same (as over the first).[101] 10.39

Then, on the fifth day, after the sun has risen, he performs the (morning) Pravargya and Upasad. They all (scil., the adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, brahman, and yajamāna) put on sandals made of black antelope skin. Then (the adhvaryu) asks for the dish of clarified butter and the sruva ladle, a Vibhakti brick, a jar of water, the entire svayamātṛṇṇānikota (i.e., the "golden brick," the Circle brick, and the Seed Discharging brick), ten Shoulder bricks, avakā plants, and whatever other bricks he is going to place (in the layer). They collect these things and place them at the edge of the northern hip (of the Agni altar). Then (the adhvaryu) (symbolically) takes the fire into himself with two mantras: *mayi gṛhṇāmy agre agnim* . . . (TS 5.7.9.1a[1]), and *yo no agniḥ* . . . (a[2]). He murmurs the Self-Piling mantra: *yās te agne samidho yāni dhāma* . . . (TS 5.7.8.1a). He touches the white horse and mounts (the altar) with two mantras: *apām idaṃ nyayanam* . . . (TS 4.6.1.3l), and *names te* . . . (m). Then, having mounted (the altar) he makes the second two saṃcita oblations (on the second layer) with *agne dudhre* . . . (TS 5.5.9.1b)[102] and *tat tvā yāmi* . . . (TS 2.1.11.6w; cf. TS 5.7.6.4–5). He places the Vibhakti brick in the south, with *agnināgniḥ samidhyate* . . . (TS 1.4.46.31; cf. TS 5.5.6.1c). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it).

Then he has the horse sniff a naturally perforated stone, mounts the altar with an ignorant brahmin, and puts it in place. (While putting it in place, he recites the word) *bhuvas*, then runs through *indrāgnī avyathamānām* . . . (TS 4.3.6.1a) up to . . . *vayus tvābhipātu mahyā svastyā chardiṣā śaṃtamena tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda* (b). (There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says,) "He should breathe across after he places the second (naturally perforated stone)" (TS 5.5.5.2–3). He breathes out and in. This is the cross breathing. Then the brahmin gives a gift (to the adhvaryu). Then (the adhvaryu) takes four spoonsful of clarified butter into the ladle and makes an oblation into the hole(s) of the naturally perforated stone, with *cittiṃ juhomi manasā ghṛteṇa* . . . (TS 5.5.4.3). He has (the yajamāna) touch (the naturally perforated stone) with his thumbs

[101] See above, pp. 551–553.
[102] Four mantras for the saṃcita oblations are condensed in TS 5.5.9.1b–e. The complete mantras are obtained by inserting the words *dudhra, gahya, kiṁśila,* and *vanya*

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न्वारोहं वाचयत्यन्तरिक्षमाक्रमिषं प्रजा मा मा हासीदित्यपरे बिले हिरण्येष्टकामुपदधाति ज्योतिरसि ज्योतिर्मे यच्छान्तरिक्षं यच्छान्तरिक्षान्मा पाहीति। तां जघनेन प्रक्रमवेलायां मण्डलेष्टकामुपदधात्यधिद्यौरन्तरिक्षं ब्रह्मणा विष्टेति। दक्षिणतो रेतःसिचमुपदधात्यन्तरिक्षं रेतःसिक्तन्मे रेतो दधातु ५ तन्मे रेतः प्रजनयत्विति मनसैव। तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोति। ॥ ३९ ॥

अथैता दश स्कन्ध्याः प्राचीरायातयति चतस्र ऋतव्याः सम्राजं च विश्वज्योतिषं च द्वे सयुजौ द्वे संयान्यावृतव्या उपदधाति नभश्च नभस्यश्चेत्यवकामनूपदधात्यग्नेर्योनिरसीतौषस्योर्जस्वेत्यवकामनूपदधात्यग्नेर्योनिरसीति सम्राजं च विश्वज्योतिषं च सम्राट् ज्योतिरधारयद्विश्वकर्मा त्वा सादयत्वित्युत्तरामथ सयुजावुपदधाति वर्चसा त्वा सयुजा युजा युनज्म्युक्थेभिस्त्वा सयुजा युजा युनज्मीत्यथ संयान्यावुपदधाति देवानां वायोयान्यस्यन्तरिक्षस्य यान्यसीति। तयादेवतं कृत्वा १५ सूददोहसः करोत्यथ दिश्या उपदधाति राज्ञ्यसि प्राची दिगिति पञ्चैकैकां दिक्षेकां मध्ये। तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ प्राणभृत उपदधात्यायुर्मे पाहि प्राणं मे पाहीति दश पुरस्तात्प्राचीस्तासां ज्योतिष्मतीमुत्तमामुपदधाति। तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ बृहतीरुपदधाति मा २० छन्द इति द्वादश दक्षिणतः पृथिवी छन्द इति द्वादश पश्चादग्निर्देवतेति द्वादशोत्तरतस्तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः

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and recite the Ascent mantra: *antarikṣam ākramiṣaṃ prajā mā mā hāsīt* (TS 5.6.8.1*a*[2]). He places a "golden brick" (i.e., a piece of gold) on the western hole of the naturally perforated stone, with *jyotir asi* . . . (TS 5.7.6.2*c*[2]). A prakrama behind it he places a Circle brick, with *adhi dyaur antarikṣam brahmaṇā viṣṭā* . . . (TS 4.4.5.2d). To the south (of the naturally perforated stone) he places a Seed-Discharging brick, with *antarikṣaṁ retaḥsik tan me reto dadhātu tan me retaḥ prajanayatu*[103] which he recites mentally. He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he places the ten shoulder bricks in a line to the east: four Season bricks, a samrāj brick and an All-Light brick (*viśvajyotis*), two Companion bricks, and two Way bricks. He puts (two) Season bricks in place (together), with *nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca* . . . (TS 4.4.11.1c). He adds an avakā plant, with *agner yonir asi*.[104] (He puts the other two Season bricks in place together with) *iṣaś corjaś ca* . . . (TS 4.4.11.1d). He adds an avakā plant, with *agner yonir asi*.[104] (He puts) the samrāj brick and the All-Light brick in place, (the latter) to the north (of the former), with *samrāṭ jyotir adhārayat* (TS 4.2.9.4*p*[2]) and *viśvakarmā tvā sādayatu* . . . (TS 4.4.6.1b). Then he puts the two Companion bricks in place with *varcasā tvā sayujā yujā yunajmi* (TS 4.4.5.1*a*) and *ukthebhis tvā sayujā yunajmi* (ibid.)[105] Then he puts the two Way bricks in place, with *devānāṃ vāyoyāny asi* (TS 4.4.6.2*f*[2]) and *antarikṣasya yāny asi* (*g*[1]). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of the shoulder bricks). 10.40

Then he puts the five Direction bricks (*diśyā*) in place, one in each direction, one in the middle, with *rājñy asi prācī dik* . . . (TS 4.3.6.2c). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he places ten prāṇabhṛt bricks in the east in a line to the west with *āyur me pāhi* . . . (d). He puts the one of them which is accompanied by the mantra containing the word "light" (*jyotis*)" (i.e., the last mantra of d) in place last. He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts the bṛhatī bricks in place: twelve in the south, with *mā chanda* . . . (TS 4.3.7.1a[1–12]), twelve in the west, with *pṛthivī chanda* . . . (a[13–24]), twelve in the north, with *agnir devatā* . . . (a[25–36]). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

[103] This mantra occurs only here; cf. TS 5.6.8.4–6f.
[104] See above, p. 541, n. 77.
[105] See above, p. 543, n. 79.

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[१०।४०, ४१।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम्। ३९

करोत्यथ वालखिल्या उपदधाति मूर्धासि राडिति सप्त पुरस्तात्प्रतीचीरुपदधाति यन्त्री राडिति सप्त पश्चात्प्राचीर्वालखिल्याभिश्चितिराप्यते तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथाग्निꣳ सर्वतोमुखं चिनुते ऽग्नेरङ्गानि प्राजापत्यान्मृषभं
५ लोकंपृणाः प्राच्याच लोकंपृणया प्रसौत्यथिं प्राचीभिः संप्रच्छादयन्ति संप्रच्छन्नं पलाशशाखया परिकर्षति लोकं पृण छिद्रं पृणेत्यथ चितिकृष्याभिमृशति चित्तिमचित्तिं चिनवद्भि विद्वानित्याग्नेय्या जगत्यैतां चितिमभिमृश्य द्वाभ्यामवद्रवति वाक्च आसग्प्राणदा इत्यथापराजिकौभ्यां प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्येतावदेवै-
१० तदहः कर्म क्रियते वसन्येताꣳ राचिम् ॥ ४० ॥ द्वादशः ॥

अथ षष्ठे ऽह्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरति समानं पुरीषस्योपधानमथ सप्तमे ऽह्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरति सर्व एव कार्ष्णाजिनीरुपानह उपबुध्यन्ते ऽथ याचत्याव्यस्यालीꣳ सस्रुवां विभक्तिमुदपाचं पञ्च च स्कन्ध्या अव-
१५ काश्च या उ चान्या उपधास्यन्भवति ता एतत्समादायोत्तरे श्रोष्यन्ते सꣳसादयन्त्यथ द्वाभ्यामात्मन्यग्निं गृहीते मयि गृह्णाम्यग्ने अग्निं यो मो अग्निरिति स्वयंचितिं जपति यास्ते अग्ने समिधो याभि धामेति श्वेतमश्वमभिमृश्याधिद्रवत्यपामिदं न्ययनं नमस्त इति द्वाभ्यामथाधिद्रुत्य तृतीये संचिता-
२० ऽतो जुहोत्यग्ने गच्छ तत्त्वा यामीति दक्षिणतो विभक्तिमुपदधात्यग्निर्ऋचाणि जजनदिति तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथैताः पञ्च स्कन्ध्याः प्राचीरायातयति द्वे ऋतव्ये द्वे

108 See above, pp. 551–53.
109 See above, p. 557, n. 102.

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Then he puts the Vālakhilya bricks in place. He places seven in the east in a line to the west, with *mūrdhāsi rāṭ* . . . (TS 4.3.7.2b[1–7]), seven in the west in a line to the east, with *yantrī rāṭ* . . . (b[8–14]).* The layer is completed with the Vālakhilya bricks.[106] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he piles the Agni altar so that it faces in all directions. (He puts in place the bricks called) Agni's Limbs, a Prajāpatya brick, a Bull brick, and the Space Fillers.[107] This time he commands (the officiating priests and the yajamāna (to cover the Agni altar) with the eastward space filler. They completely cover the Agni altar with bricks from west to east. When it has been completely covered, (the adhvaryu) sweeps it with a palāśa branch, with *lokaṃ pṛṇa chidraṃ pṛṇa* . . . (TS 4.2.4.4n). Then he touches (the completed third layer) with the mantra called Accomplishment of the Layer: *cittim acittiṃ cinavad vi vidvān* . . . (TS 5.5.4.4). He touches the layer with the mantra for Agni in the jagatī meter (TS 4.4.4.2g?) and dismounts (from the altar) with two mantras: *vāṅ ma āsan* . . . (TS 5.5.9.2g) and *prānadāh* . . . (TS 4.6.1.4q). Then he performs the afternoon Pravargya and Upasad. Just this much ritual work is done on this day. They pass the night.

Then, on the sixth day, after the sun has risen, he performs the (morning) Pravargya and Upasad. The spreading of the (thin layer of) soil is the same.[108] 10.41

Then, on the seventh day, after the sun has risen, he performs the (morning) Pravargya and Upasad. They all (scil., the adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, brahman and yajamāna) put on sandals made of black antelope skin. Then (the adhvaryu) asks for the dish of clarified butter and the sruva ladle, a Vibhakti brick, a jar of water, five Shoulder bricks, avakā plants, and whatever other bricks he is going to place (in the layer). They collect these things and place them at the edge of the northern hip (of the Agni altar). Then (the adhvaryu) (symbolically) takes the fire into himself with two mantras: *mayi gṛhṇāmy agre agnim* . . . (TS 5.7.9.1a[1]), and *yo no agniḥ* . . . (a[2]). He murmurs the Self-Piling mantra: *yās te agne samidho yāni dhāma* . . . (TS 5.7.8.1a). He touches the white horse and mounts (the altar) with two mantras: *apām idaṃ nyayanam* . . . (TS 4.6.1.3l) and *namas te* . . . (m). Then, having mounted (the altar), he makes for the third time two saṃcita offerings (on the third layer), with *agne gahya* . . . TS 5.5.9.1c)[109] and *tat tvā yāmi* . . . (TS 2.1.11.6w; cf. TS 5.7.6.4–5). He places the Vibhakti brick in the south, with *agnir vṛtrāṇi jaṅghanat* . . . (TS 4.3.13.1a; cf. TS 5.5.6.1d). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it).

[106] I.e., the bricks particular to the third layer have been put in place. The rest are common to all five layers.
[107] For details, see above, pp. 549–51.

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सयुजावेकाꣳ संयानीम्नतये उपदधाति सहस्र सहस्रस्येत्यव-
कामनूपदधात्यग्नेर्यानिरसीत्यथ सयुजावुपदधाति स्तोमेभिस्त्वा
सयुजा युजा युनज्मि छन्दोभिस्त्वा सयुजा युजा युनज्मीत्यथ
संयानीमुपदधाति देवानामन्तरिक्षयान्यसीति । तयादेवतं कृत्वा
सूददोहसः करोति । ॥ ४१ ॥ ५

अथाङ्गिरसस्तोमीया उपदधात्याग्नुस्त्रिवृदिति पुरस्तादुप-
दधाति व्योम सप्तदश इति दक्षिणतो धरुण एकविꣳश इति
पश्चाद्गान्तः पञ्चदश इत्युत्तरतः । प्रतूर्तिरष्टादश इति पुरस्ता-
दुपदधात्यभिवर्तः सविꣳश इति दक्षिणतो वर्चो द्वाविꣳश
इति पश्चात्तपो नवदश इत्युत्तरतो । योनिश्चतुर्विꣳश इति १०
पुरस्तादुपदधाति गर्भाः पञ्चविꣳश इति दक्षिणत ओजस्त्रि-
णव इति पश्चात्संभरणस्त्रयोविꣳश इत्युत्तरतः । क्रतुरेकत्रिꣳश
इति पुरस्तादुपदधाति ब्रध्नस्य विष्टपं चतुस्त्रिꣳश इति दक्षि-
णतः प्रतिष्ठा त्रयस्त्रिꣳश इति पश्चान्नाकः षट्त्रिꣳश इत्युत्त-
रतो । अग्नेर्भागो ऽसीति पुरस्तादुपदधाति नृचक्षसां भागो १५
ऽसीति दक्षिणतो मित्रस्य भागो ऽसीति पश्चादिन्द्रस्य भागो
ऽसीत्युत्तरतो । वसूनां भागो ऽसीति पुरस्तादुपदधात्या-
दित्यानां भागो ऽसीति दक्षिणतो ऽदित्यै भागो ऽसीति
पश्चाद्देवस्य सवितुर्भागो ऽसीत्युत्तरतो । धर्त्रश्चतुष्टोम इति
पुरस्तादुपदधाति यावानां भागो ऽसीति दक्षिणत ऋभूणां २०
भागो ऽसीति पश्चाद्विवर्तो ऽष्टाचत्वारिꣳश इत्युत्तरतो ।
ऽन्यथानूच्याग्न्यथोपदधातीति ब्राह्मणं । तयादेवतं कृत्वा सूददो-

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Then he places five shoulder bricks in a line to the east: two Season bricks, two Companion bricks and one Way brick. He puts the two Season bricks in place (together), with *sahaś ca sahasyaś ca . . .* (TS 4.4.11.1e). He adds an avakā plant, with *agner yonir asi*.[110] Then he puts the two Companion bricks in place, with *stomebhis tvā sayujā yujā junajmi* (TS 4.4.5.1*a*[5]) and *chandobhis tvā sayujā yujā junajmi* (*a*[6]).[111] Then he puts the Way brick in place with *devānām antarikṣayāny asi* (TS 4.4.6.2*g*[2]). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them). 10.42

Then he puts the Akṣṇayāstomīya bricks in place. He places one in the east, with *āśus trivṛt* (TS 4.3.8.*l*[1]); one in the south, with *vyoma saptadaśaḥ* (*l*[3]); one in the west, with *dharuṇa ekaviṁśaḥ* (*l*[7]); and one in the north, with *bhāntaḥ pañcadaśaḥ* (*l*[2]). He places one in the east, with *pratūrtir aṣṭādaśaḥ* (*l*[4]); one in the south, with *abhivartaḥ saviṁsaḥ* (*l*[6]); one in the west, with *varco dvāviṁśaḥ* (*l*[8]); one in the north, with *tapo navadaśah* (*l*[5]). He places one in the east, with *yoniś caturviṁśaḥ* (*l*[10]); one in the south, with *garbhāḥ pañcaviṁsaḥ* (*l*[11]); one in the west, with *ojas triṇavaḥ* (*l*[12]); one in the north, with *saṃbharaṇas trayoviṁśah* (*l*[9]). He places one in the east, with *kratur ekatriṁśaḥ* (*l*[13]); one in the south, with *bradhnasya viṣṭapaṃ catustriṁśaḥ* (*l*[15]); one in the west, with *pratiṣṭhā trayastriṁśaḥ* (*l*[14]); one in the north with *nākaḥ ṣaṭṭriṁśaḥ* (*l*[16]). He places one in the east, with *agner bhāgo 'si . . .* (TS 4.3.9.1a); one in the south, with *nṛcakṣasāṃ bhāgo 'si . . .* (c); one in the west, with *mitrasya bhāgo 'si . . .* (d); one in the north, with *indrasya bhāgo 'si . . .* (b). He places one in the east, with *vasūnāṃ bhāgo 'si . . .* (f); one in the south, with *ādityānām bhāgo 'si . . .* (g); one in the west, with *adityai bhāgo 'si . . .* (e); and one in the north with *devasya savitur bhāgo 'si . . .* (h). He places one in the east, with *dhartraś catuṣṭomaḥ* (TS 4.3.8.*l*[18]); one in the south, with *yāvānām bhāgo 'si . . .* (TS 4.3.9.2.i), one in the west with *ṛbhūṇāṃ bhāgo 'si . . .* (k), one in the north with *vivarto 'ṣṭācatvāriṁśaḥ* (TS 4.3.8.*l*[17]). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says, "He recites (the mantras) in one way, and puts (the bricks) in place in another" (TS 5.3.3.1).[112] He recites the Tayādevata

[110] See above, p. 541, n. 77.
[111] See above, p. 543, n. 79.
[112] This explains why the mantras are not employed in the same order as in the Saṃhitā text.

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हसः करोत्यथ स्रुष्टीरुपदधात्येकयास्रुवत प्रजा अधीयन्तेति सप्तदश। चतस्रो दक्षिणे ऽंसस्य उपदधात्यथ तिस्रो ऽथ तिस्रो ऽथ तिस्रो ऽथ चतस्रो। दक्षिणादंसाद्दक्षिणां श्रोणिमभ्यायातयति। तथादेवतं कृत्वा स्रुददोहसः
५ करोत्यथ व्युष्टीरुपदधातीयमेव सा या प्रथमा व्यौच्छदिति पञ्चदश। तिस्रस्तिस्रो दिक्षु तिस्रो मध्ये। व्युष्टीभिस्त्रिति-राप्यते। तथादेवतं कृत्वा स्रुददोहसः करोति॥ ४२॥

अथाग्निं सर्वतोमुखं चिनुते ऽग्नेरङ्गानि प्राजापत्यामृषभं लोकंपृणा। उदीच्याच लोकंपृणया प्रसौत्यग्निमुदीचीभिः
१० संप्रच्छादयन्ति। संप्रच्छन्नं पलाशशाखया परिकर्षति लोकं पृण छिद्रं पृणेत्यथ चितिक्लृप्त्याभिमृशति चित्तिमचित्तिं चिनवदि विद्वानित्याग्नेय्यानुष्टुभैतां चितिमभिमृश्य द्वाभ्यामवद्रवति वाग्म आसन्प्राणदा इत्यथापराजितीभ्यां प्रवर्ग्यापसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्येतावदेवैतदहः कर्म क्रियते। वसन्त्येताः
१५ रात्रिम्॥ ४३॥ त्रयोदशः॥

अथाष्टमे ऽह्न्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्यापसद्भ्यां प्रचरति। समानं पुरीषस्योपधानमथ नवमे ऽह्न्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्यापसद्भ्यां प्रचरति। सर्व एव कार्ष्णाजिनीरुपानह उपमुञ्चन्ते। अथ यावत्याव्यस्थालीः संसुवां विभक्तिमुदपाचः सर्वं च
२० स्रुवमादत्तानिकोतः सप्त च स्कन्ध्या अवकाश्च या उ चान्या

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and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts seventeen Creation bricks (*sṛṣṭi*) in place, with *ekayāstuvata, prajā adhīyanta* . . . (TS 4.3.10.1[1-17]). He places four at the southern shoulder, then three (to the west of them), then three (further to the west), then three (further to the west), then four (further to the west). He arranges them from the southern shoulder to the southern hip.* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts fifteen Dawn bricks (*vyuṣṭi*) in place, with *iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyaucchat* . . . (TS 4.3.11.1a–p); (he places) three in each direction and three in the middle.* The layer is completed with the Dawn bricks.[113] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he piles the Agni altar so that it faces in all directions. (Then he 10.43
places the bricks called) Agni's Limbs, a Prājāpatya brick, a Bull brick, and the Space Fillers.[114] This time he commands (the officiating priests and the yajamāna) (to cover the Agni altar) with the northward space filler. They completely cover the Agni altar with bricks from south to north. When it has been completely covered, (the adhvaryu) sweeps it with a palāśa branch, with *lokaṃ pṛṇa chidraṃ pṛṇa* . . . (TS 4.2.4.4n). Then he touches (the completed fourth layer) with the mantra called Accomplishment of the Layer: *cittim acittiṃ cinavad vi vidvān* . . . (TS 5.5.4.4). He touches the layer with the mantra for Agni in the anuṣṭubh meter (TS 4.4.4.3k?) and dismounts from (the altar) with two mantras: *vāṅ ma āsan* . . . (TS 5.5. 9.2g) and *prāṅadāḥ* . . . (TS 4.6.1.4q). Then he performs the afternoon Pravargya and Upasad. Just this much ritual work is done on this day. They pass the night.

Then, on the eighth day, after the sun has risen, he performs the 10.44
(morning) Pravargya and Upasad. The spreading of the (thin layer of) soil is the same.[115]

Then, on the ninth day, after the sun has risen he performs the (morning) Pravargya and Upasad. They all (scil., the adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, brahman, and yajamāna) put on sandals made of black antelope skin. Then (the adhvaryu) asks for the dish of clarified butter and the sruva ladle, a Vibhakti brick, a jar of water, the entire svayamātṛṇṇā nikota (i.e., the "golden brick," the Circle brick, and the Seed-Discharging brick), seven Shoulder bricks, avakā plants, and whatever other (bricks) he is

[113] I.e., the bricks particular to the fourth layer have been put in place. The rest are common to all five layers.
[114] For details, see above, pp. 549–51.
[115] See above, pp. 551–53.

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उपधास्यन्भवति ता ' एतत्समादायोत्तरे श्रोणन्ते सꣳसादय-
न्त्यथ द्वाभ्यामात्मन्यग्निं गृह्णीते मयि गृह्णाम्यग्ने अग्निं यो नो
अग्निरिति ' स्वयंचितिं जपति यास्ते अग्ने समिधो यानि
धामेति ' श्वेतमश्वमभिमृश्याधिद्रवत्यपामिदं न्ययनं नमस्त
इति द्वाभ्यामथाधिद्रुत्य चतुर्थं संचिताङ्गनी जुहोत्यग्ने ५
किꣳशिल तत्त्वा यामीति ' दक्षिणतो विभक्तिमुपदधात्यग्ने
स्तोमं मनामह इति ' तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथैताः
सप्त स्कन्ध्याः प्राचीरायातयति द्वे ऋतव्ये स्वराजं च विश्व-
ज्योतिषं चैकाꣳ सयुजं द्वे संयान्यार्तव्ये उपदधाति तपस्य
तपस्यस्येत्यवकामनूपदधात्यग्नेर्योनिरसीति स्वराजं च विश्व- १०
ज्योतिषं च स्वराट् ज्योतिरधारयत्प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयत्वित्यु-
त्तराभ्यथ सयुजमुपदधाति रय्यै पोषाय सजातानां मध्यमस्ये-
याय मया त्वा सयुजा युजा युनज्मीत्यथ संयान्यावुपदधा-
त्यन्तरिक्षमस्यन्तरिक्षाय त्वेति ' तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः
करोति ' ॥ ४४ ॥ १५

अथासपत्ना उपदधात्यग्ने जातान्प्रणुदा नः सपत्नानिति
पुरस्तादुपदधाति सहसा जातानिति पश्चाच्चतुश्चत्वारिꣳश
स्तोम इति दक्षिणतः षोडश स्तोम इत्युत्तरतस्तासां पुरीष-
वतीं मध्य उपदधाति पृथिव्याः पुरीषमस्यप्सो नामेति ' तथा-
दैवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ विराज उपदधात्येवम्छन्दो १०
वरिवम्छन्द इति चत्वारिꣳशतं दशदश दिक्षु न मध्ये ' ऽक्षण-
योपदधातीति ब्राह्मणं ' तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करो-

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going to place (in the layer). They collect these things and place them at the edge of the northern hip (of the Agni altar). Then (the adhvaryu) (symbolically) takes the fire into himself with two mantras: *mayi gṛhṇāmy agre agnim* . . . (TS 5.7.9.1a[1]) and *yo no agniḥ* . . . (a[2]). He whispers the Self-Piling mantra: *yās te agne samidho yāni dhāma* . . . (TS 5.7.8.1a). He touches the white horse and mounts (the altar) with two mantras: *apām idaṃ nyayanam* . . . (TS 4.6.1.3l) and *names te* . . . (m). Then, having mounted (the altar), he makes the fourth pair of saṃcita offerings (on the fourth layer), with *agne kiṁśila* . . . (TS 5.5.9.1d)[116] and *tat tvā yāmi* . . . (TS 2.1.11.6w; cf. TS 5.7.6.4–5). He places the Vibhakti brick in the south with *agne stomaṃ manāmahe* . . . (RV 5.13.2; cf. TS 5.5.6.1e).[117] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it).

Then he places the seven Shoulder bricks in a line to the east: two Season bricks, a Svarāj brick and an All-Light brick, one Companion brick and two Way bricks. He puts the two Season bricks in place (together) with *tapaś ca tapasyaś ca* . . . (TS 4.4.11.1f). He adds an avakā plant, with *agner yonir asi*.[118] (He puts) the Svarāj brick and the All-Light brick in place, (the latter) to the north (of the former), with *svarāṭ jyotir adhārayat* (TS 4.3.9.5*p*[3]) and *prajāpatis tvā sādayatu* . . . (TS 4.4.6.1c). Then he puts the Companion brick in place with *rayyai poṣāya* . . . (TS 4.4.5.1*a*[8]).[119] Then he puts the two Way bricks in place with *antarikṣam asy, antarikṣāya tvā* (TS 4.4.6.2*h*). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts the Unrivalled bricks (*asapatnā*) in place. He places one 10.45
in the east, with *agne jātān pra ṇudā naḥ sapatnān* . . . (TS 4.3.12.1a); one in the west, with *sahasā jātān* . . . (b); one in the south, with *catuścatvāriṁśa stomaḥ* . . . (c); one in the north, with *ṣoḍaśa stomaḥ* . . . (d). He places the one of them which is accompanied by (a mantra containing the word) "mud" (*purīṣavatī*) in the middle, with *pṛthivyāḥ purīṣam asy apso nāma* (*e*).* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts the forty Sovereign (*virāj*) bricks in place, ten in each direction, none in the middle, with *evaś chando varivaś chandaḥ* . . . (f). (But) a Brāhmaṇa passage says, "He places them diagonally" (TS 5.3.5.3).* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

[116] See above, p. 557, n. 102.
[117] This mantra is not given in full in TS, but KS (20.14.35.5–6) and MS (4.10.2: 145.12–13) give the whole mantra in their Agnicayana sections.
[118] See above, p. 541, n. 77.
[119] See above, p. 543, n. 79.

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त्यथ स्तोमभागा उपदधाति रश्मिरसि चयाय त्वा चयं जिन्वेत्येकचिꣳशतꣳ सप्तसप्त दिक्षु तिस्रो मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ नाकसद उपदधाति राज्ञ्यसि प्राची दिग्वसवस्ते देवा अधिपतय इति पञ्चैकैकां दिक्षेकां मध्ये ।
५ तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ पञ्चचोडा उपरिष्टा-न्नाकसदामुपदधात्यघं पुरो हरिकेशः सूर्यरश्मिरिति पञ्चैकैकां दिक्षेकां मध्ये । तामां पश्चात्प्राचीमुत्तमामुपदधात्यथ यं यज-मानो द्वेष्टि तं मनसा ध्यायति । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ छन्दाꣳस्युपदधात्यग्निर्मूर्धा दिव इत्येतस्यानुवाकस्य
१० तिस्रस्तिस्रो यथाम्नातं । गायत्रीः पुरस्तादुपदधाति त्रिष्टुभो दक्षिणतो जगतीः पश्चादनुष्टुभ उत्तरतो बृहतीर्मध्य उष्णिहः पुरस्तादुपदधाति पङ्क्तीर्दक्षिणतो ऽक्षरपङ्क्तीः पश्चा-दतिच्छन्दसमुत्तरतो द्विपदा मध्ये । ऽपि वातिच्छन्दसं मध्ये द्विपदा उत्तरतस्तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ दक्षिणे
१५ ऽꣳसे कृत्तिका उपदधात्यम्बा नामासि दुला नामासीति सप्त गुल्मकृतास्तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ वृष्टिसनीरुप-दधाति पुरोवातसनिरस्यभ्रसनिरसीति पञ्चैकैकां दिक्षेकां मध्ये । ऽनुपरिहारꣳ सादयतीति ब्राह्मणं । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथादित्येष्टका उपदधाति सलिलाय त्वा
२० सर्णीकाय त्वेत्यष्टौ द्वेद्वे दिक्षु न मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ घृतेष्टका उपदधात्यृचे त्वा रुचे त्वेति पञ्चैकैकां दिक्षेकां मध्ये । ऽनुपरिहारꣳ सादयतीति ब्राह्मणं ।

120 The mantra TS 4.4.2.3f is added to each of the mantras TS 4.4.2.1a–e.
121 The nākasad and pañcacoḍā are half as thick as ordinary bricks (BŚS 30.7:399.14–400.1).
122 The mantra TS 4.4.3.2f is added to each of the mantras TS 4.4.3.1a–e.
123 The sequence of placing the five Protuberance bricks in the five directions, including the middle, is different from the usual clockwise way of brick placing, i.e., E-S-W-N-Middle. Here the order is E-S-N-Middle-W.
124 Seven mantras are condensed in TS 4.4.5.1b. The first is *ambā nāmāsi prajāpatinā tvā viśvabhir dhībhir upa dadhāmi*. In the following six mantras the word *ambā* is replaced by *dulā, nitatniḥ, abhrayantī, meghayantī, varṣayantī*, and *cupuṇīkā*, respectively.
125 Each of these bricks is carried clockwise around the Agni altar before it is placed in position.

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Then he puts the thirty-one Chant-Sharing bricks (*stomabhāgā*) in place, seven in each direction and three in the middle with *raśmir asi kṣayāya tvā kṣayaṃ jinva* . . . (TS 4.4.1.1a–e). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts the five Sitting in the Sky bricks (*nākasad*) in place, one in each direction and one in the middle, with *rājñy asi prācī dig vasavas te devā adhipatayaḥ* . . . (TS 4.4.2.1a–e).[120] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he places the five "five-tutted" (protuberance) bricks (*pañcacoḍā*) on top of the Nākasads,[121] one in each direction, one in the middle, with *ayaṃ puro harikeśaḥ sūryaraśmiḥ* . . . (TS 4.4.3.1a–e).[122] He places the last one of them in the west pointing east.[123] At this point he meditates on whomever the sacrificer hates. He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts the (twenty nine Meter (bricks) (*chandāṁsi*) in place, three by three, with the mantras of the section beginning *agnir mūrdhā divaḥ* . . . (TS 4.4.4) in the traditional order. He places (three) bricks in the east with mantras in the gāyatrī meter (TS 4.4.4.1a–c), (three) in the south with mantras in the tṛṣṭubh meter (d-f), (three) in the west with mantras in the jagatī metre (g-i), (three) in the north with mantras in the anuṣṭubh meter (k-m), (three) in the middle with mantras in the bṛhatī meter (n–p). He places (three) in the east with mantras in the uṣṇiḥ meter (q–s), (three) in the south with mantras in the paṅkti meter (t–v), four in the west with mantras in the akṣarapaṅkti meter (w–z), one in the north with a mantra in the aticchandas meter (aa–bb), (three) in the middle with mantras in the dvipadā meter (cc–ee). Or he places a brick in the middle with the mantra in the aticchandas meter and (three) bricks in the north with the mantras in the dvipadā meter.* He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he places seven Kṛttikā bricks† in a cluster on the southern shoulder with *ambā nāmāsi* . . . (TS 4.4.5.1b).[124] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts five Rain-Bringing bricks (*vṛṣṭisanī*) in place, one in each direction and one in the middle, with *purovātasanir asy abhrasanir asi* . . . (TS 4.4.6.1d). A Brāhmaṇa passage says, "He deposits them after carrying them around (the Agni altar)" (TS 5.3.10.1).[125] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts eight Āditya bricks (*ādityā*) in place, two in each direction, none in the middle, with *salilāya tvā, sarṇīkāya tvā* . . . (TS 4.4.6.2i). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts five "clarified butter bricks" (*ghṛteṣṭakā*) in place, one in each direction and one in the middle with *ṛce tvā, ruce tvā* . . . (TS 4.4.6. 2k).* A Brāhmaṇa passage says, "He deposits them after carrying them around (the Agni altar)" (TS 5.3.10.4).

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तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ यशोदा उपदधाति यशोदां त्वा यशसि सादयामीति पञ्चैकैकां दिच्छेकां मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ भूयस्कृत उपदधाति भूयस्कृदसि वरिवस्कृदसीति पञ्चैकैकां दिच्छेकां मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथाषुषद उपदधात्यषुषदसि श्येनसदसीति पञ्चैकैकां दिच्छेकां मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ द्रविणोदा उपदधाति पृथिव्यास्त्वा द्रविणे सादयामीति पञ्चैकैकां दिच्छेकां मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथायुष्या उपदधाति प्राणं मे पाह्यपानं मे पाहीति सप्तैकैकां दिचु तिस्रो मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथर्तुनामान्युपदधाति यावा अयावा इति सप्तैकैकां दिचु तिस्रो मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोति । ॥ ४५ ॥ चतुर्दशः ॥

अथेन्द्रतनूरुपदधात्यग्निना विश्वाषाडिति द्वाविंशतिं पञ्चपञ्च दिचु द्वे मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ यज्ञतनूरुपदधाति प्रजापतिर्मनसान्वो ऽच्छेत इति चतस्त्रिंशतमष्टावष्टौ दिच्छेकां मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ ज्योतिष्मतीरुपदधाति ज्योतिष्मतीं त्वा सादयामीति द्वादश तिस्रस्तिस्रो दिचु न मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथ भूतेष्टका उपदधाति पृथिव्यै स्वाहान्तरिक्षाय स्वाहेति द्वादश तिस्रस्तिस्रो दिचु न मध्ये । तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथाज्यानीरुपदधाति शतायुधाय शत-

mantras the phrase *yasodāṃ tvā yaśasi* is replaced by *tejodāṃ tvā tejasi, payodāṃ tvā payasi, varcodāṃ tvā varcasi,* and *draviṇodāṃ tva draviṇe,* respectively.

[127] This is the first mantra. Otherwise Weber's punctuation is correct.

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He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts five Glory-Giving bricks (*yaśodā*) in place, one in each direction, one in the middle, with *yaśodāṃ tvā yaśasi sādayāmi* . . . (TS 4.4.6.2.1).[126] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts five Augmenting bricks (*bhūyaskṛt*) in place, one in each direction and one in the middle, with *bhūyaskṛd asi, varivaskṛd asi* . . . (TS 4.4.7.1a). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts five Sitting-in-water bricks (*apsuṣad*) in place, one in each direction and one in the middle, with *apsuṣad asi, śyenasad asi* . . . (b). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts five Wealth-Giving bricks (*draviṇodā*) in place, one in each direction and three in the middle, with *pṛthivyās tvā draviṇe sādayāmi* . . . (c). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts seven Life Giver bricks (*āyuṣyā*) in place, one in each direction and three in the middle, with *prāṇaṃ me pāhi, apānaṃ me pāhi* . . . (d–e). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts seven Names of the Seasons bricks (*ṛtunāma*) in place, one in each direction, three in the middle, with *yāvā ayāvāḥ* . . . (f). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras over (each of them).

Then he puts twenty two Indra's Body bricks (*indratanū*) in place, five 10.46
in each direction and two in the middle, with *agninā viśvāṣāṭ* . . . (TS 4.4.8.1). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts thirty-three Ritual's Body bricks (*yajñatanū*) in place, eight in each direction and one in the middle, with *prajāpatir manasāndho 'cchetaḥ*[127] . . . (TS 4.4.9.1). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts twelve Luminous bricks (*jyotiṣmatī*) in place, three in each direction, none in the middle, with *jyotiṣmatīṃ tvā sādayāmi* . . . (TS 1.4.34.1a; cf. TS 5.4.1.3). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).*

Then he puts twelve Being bricks (*bhūteṣṭakā*) in place, three in each direction, none in the middle, with *pṛthivyai svāhā, 'ntarikṣāya svāha* . . . (TS 1.8.13.3i). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts five Uninjured bricks (*ajyāni*) in place, one in each direction and one in the middle, with *śatāyudhāya śatavīryāya* . . . (TS 5.7.2.

[126] Five mantras are condensed in TS 4.4.6.2.1. The first is *yaśodāṃ tvā yaśasi sādayāmi tena ṛṣiṇa tena brahmaṇā tayā devatayatāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda.* In the following four

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वीर्यायेति पञ्चैकैकां दिक्षेकां मध्ये। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूद-
दोहसः करोत्यथ राष्ट्रभृत उपदधात्यग्ने यज्ञस्त्रिन्यज्ञसेममम-
र्पयेति चतस्र एकैकां दिक्षु न मध्ये। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूद-
दोहसः करोत्यथ दक्षिणे ऽंसे पौर्णमासीमुपदधाति पूर्णा
५ पश्चादिति। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथ दक्षिण
एवांसे नक्षत्रेष्टका उपदधाति कृत्तिका नक्षत्रमग्निर्देवतेत्यथैना
रोचयत्यग्ने रुच स्य प्रजापतेर्धातुः सोमस्यर्चं त्वा रुचे त्वा द्युते
त्वा भासे त्वा ज्योतिषे त्वेत्यथैतं नक्षत्रपथं रोहिणीप्रभृत्या
विशाखाभ्यामायातयति। दक्षिणादंसाद्दक्षिणां श्रोणिमभ्या-
१० यातयत्यथ पुष्यसन्धौ चात्मसन्धौ चामावास्यामुपदधाति यत्ते
देवा अदधुर्भागधेयमित्यथैतं नक्षत्रपथमनूराधाप्रभृत्यापभर-
णीभ्य आयातयत्युत्तरायै श्रोणेरुत्तरमंसमभ्यायातयत्यथोत्तर
एवांसे पौर्णमासीमुपदधाति पूर्णा पश्चादित्यंसं स्पृष्टा उप-
दधातीति ब्राह्मणं। नक्षत्रेष्टकाभिश्चितिराप्यते। तथादेवतं
१५ कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथावद्रुत्य कृष्णमश्वमभिमृश्य तनु-
पुरीषमुपदधाति पृष्टो दिवीति। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं
करोत्यथ षष्ठीं चितिं चिनुते संयच्च प्रचेताश्चेति पञ्चैकैकां
दिक्षेकां मध्ये। तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथाग्निं

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3d–h).
He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he puts four Holders of the Realm bricks (*rāṣṭrabhṛt*) in place, one in each direction and none in the middle, with *agne yaśasvin yaśase-mam arpaya* . . . (TS 5.7.4.3e). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he places a Full-Moon brick (*paurṇamāsī*) on the southern shoulder* with *pūrṇā paścāt* . . . (TS 4.4.10.3c[1], the pratīka of TS 3.5.1.1a). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it). Then he puts the (twenty-seven) Lunar Mansion bricks (*nakṣatreṣṭakā*) in place, (the first) on the same southern shoulder, with *kṛttikā nakṣatram agnir devatā* (TS 4.4.10.1a[1]) (the rest with the corresponding mantras of b). Then he makes them shine (by reciting) *agne ruca stha* . . . (a[2]) (after putting each brick in place).* He arranges a course of Lunar Mansion bricks from the Rohiṇī brick to the Viśākhās brick. He arranges them in a line from the southern shoulder to the southern hip. Then he places a New-Moon brick (*amāvāsyā*) on the junction of the tail and the body, with *yat te devā adadhur bhāgadheyam* . . . (TS 4.4.10.3c[2], pratīka of TS 3.5.1.1b). Then he arranges the (other) course of Lunar Mansion bricks from the Anurādhās brick to the Apabharaṇis brick. He arranges them in a line from the northern hip to the northern shoulder. Then he places a full moon brick on the same northern shoulder with *pūrṇā paścad* . . . (TS 4.4.10.3c[1]; pratīka of TS 3.5.1.1a). A Brāhmaṇa passage says, "He places them so that they do not touch each other" (TS 5.4.1.4). The layer is completed with the Lunar Mansion bricks.[128] He recites the Tayādevata and Sudadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he dismounts (from the altar), touches the black horse, and spreads (a thin layer of) soil (over the fifth layer), with *pṛṣṭo divi* . . . (TS 1.5.11.1d: cf. TB 3.11.6.4). He recites the Tayādevata and Sudadohas mantras (over it). At this point he piles the five bricks called the Sixth Layer (*ṣaṣṭhī citi*), one in each direction and one in the middle, with *saṃyac ca pracetaś ca* . . . (TS 4.4.11.2h–m, with n added to each mantra).† He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

[128] I.e., the bricks particular to the fifth layer have been put in place. The rest are common to all five layers.

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सर्वतोमुखं चिनुते ऽग्नेरङ्गानि प्राजापत्यामृषभं लोकंपृणाः ।
प्राच्याच लोकंपृणया प्रसौत्यग्निं प्राचीभिः संप्रच्छादयन्त्ययो-
दीचीभिः । प्राचीभिस्त्वेव निम्लिष्ठन्ति । यावद्दघ्नं चेष्यमाणो
भवति तावद्दघ्नं चिनुते । ऽथानभिमृष्टं चितिक्लृप्ता भवति ।
तदेतास्वतस्रः स्वयमातृण्णा याचति । ता दिक्षूपदधाति प्राणाय ५
त्वा चक्षुषे त्वा तया देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीद व्यानाय त्वा
चक्षुषे त्वा तया देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीदापानाय त्वा चक्षुषे
त्वा तया देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीद वाचे त्वा चक्षुषे त्वा तया
देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीदेत्यथ स्वयमातृण्णामश्वमवघ्राप्याविदुषा
ब्राह्मणेन सहाधिद्रुत्योपदधाति सुवरायोस्त्वा सदने सादया-
मीत्यनुद्रुत्य सूर्यस्त्वाभिपातु मह्या स्वस्त्या छर्दिषा शंतमेन तया
देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्ध्रुवा सीदेत्यपान्यात्तृतीयामुपधायेत्यपानित्य-
थैष ब्राह्मणो वरं ददात्यथ स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वा स्वयमा-
तृण्णावकाशे जुहोति चित्तिं जुहोमि मनसा घृतेनेत्यङ्गुष्ठाभ्या-
मन्वारभ्यान्वारोहं वाचयति दिवमाक्रमिषꣳ सुवरगन्मेत्यपरे
बिले हिरण्मेष्टकामुपदधाति सुवरसि सुवर्मे यच्छ दिवं यच्छ
दिवो मा पाहीति । तां जघनेन प्रक्रमवेलायां मण्डलेष्टका-
मुपदधाति द्यौरपराजितामृतेन विष्टेति । दक्षिणतो रेतः-
सिचमुपदधाति द्यौ रेतःसिक् सा मे रेतो दधातु सा मे

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Then he piles the Agni altar so that it faces in all directions.* (Then he places the bricks called) Agni's Limbs, a Prājāpatya brick, a Bull brick, and the Space Fillers.[129] At this time he commands (the officiating priests and the yajamāna) (to cover the Agni-altar) with the eastward space filler. They completely cover the Agni altar) with bricks from west to east, then with bricks from south to north. But they only finish (by covering the Agni altar) with bricks from west to east. He piles it as high as he is going to pile it.*[130] But (the layer) has not been touched with the mantra called the Accomplishment of the Layer.

Then (the adhvaryu) asks for four naturally perforated stones. He places them in (each of) the directions with *prāṇāya tvā cakṣuṣe tvā tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda* . . . (TS 5.5.5.4.)[131] Then he has (the horse) sniff a naturally perforated stone, mounts (the altar) with an ignorant brahmin and puts it in place (i.e., in the middle) with the word *suvar*, then he runs through *āyos tvā sadane sādayāmi* . . . (TS 4.4.3.3g) up to . . . *sūryas tvābhi pātu mahyā svastyā chardiṣā saṃtamena tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda* (h). (There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says,) "He should breathe in after he puts the third (naturally perforated stone) in place" (TS 5.5.5.3). He breathes in. Then the brahmin gives a gift (to the adhvaryu). Then (the adhvaryu) takes four spoonsful of clarified butter into the ladle and makes an oblation into the holes in the naturally perforated stone, with *cittiṃ juhomi manasā ghṛtena* . . . (TS 5.5.4.3). Then he has (the yajamāna) touch (the naturally perforated stone) with his thumbs and recite the Ascent mantra: *divam akramiṣaṁ suvar aganma* (TS 5.6.8.1*a*[3]). He places a "golden brick" (i.e., a piece of gold) on the western hole of the naturally perforated stone with *suvar asi* . . . (TS 5.7.6.1*c*[3]). A prakrama behind it he places a Circle brick with *dyaur aparājitāmṛtena viṣṭā* . . . (TS 4.4.5.2e). He places a Seed-Discharging brick to the south with *dyau retaḥsik sā me reto dadhātu*

[129] For details see above pp. 549–51.
[130] These sūtras suggest that further layers may be piled up beyond the fifth, but that final layer must be an odd numbered one.
[131] Four mantras are condensed in TS 5.5.5.4. The first is given in the translation. In the other three the word *prāṇāya* is replaced by *vyānāya, apānāya*, and *vāce*, respectively.

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रेतः प्रजनयत्विति ' तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसः करोत्यथोत्त-
रतः प्रक्रमवेलायां विकर्णीमुपदधाति प्रोथदश्वो न यवसे
अविष्यन्निति ' तथादेवतं कृत्वा सूददोहसं करोत्यथ लोकंपृणा
उपदधाति लोकं पृण छिद्रं पृणेत्यथ चितिकृष्याभिमृशति
५ चित्तिमचित्तिं चिनवदि विद्वानित्याग्नेय्या पङ्क्त्यैतां चिति-
मभिमृश्य द्वाभ्यामवद्रवति वाङ्म आसन्प्राणदा इत्यथापराजि-
कीभ्यां प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्येतावदेवैतदहः कर्म क्रियते ' वस-
न्त्येताः रात्रीम् ' ॥ ४६ ॥ पञ्चदशः ॥

अथैतस्मिन्नेव नवमे ऽह्नि दशमायाह्न उपकल्पयते सहस्रः
१० हिरण्यशल्कानूर्ध्वं चिभ्यो ऽपरिमितानित्येक आहुस्ते यदि
सहस्रं भवन्ति द्वे द्वे शते पत्तनाडीभ्योते भवतो ' ऽथ दशमे
ऽह्न्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरति ' समानं पुरीष-
स्योपधानमथ पात्र्यामप आनीय हिरण्यशल्कान्संप्रकीर्य द्वाभ्यां-
द्वाभ्याः शताभ्यां प्रोक्षति सहस्रस्य प्रमा असीति यत्प्राक्
१५ स्वयमातृण्णायै भवति सहस्रस्य प्रतिमा असीति यद्दक्षिणा
स्वयमातृण्णायै भवति सहस्रस्य विमा असीति यत्प्रत्यक् स्वय-
मातृण्णायै भवति सहस्रस्योन्मा असीति यदुदक् स्वयमातृण्णायै
भवत्यथ मध्यं द्वाभ्याः शताभ्यां प्रोक्षति साहस्रो ऽसि सहस्राय
त्वेत्यथोत्तरे ओण्यन्ते तिष्ठन्निष्टका धेनूः कुरुत इमा मे अग्न

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sā me retaḥ prajanayatu.[132] He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over each of them).

Then he places an "earless"/"wide-eared" brick (*vikarṇī*, on which the picture of a woman with wide/without ears is drawn) a prakrama to the north with *prothad aśvo na yavase aviṣyan* . . . (TS 4.4.3.3i). He recites the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras (over it).

Then he puts the space filler bricks in place with *lokaṃ pṛṇa chidram pṛṇa* . . . (TS 4.2.4.4n).[133] Then he touches (the now completed fifth layer) with the mantra called the Accomplishment of the Layer: *cittim acittiṃ cinavad vi vidvān* . . . (TS 5.5.4.4). He touches the layer with a mantra in the paṅkti meter for Agni (TS 4.4.4.6t?) and dismounts from the altar with two mantras: *vāṅ ma āsan* . . . (TS 5.5.9.2g) and *prāṇadāḥ* . . . (TS 4.6.1.4q). Then he performs the afternoon Pravargya and Upasad. Just this much ritual work is done on this day. They pass the night.

Then, on the very same ninth day, he prepares a thousand chips of gold 10.47
for the tenth day. Some authorities say that (he prepares) an unspecified number but more than three.* If there are a thousand, then they are put, two hundred by two hundred, into quills.

Then, on the tenth day, after the sun has risen, he performs the (morning) Pravargya and Upasad. The spreading of (a thin layer of) soil (over the fifth layer) is the same.[134] Then he pours water into a dish, scatters chips of gold into it and sprinkles the area east of the naturally perforated stone with (water containing) two hundred (chips), with *sahasrasya pramā asi* . . . (TS 4.4.11.3*o*). (He sprinkles) the area south of the naturally perforated stone with (water containing) two hundred (chips) with *sahasrasya pratimā asi* (o^2). (He sprinkles) the area west of the naturally perforated stone with (water containing) two hundred (chips) with *sahasrasya vimā asi* (o^3). (He sprinkles) the area north of the naturally perforated stone with (water containing) two hundred (chips), with *sahasrasyonmā asi* (o^4). Then he sprinkles the middle (of the altar) with (water containing) two hundred (chips), with *sāhasro 'si sahasrāya tvā* (o^5). Then, standing at the edge of the northern buttock, (the sacrificer) turns the bricks into cows, with *imā me agna*

[132] This mantra is found only here; cf. TS 5.6.8.4–6f.
[133] The reader may have noticed that well over three hundred bricks have been placed in the fifth layer. The Śulbasūtra reconciles this with the fact that there are supposed to be only two hundred bricks in each layer of the Agni altar by prescribing that if there are more mantras than bricks then "one should place pebbles anointed with clarified butter in the cracks between the bricks" (BŚS 30.6: 399.7–8).
[134] See above pp. 551–53.

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इष्टका धेनवः सन्त्वित्यान्तादनुवाकस्याथापराह्णिकीभ्यां प्रवर्ग्यापसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्येतावदेवैतदहः कर्म क्रियते । वसन्त्येताः रात्रिमथैतस्मिन्नेव दशमे ऽह्न्येकादशायाह्न उपकल्पयते ऽर्कपर्णमजचीरं गावीधुकं चरुं तिसृधन्वमश्मानमुदकुम्भं मण्डूकमवकां वेतसशाखां दर्भस्तम्बमाज्यस्थालीः सस्रुवां दीर्घवंशं द्वादशमित्यथैकादशे ऽह्न्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्यापसद्भ्यां प्रचरति । स दीर्घवंशे स्रुवं प्रगृह्योत्तमे संचिताञ्जुहोत्यग्ने वन्य तत्त्वा यामीति ॥ ४७ ॥

यावदेवाचार्ध्वर्युस्त्रेष्टति तावदेष प्रतिप्रस्थातोत्तरस्य पक्षस्य चरमयेष्टकया प्रत्यूढपुरीषयोपरमत्यथैतस्यार्कपर्णस्य पुटमन्तरवस्राविणं कृत्वोदङ् तिष्ठन्मुखदघ्ने धारयन्नाहाहरानयेति । स यत्र धारेष्टकां प्राप्नोति तत्प्रतिपद्यते नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यव इत्यान्तमेतमनुवाकं निगद्य द्वितीयं तृतीयं । चतुर्थस्य यत्राभिजानाति नमः पृत्तृभ्य इति तत्स्वाहाकरोति । सो ऽत एव प्राङावृत्य नाभिदघ्ने धारयन्संग्रहीतृभ्य इति प्रतिपद्यातिग्रिष्टमनुवाकस्य निगद्य पञ्चमं षष्ठं । सप्तमस्य यत्राभिजानाति नमो वर्ष्याय चेति तत्स्वाहाकरोति । सो ऽत एव दक्षिणावृत्य जानुदघ्ने धारयन्नवर्ष्याय चेति प्रतिपद्यातिग्रिष्टमनुवाकस्य निगद्याष्टमं नवमं दशममेकादशस्य यत्राभिजानाति य एतावन्तश्च भूयांसश्चेति तत्स्वाहाकरोति । सो ऽत एव प्रत्यङ्ङा-

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iṣṭakā dhenavaḥ santu . . . up to the end of the section (p).† Then (the adhvaryu) performs the afternoon Pravargya and Upasad. Just this much ritual work is done on this day. They pass the night.

Then, on the very same tenth day, he prepares, for the eleventh day, an arka leaf, goat's milk, a porridge of gavīdhuka groats, a bow with three (arrows), a stone, a water pot, a frog, an avakā plant, a twig of cane, a bunch of darbha grass, a dish of clarified butter and the sruva ladle, and a long piece of bamboo as the twelfth.

Then, on the eleventh day, after the sun has risen, he performs the morning Pravargya and Upasad. He ties the sruva ladle onto the long piece of bamboo and makes the last two saṃcita offerings (on the fifth layer), with *agne vanya* . . . (TS 5.5.9.1e)[135] and *tat tvā yāmi* . . . (TS 2.1.11.6w; 10.48
cf. TS 5.7.6e). While the adhvaryu is busy here, the pratiprasthātā waits by the last brick (placed) on the northern wing (i.e., the brick placed on its north west corner), from which the loose earth has been removed.* Then the adhvaryu makes a crease in the arka leaf through which (the oblation) can flow, and facing north and holding (the arka leaf) at mouth level says, "Bring and pour." When the stream (of goat's milk) reaches the brick he begins to recite *namas te rudra manyave* . . . (TS 4.5.1.1a). He recites this section up to the end, and the second and the third sections. When he notices the mantra *namaḥ kṣattribhyaḥ* . . . (TS 4.5.4.2*l*[1]) of the fourth (section) he says *svāhā* (after it). After this he turns to the east, and, holding (the arka leaf) navel-high, begins to recite *saṃgrahītṛbhyaḥ* . . . (1[2]). He recites the rest of this section and the fifth and the sixth. When he notices the mantra *namo varṣyāya ca* (TS 4.5.7.2*m*[1]) of the seventh (section) he says *svāhā* (after it). After this he turns to the south and, holding (the arka leaf) knee-high, begins to recite *avarṣyāya ca* (*m*[2]). He recites the rest of the section, the eighth, ninth, and tenth. When he notices the mantra *ya etāvantaś ca bhūyāṁsaś ca* . . . (TS 4.5.11.2k) of the eleventh section, then he says *svāhā* (after it). After this he turns to the west and holding (the arka leaf)

[135] See above p. 557 n. 102.

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[१०।४८।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम्। ४९

इत्य गुल्फदघ्ने धारयन्नमो रुद्रेभ्यो ये पृथिव्यामित्येतद्यजमानं वाचयति। नाभिदघ्ने धारयन्नमो रुद्रेभ्यो ये ऽन्तरिक्ष इत्येतद्यजमानं वाचयति। ग्रीवदघ्ने धारयन्नमो रुद्रेभ्यो ये दिवीत्येतद्यजमानं वाचयत्यथैतदर्कपर्णं यं द्वेष्टि तस्य संचरे पशूनां न्यस्यति। यद्यु वै न द्वेष्याखवटे न्यस्यत्यथैतं गावीधुकं चरुं चरमायामिष्टकायां निदधाति यो रुद्रो अग्नौ यो अप्सु य ओषधीषु यो रुद्रो विश्वा भुवनाविवेश तस्मै रुद्राय नमो अस्त्वित्यथैतत्तिसृधन्वं याचति। तेनोत्तरे श्रोण्यन्ते तिष्ठन्नुपतिष्ठते। ऽपि वानुपरिक्रामं यन्ते रुद्र पुरो धनुस्तद्वातो अनुवातु ते तस्मै ते रुद्र संवत्सरेण नमस्करोमि यन्ते रुद्र दक्षिणा धनुर्यन्ते रुद्र पश्चाद्धनुर्यन्ते रुद्रोत्तराद्धनुर्यन्ते रुद्रोपरि धनुरित्यथैनद्याचितं ब्राह्मणाय ददात्यथास्यैष उदकुम्भ उत्तरे श्रोण्यन्ते ऽश्मना सꣳस्पृष्टः शेते। स यो बह्वाꣳस्तमाहानेनोदकुम्भेन संततया धारया त्रिः प्रदक्षिणं परिषिञ्चन्परीहीति। स तथा करोति। परिषिच्यमाने यजमानं वाचयत्यश्मन्नूर्जं पर्वते शिश्रियाणां वाते पर्जन्ये वरुणस्य शुष्मे। अद्भ्य ओषधीभ्यो वनस्पतिभ्यो ऽधि संभृतां तां न इषमूर्जं धत्त मरुतः सꣳरराणा इत्यथैतं कुम्भमश्मना सꣳस्पृष्टꣳ सादयत्यश्मꣳस्ते चुदसुं ते शुगृच्छतु यं द्विष्म इति। निधाय कुम्भं

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ankle-high has the yajamāna recite *namo rudrebhyo ye pṛthivyām* . . . (TS 4.5.11.2l).[136] Holding (the arka leaf) navel-high he has the yajamāna recite *namo rudrebhyo ye 'ntarikṣe* . . . (m).[137] Holding (the arka leaf) neck-high he has the yajamāna recite *namo rudrebhyo ye divi* . . . (n).[138] At this point he throws this arka leaf on the cattle path of him whom he hates. But if he does not hate anyone, he throws it into a mole hole. At this point he places the porridge made of gavīdhuka groats on the last brick (of the northern wing) with *yo rudro agnau* . . . (TS 5.5.9.3*i*). Then he asks for the bow with three (arrows). Standing at the northern hip, or proceeding around (the Agni altar) with it, he worships with *yat te rudra puro dhanuḥ* . . . *namaskaromi* . . . (TS 5.5.7.2–4). Then he gives it (scil., the bow and arrows) to a brahmin without being asked.*

Now the water pot is lying ready for him, touching the stone, at the edge of the northern hip. (The adhvaryu) tells a strong man, "Go around (the Agni altar) clockwise three times, sprinkling with a continuous stream from this water pot." He does as he is told. While (the Agni altar) is having water sprinkled around it, (the adhvaryu) has the yajamāna recite *aśmann ūrjam* . . . (TS 4.6.1.1*a*). Then (the strong man) sets the water pot down so that it is touching the stone, with *aśmaṁs te kṣud* . . . (b).* After he has set the pot down, he goes back around (the altar) counterclockwise three times again.

[136] The three mantras TS 4.5.11.21, m and n are condensed in the text; 1 is *namo rudrebhyo ye pṛthivyāṃ yeṣām annam iṣavaḥ* . . . *dadhāmi.*
[137] This mantra is *namo rudrebhyo ye 'ntarikse yeṣāṃ vāta iṣavaḥ* . . . *dadhāmi.*
[138] This mantra is *namo rudrebhyo ye divi yeṣaṃ varṣam iṣavaḥ* . . . *dadhāmi.*

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

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५० बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम्। [१०।४८, ४९।]

यथेतं चिः पुनः प्रतिपर्येत्यथैतस्मिन्नेव दीर्घवꣳशे प्रगृह्णाति मण्डूकमवकां वेतसशाखां दर्भस्तम्बमिति। तेन यत्प्राक् स्वयमाहवनीये भवति तद्विकर्षति समुद्रस्य त्वावकया हिमस्य त्वा जरायुणेति ॥ ४८ ॥

द्वाभ्यां पुरस्ताद्द्वाभ्यां दक्षिणतो द्वाभ्यां पश्चाद्द्वाभ्यामुत्तरतो। ५
ऽष्टाभिर्विकर्षतीति ब्राह्मणमथैतास्वेव कार्ष्णाजिनीरुपानह एतं च[१] दीर्घवꣳशꣳ संछिद्य चालाले संप्रकिरन्त्यथ शान्तो ऽग्निरित्याज्यस्थालीꣳ सस्रुवामादायाधिद्रुत्याज्यस्थाल्याः स्रुवेणोपघातꣳ सर्पाञ्जुहोतीर्जुहोति। समीची नामासि प्राची दिगिति पश्चादासीनः पूर्वे बिले जुहोत्योजस्विनी नामासि दक्षिणा १०
दिगित्युत्तरत आसीनो दक्षिणे बिले जुहोति। प्राची नामासि प्रतीची दिगिति पुरस्तादासीनो ऽपरे बिले जुहोत्यवस्थावा नामास्युदीची दिगिति दक्षिणत आसीन उत्तरे बिले जुहोत्यथैतेनैव यथेतमेत्य यत्रैव प्रथममहौषीत्तद्वे जुहोत्यधिपत्नी नामासि वह्निनी नामासीत्यथावद्रुत्याग्निꣳ साम- १५
भिरुपस्थापयति। गायत्रेण पुरस्तादुपतिष्ठते ऽग्नेर्हृदयेन दक्षिणमुपपक्षꣳ रथंतरेण दक्षिणं पक्षं वारवन्तीयेन दक्षिणाꣳ श्रोणिमृतुस्थायज्ञायज्ञियेन पुच्छꣳ श्यैतेनोत्तराꣳ श्रोणिं

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Then (the adhvaryu) ties the frog, the avakā plant, the twig of cane, and the bunch of darbha grass to the very same long piece of bamboo. With it he sweeps the area east of the naturally perforated stone, with two mantras: *samudrasya tvāvakayā* . . . (TS 4.6.1.1c) and *himasya tvā jarāyuṇā* . . . 10.49
(d). (He sweeps) with two mantras (c–d) in the east, with two in the south (e–f), with two in the west (g–h), and with two in the north (i–k). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says. "He sweeps with eight (mantras)" (TS 5.4.4.3).* Then they cut the sandals of black antelope skin and the long piece of bamboo into pieces and scatter them in the cātvāla pit.

Then thinking, "Agni has been pacified," (the adhvaryu) takes the dish of clarified butter and the sruva ladle, mounts the altar, and ladling out of the dish with the sruva, offers the oblations to snakes (*sarpāhuti*). (First) sitting to the west (of the naturally perforated stone) he makes an oblation on the eastern hole, with *samīcī nāmāsi prāci dik* . . . (TS 5.5.10.1a[1]). Sitting to the north, he makes an oblation on the southern hole, with *ojasvinī nāmāsi dakṣiṇā dik* . . . (a[2]). Sitting to the east, he makes an oblation on the western hole, with *prācī nāmāsi pratīcī dik* . . . (a[3]). Sitting to the south, he makes an oblation on the northern hole, with *avasthāvā nāmāsy udīcī dik* . . . (a[4]). Then he goes back around by the same route, and makes two oblations on the same spot where he made the first oblation, with *adhipatnī nāmāsi* . . . (a[5]) and *vaśinī nāmāsi* . . . (a[6]).[139]

Then he dismounts from the altar and has (the yajamāna) worship the Agni altar with samāns. (The yajamāna) worships with the Gāyatra (sāman) in the east, (he worships) the juncture of the southern wing and the body with the Heart of Agni (sāman) (*agner hṛdaya*), the southern wing with the Rathaṃtara (sāman), the southern hip with the Vāravantīya (sāman), the tail with the Ṛtusthāyajñāyajñiya (sāman), the northern hip with the Śyaita,

[139] Six mantras are condensed in TS 5.5.10.1a. The phrase *rakṣitā yaś ca . . .jambhe dadhāmi* of a[1] and a[6] is part of a[2]–a[5] as well.

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[१० । ४९, ५० ।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम् । ६१

हृहतोत्तरं पत्नं प्रजापतेर्हृदयेनोत्तरमुपपत्नं वामदेव्येन मध्यम-
थाह होतरग्नेरुक्थेनाग्निमनुशꣳसेति यदि होता न कामयते
यजमान एव जघनेन पुच्छं तृणानि सꣳस्तीर्य तेषूपविश्याग्ने-
रुक्थेनाग्निमनुशꣳसति पिता मातरिश्वाच्छिद्रा पदा धा
५ अच्छिद्रा उग्निजः पदानुतचुः सोमो विश्वविन्नेता नेषद्बृहस्पति-
रुक्थामदानि शꣳसिषदोमिति सकृदा चिर्वायेनꣳ स्तुतशस्त्रयो-
र्दोहं वाचयतीष्टो यज्ञो भृगुभिराशीर्दा वसुभिस्तस्य त
इष्टस्य वीतस्य द्रविणेह भक्षीयेत्यथापराह्णिकीभ्यां प्रवर्ग्योप-
सद्भ्यां प्रचरत्येतावदेवैतदहः कर्म क्रियते वसन्त्येताꣳ
१० राचिम् ॥ ४९ ॥ षोडशः ॥

अथैतस्मिन्नेवैकादशे ऽह्नि द्वादशायाङ्क उपकल्पयत औदु-
म्बरꣳ स्रुवमौदुम्बरं द्रोणमौदुम्बरं प्रसेकमौदुम्बरीं वितष्टिं
तस्यां पञ्चगृहीतमाज्यं भवति दध्नः पूर्णामौदुम्बरीं तिस्र
औदुम्बरीः समिधस्तिस्रो नानावृक्ष्या नानावृक्ष्यमिश्रं दधि
१५ मधुमिश्रं गुमुष्टिमवकाभारं पृश्निमश्मानमाज्यप्रोक्षं द्वितीयꣳ
होतारमप्रतिरथस्यानुवक्तारं विलीनोत्पूतस्याज्यस्य द्वौ वा
चीम्वा कुम्भान्वाह्मौदनिकान्व्रीहीञ्सर्वौषधꣳ रोहितं चर्मानडुहं
कृष्णायै श्वेतवत्सायै पयो रथं चषालहोमीयꣳ शाकलान्परिधी-
नित्यथ द्वादशे ऽह्न्युदित आदित्ये प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरत्यथोप-
१० निष्क्रम्य संप्रैषमाह सुब्रह्मण्य सुब्रह्मण्यामाङ्गयार्धस्तनव्रतं प्रय-

[143] See below, p. 595.
[144] According to the commentaries, it has a round rim and no point.
[145] This is the upavasatha day of the Soma sacrifice; see C-H, nos. 72–73; ŚK.II.ES, p. 243.

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the northern wing with the Bṛhat (sāman), the juncture of the northern wing and the body with the Heart of Prājapati (sāman) (*prajāpater hṛdaya*), and the center with the Vāmadevya (sāman).[140]

Then (the adhvaryu) says, "Hotā, praise Agni with the Uktha of Agni (*agner uktha*). If the hotā does not desire the fruits of the rite for himself,[141] the yajamāna himself scatters blades of dry grass behind the tail, sits down on them, and praises Agni once or thrice with the Uktha of Agni: *pitā mātariśvā* . . . (TS 5.6.8.6*h*). Then (the adhvaryu) has him (scil., the yajamāna) recite the milking (*doha*) of the chant and the recitation (which have just been performed): *iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhiḥ* . . . (*g*).†[142]

Then he performs the afternoon Pravargya and Upasad. Just this much ritual work is done on this day. They pass the night.

Then, on the very same eleventh day he prepares the following materials for the twelfth day: an offering spoon of udumbara wood, a bucket of udumbara wood, a ladle of udumbara wood for sprinkling (*praseka*)[143], a vitaṣṭi ladle[144] of udumbara wood with five spoonsful of clarified butter in it, (a ladle) of udumbara wood full of curds, three kindling sticks of udumbara wood, three of various woods (scil., udumbara, vikaṅkata, and śamī), a faggot of various woods, curds mixed with honey, a handful (of darbha grass), a bunch of avakā plants, a spotted stone, clarified butter for sprinkling, the "second hotā" (i.e., the maitrāvaruṇa) as the reciter of the Apratiratha hymn, two or three pots of melted and purified clarified butter, grains of rice for the rice porridge (cooked) for brahmins (*brahmaudana*), a mixture of all kinds of grains, the hide of a red bull, the milk of a black cow that has a white calf, a chariot for the caśāla oblation, and chips of wood for enclosing the fire. 10.50

Then, on the twelfth day, after the sun has risen, he performs the (morning) Pravargya and Upasad.[145] Then he steps out (of the Old Hall) and gives the following order: "Subrahmaṇya, recite the Subrahmaṇya chant. Give the sacrificer the vrata milk consisting of half of the milk from one teat."

[140] Cf. Parpola, *Lāṭyāyana & Drāhyayāna*, pp. 85–89. See Volume I, pages 538–540, and this volume, pages 709–710.

[141] I. e., if the Agnicayana is not part of a sattra.

[142] The following prescriptions are included in the Pravargya section: "He stands and worships the completed Agni altar with the sāmans. And then, after it has been praised with the uktha, he touches it with the section beginning *agnir asi vaiśvānaro 'si* . . (TA 4.19.1), while standing at the edge of the northern hip. At this point (the yajamāna) gives the adhvaryu the dakṣiṇā of the Agnicayana proper consisting of a hundred (cows) or a thousand or as many as there are bricks" (BŚS 9.17:292.6–9).

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च्छतेत्याह्वयति सुब्रह्मण्यः सुब्रह्मण्यामर्धस्तनव्रतं प्रयच्छत्यथादत्ते पञ्चगृहीतमाज्यं दधि मधुमिश्रं गुगुष्टिमवकाभारमित्येत-त्समादायाधिद्रुत्याज्ञया पञ्चगृहीतेन स्वयमाहुतीर्व्याघार-यति नृषदे वडग्नुषदे वड्वनसदे वड् बर्हिषदे वट् सुवर्विदे वडित्येतयैव स्रुचोपघातं दध्ना मधुमिश्रेण गन्धर्वाहुतीर्जुहोति । हेतयो नाम स्थ तेषां वः पुरो गृहा इति पश्चा-दासीनः पूर्वे बिले जुहोति । निलिम्पा नाम स्थ तेषां वो दक्षिणा गृहा इत्युत्तरत आसीनो दक्षिणे बिले जुहोति । वक्षिणो नाम स्थ तेषां वः पश्चाद्गृहा इति पुरस्तादासीनो ऽपरे बिले जुहोत्यवस्थावानो नाम स्थ तेषां व उत्तराद्गृहा इति दक्षिणत आसीन उत्तरे बिले जुहोत्यथैतेनैव यथेत-मेत्य यत्रैव प्रथममहौषीत्तद्वे जुहोत्यधिपतयो नाम स्थ क्रव्या नाम स्थेत्यथाह प्रतिप्रस्थातरिममग्निं कूर्मपृष्ठं कुर्विति । तꣳ स कूर्मपृष्ठं करोति । नाप्रोक्षितमधितिष्ठत्यथ गुगुष्टिमादाय दध्ना मधुमिश्रेणावोक्षति ये देवा देवानां ये देवा देवेष्वधि देवत्वमायन्निति ॥ ५० ॥

द्वाभ्यां पुरस्तात्ताभ्यां दक्षिणतस्ताभ्यां पश्चात्ताभ्यामुत्तरतो ऽनुपरिषारमवोक्षतीति ब्राह्मणमथैनमवकाभारेण प्रतिच्छाद्य गोप्तारꣳ समादिश्यावद्रुत्यापराजिताभ्यां प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर-त्यथोपनिष्क्रम्य संप्रेषमाह सुब्रह्मण्य सुब्रह्मण्यामाह्वयाग्नीद्रैश्वा-

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The subrahmaṇya priest recites the Subrahmaṇyā chant. (They) give (the sacrificer) the vrata milk consisting of half of the milk from one teat.[146]

Then (the adhvaryu) takes the five spoonsful of clarified butter (in the vitaṣṭi ladle), the curds mixed with honey, the handful (of darbha grass), and the bunch of avakā plants. Having collected these he mounts (the altar) and pours the five spoonsful of clarified butter diagonally over the naturally perforated stone, with *nṛṣade vaṭ* . . . (TS 4.6.1.3n).* Ladling out the curds mixed with honey with the same (vitaṣṭi) ladle, he offers oblations to the Gandharvas (*gandharvāhuti*). Sitting to the west (of the naturally perforated stone), he makes an oblation on the eastern hole, with *hetayo nāma stha* . . . (TS 5.5.10.3c[1]). Sitting to the north, he makes an oblation on the southern hole, with *nilimpā nāma stha* . . . (c[2]). Sitting to the east, he makes an oblation on the western hole, with *vajriṇo nāma stha* . . . (c[3]). Sitting to the south, he makes an oblation on the northern hole, with *avasthāvāno nāma stha* . . . (c[4]). Then he goes (back around) the same way he had come and makes two oblations on the same spot where he first made an oblation, with *adhipatayo nāma stha* . . . (c[5]), and *kravyā namā stha* . . . (c[6]).[147]

Then he says, "Pratiprasthātā, make this Agni altar speckled like a tortoise." He (scil., the pratiprasthātā) makes it speckled like a tortoise. He does not step on it where it has not yet been sprinkled. Then he takes the handful of darbha grass and sprinkles (the altar) in the east with the curds mixed with honey, with two mantras: *ye devā devānāṃ* . . . (TS 4.6.1.4o) and *ye devā deveṣu adhi devatvam* . . . (p); (he does the same) in the south with the same two (mantras), in the west with the same two, and in the north with the same two. There is a Brāhmaṇa passage which says, "He sprinkles (the Agni altar) as he proceeds around it in order" (TS 5.4.5.3). Then he covers it with the bunch of avakā plants, appoints a guard (for it), dismounts from (the altar), and performs the afternoon Pravargya and Upasad. 10.51

Then he steps out (of the Old Hall) and gives the following order, "Subrahmaṇya, recite the Subrahmaṇya chant; agnīdh, pour out (the oblation materials for) (Agni) Vaiśvānara and the Maruts; pratiprasthātā,

[146] C-H, no. 74; SK. II. ES, p. 243.
[147] Six mantras are condensed in TS 5.5.10.3c. The phrase *vātanāmaṃ tebhyo yo namaḥ dadhāmi* is common to all of them.

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[१०।५१।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम्। ५१

नरमारुताभिर्वप प्रतिप्रस्थातः प्रवर्ग्यस्यावृता प्रवर्ग्यꣳ सꣳस्वा-
दयोदासनायेति ' नेधैतत्पदं कुर्वन्ति ' गार्हपत्ये तृतीयमुपय-
मनीषु तृतीयं नि तृतीयं दधत्यथ प्रवर्ग्यस्यावृता प्रवर्ग्यमुद्वा-
स्याधिश्रयति वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं मारुताꣳस्त्र सप्तकपालानथ
५ गार्हपत्य आज्यं विलाप्योत्पूय स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वाहव-
नीये ऽलीकवन्तं जुहोत्यग्निस्त्विग्मेन शोचिषेत्यनुद्रुत्य सेनानीकेन
सुविदाचो अस्मे इति जुहोत्यपरं चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वाहवनीय
एव वैश्वकर्मणानि जुहोति ' य इमा विश्वा भुवनानि जुह्वदि-
त्यनुद्रुत्य विश्वकर्मा ह्यजनिष्ट देव इति जुहोत्यपरं चतुर्गृहीतं
१० गृहीत्वा चक्षुषः पितेत्यनुद्रुत्य विश्वकर्मन्हविषा वर्धनेनेति
जुहोति ' नानैव स्रुग्भ्यां जुहोति नानैव स्रुग्भ्योर्वीर्यं दधा-
तीति ब्राह्मणमथ तिस्र औदुम्बरीः समिध आदधात्युदेन-
मुत्तरां नयेत्रेमं प्रतरां ह्यधि यस्य कुर्मो हविर्गृह इत्यथाभ्या-
दधातीध्मं प्रणयनीयमुपोपयमनीः कल्पयन्ति चात्वाला-
१५ दथ संप्रैषमाहाग्नये प्रणीयमानायानुब्रूह्यग्नीदेकल्प्यायानुसंधेहि
द्वितीयो होताप्रतिरथमनुब्रवीत्विति ' प्रतिपद्यत एष द्वितीयो
होताप्रतिरथमाहुः शिशान इति ' दशर्चं भवतीति ब्राह्मण-
मथैतेनैव सहाग्निमाददते पृश्निमश्मानमाज्यप्रोक्षं दध्नः पूर्णा-
मौदुम्बरीं तिस्रो नानावृक्ष्या नानावृक्ष्यमिध्मꣳ शाकलाग्परि-
२० धीनित्यथैनमुद्यच्छत उदु त्वा विश्वे देवा इति ' षड्भिरतीतिं

150 Van Buitenen, pp. 124–134; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 245–252.
151 For this and the following sūtras on the agnipraṇayana, see C-H, no. 79; ŚK.II.ES, p. 266; Schwab, nos. 23–26; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 788–790.
152 This sand is put in a pan for carrying the fire.

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put the Pravargya (implements) down together for disposal according to the Pravargya procedure."[148] They divide (the earth from) the footprint (of the Soma cow) into three parts. (The adhvaryu) puts one third onto the hearth of the domestic fire, one third onto the supporting sand (for carrying forth the fire), and puts one third away (for anointing the havirdhāna cart).[149] Then, after he has disposed of the Pravargya (implements) according to the Pravargya procedure,[150] he puts (the cake to be cooked on) twelve potsherds for (Agni) Vaiśvānara and the (seven cakes to be cooked on) seven potsherds for the Maruts on the fire.*

Then he melts clarified butter on the (old) domestic fire, purifies it, takes four spoonsful of it into the ladle, and offers the anīkavat oblation (to Agni) in the (old) offering fire.* He runs through the mantra *agnis tigmena śociṣā* . . . (TS 4.6.1.5r), then makes the oblation with *sainā 'nīkena suvidātro asme* . . . (s). He takes four more spoonsful of clarified butter and offers the oblations to Viśvakarman in the same offering fire. He runs through (the seven mantras starting) *ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvat* . . . (TS 4.6.2.1a–g), then makes the oblation with *viśvakarmā hy ajaniṣṭa devaḥ* . . . (h). He takes another four spoonsful of clarified butter, runs through (the seven mantras starting) *cakṣuṣaḥ pitā* . . . (i–p), then makes the oblation, with *viśvakarman haviṣā vardhanena* . . . (q). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage that says, "He makes oblations separately with the two hymns (i.e., TS 4.6.2.1a–3h and 4i–6q), he puts the strength of the two hymns (into the yajamāna) separately" (TS 5.4.5.5.).

Then he puts the three kindling sticks of udumbara wood (onto the offering fire) with *ud enam uttarāṃ naya* . . . (TS 4.6.3.1a), *ud enam uttarāṃ kridhi* . . . (b), and *yasya kurmo havir gṛhe* . . . (c). Then he puts the faggot to be carried forward (to the Agni altar) (onto the offering fire).[151] They arrange the supporting sand from the cātvāla pit.[152] Then he gives the command (to the hotā): "Recite the verses for the fire being brought forward. Agnīdh, join (the footsteps of the hotā) together with a single (line) drawn by the wooden sword. Let the second hotā recite the Apratiratha hymn. The second hotā begins to recite the Apratiratha hymn: *āśuḥ śiśānaḥ* . . . (TS 4.6.4.1a–k). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage that says, "It has ten verses" (TS 5.4.6.4). Then, together with this fire (i.e., the faggot lit on the old offering fire) he takes the spotted stone, the clarified butter for sprinkling, (the ladle) of udumbara wood full of curds, the three kindling sticks of various kinds of wood, the fuel of various kinds of wood, and the chips of wood for enclosing the fire. Then he lifts up this one (scil., the burning faggot), with *ud u tvā viśve devāḥ* . . . (TS 4.6.3.1d–2i). There is

[148] C-H, no. 77; ŚK.II.ES, p. 243.
[149] C-H, no. 31, p. 40; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 128, 245.

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ब्राह्मणं ' तासां द्वे परिगृह्यवती भवतो ' ऽथ विषुवत्याग्नीध्रस्य काले पृश्निमश्मानं निदधाति विमान एष दिव उच्चा समुद्र इति द्वाभ्यामथ चतसृभिरा पुष्कादेतीन्द्रं विश्वा अवीवृधन्निति ' धारयन्त्येतमग्निमथैनꣳ संचितमाज्यप्रोक्षेण प्रोक्षति ॥ ५१ ॥ ५

वसवस्त्वा रुद्रैः पुरस्तात्पान्त्विति पुरस्तात्पितरस्त्वा यमराजानः पितृभिर्दक्षिणतः पान्त्विति दक्षिणत आदित्यास्त्वा विश्वैर्देवैः पश्चात्पान्त्विति पश्चाद्युतानस्त्वा मारुतो मरुद्भिरुत्तरतः पान्त्वित्युत्तरतो देवास्त्वेन्द्रज्येष्ठा वरुणराजानो ऽधस्त्वोपरिष्टाच्च पान्त्वित्युपरिष्टादथैतेनैव सहाग्निनाधिद्रवति १० प्राचीमनु प्रदिशं प्रेहि विद्वान्क्रमध्वमग्निना नाकमुख्यं पृथिव्या अहमुदन्तरिक्षमारुहꣳ सुवर्यन्तो नापेक्षन्त ऽग्ने प्रेहि प्रथमो देवयतामिति पञ्चभिर्धारयन्त्येतमग्निमथ दर्भः पूर्णामौदुम्बरीꣳ स्रुवमाज्यस्थायां जुहोति ' नक्तोषासेति पुरोऽनुवाक्यामनूच्याग्ने सहस्वाचेति जुहोत्यथ प्रदक्षिणमावृत्येमं प्रतिष्ठापयति सुपर्णो १५ ऽसि गरुत्मानिति ' तिसृभिः सादयतीति ब्राह्मणमथैनं विस्रस्याऽऽहुतिषाहं कृत्वाध्वराऽऽहुतिभिरभिजुहोत्यग्निर्यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्नेनं यज्ञहनो विदन्देवेभ्यः प्रब्रूताद्यज्ञं प्र प्र यज्ञपतिं तिर स्वाहा वायुर्यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्सूर्यो यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्यज्ञो यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्नेनं यज्ञहनो विदन्देवेभ्यः प्रब्रूता- २० द्यज्ञं प्र प्र यज्ञपतिं तिर स्वाहेत्यथावद्रुत्याग्निवत्युत्तरं परिग्राहं परिगृह्य योयुपित्वा तिर्यञ्चꣳ स्फ्यꣳ स्रुक्त्वा संप्रेषमाह

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a Brāhmaṇa passage that says "He takes (the fire) with six (verses)" (TS 5.4.6.3). Two of those contain the word *parigṛhya* (i.e., T.S. 4.6.3.2f–g; cf. TS 5.4.6.3). Then he places the spotted stone in the center of the āgnīdhra's place (i.e., the āgnīdhra's shed) with two mantras: *vimāna eṣa divaḥ . . .* (TS 4.6.3.3k) and *ukṣā samudraḥ . . .* (l). Then he (holds the burning faggot and) goes up to the tail (of the Agni altar) with four mantras: *indraṃ viśvā avīvṛdhan . . .* (m–p). They hold this fire (there). Then he sprinkles the piled up (Agni altar) with clarified butter for sprinkling, with *vasavas tvā rudraiḥ purastāt pāntu . . .* (TS 5.5.9.4 l^1) in the east, with *pitaras tvā yamarājānaḥ pitṛbhiḥ . . .* (l^2) in the south, with *ādityās tvā viśvair devaiḥ . . .* (l^3) in the west, with *dyutānas tvā māruto marudbhiḥ . . .* (l^4) in the north, and with *devās tvendrajyeṣṭhāḥ . . .* (l^5) on top (i.e., on the naturally perforated stone).* Then he mounts the altar with this fire (i.e., the burning faggot), with five mantras: *prācīm anu pradiṣaṃ prehi vidvān . . .* (TS 4.6.5.1a), *kramadhvam agninā nākam ukhyaṁ . . .* (b), *pṛthivyā aham ud antarikṣam āruham . . .* (c), *suvar yanto nāpe kṣante . . .* (d), *agne prehi prathamo devayatām . . .* (e). They place this fire (on the Agni altar). Then (the adhvaryu) offers the udumbara (ladle) full of curds on the naturally perforated stone. He recites *naktoṣasā . . .* (f) as an invitatory verse (*puro'nuvākyā*), and makes the oblation, with *agne sahasrākṣa . . .* (g). Then he turns around clockwise, and deposits the (burning) faggot (on the center of the Agni altar), with *suparṇo 'si garutmān . . .* (h^1-i). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage that says, "He deposits (the fire) with three mantras" (TS 5.4.7.3).* Then he loosens (the faggot into separate sticks), makes the fire strong enough to receive oblations, and offers the adhvara oblations (into it), with *agnir yajñaṃ nayatu prajānan mainaṃ yajñahano vidan, devebhyaḥ prabrūtād yajñam prapra yajñapatiṃ tira svāhā; vāyur yajñaṃ nayatu prajānan . . . ; sūryo yajñaṃ nayatu prajānan . . . ; yajño yajñaṃ nayatu prajānan . . .*[153] 10.52

Then he dismounts (from the altar) and, now that it has a fire, performs the second tracing out (of the mahāvedi) and makes it level. He fixes the wooden sword crosswise (on the mahāvedi) and commands (to the āgnīdhra):

[153] These mantras are not found in the saṃhitā but are used in the agnipraṇayana of the animal sacrifice; see Schwab, no. 26, p. 37; ŚK.I.ES, p. 790.

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प्रोक्षणीरासादयेत्यासर्हिरुपसादयेत्यथाधिद्रुत्य आकलान्परि-
धीन्परिधाय नानावृक्ष्यमिश्रमभ्यज्य स्वाहाकारेणाभ्याधाय
तिस्रो नानावृक्ष्याः समिध आदधाति प्रेद्धो अग्ने दीदिहि
पुरो न इत्यौदुम्बरीं विधेम ते परमे जन्मन्नग्न इति वैकङ्कतीं
५ ताᳬ सवितुर्वरेण्यस्य चित्रामिति शमीमयीमथ द्वे सुवाङ्कृती
जुहोति चित्तिं जुहोम्यग्ने तमद्येत्यथ स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं गृही-
त्वाज्यस्य पूर्णाᳬ स्रुचं जुहोति सप्त ते अग्ने समिधः सप्त जिह्वा
इत्यथ जुहन्मनसा दिशो ध्यायेद्दिग्भ्य एवैनमवरुन्द्धे दध्ना
पुरस्ताज्जुहोत्यांघ्रेनोपरिष्टात्तेजसैवास्मा इन्द्रियं च समीची
१० दधातीति ब्राह्मणमथाचैव तिष्ठन्याचति वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं
मारुताᳬ सप्तकपालानथोपस्तीर्य सर्वत्र एव वैश्वानरमवदध-
दाहाग्नये वैश्वानराय त्वा जुष्टं प्रोक्षामीति द्विरभिघारयत्यत्याक्रम्याश्रा-
व्याहाग्निं वैश्वानरं यजेति वषट्कृते मध्ये जुहोत्यथैनᳬ
सुवाङ्कृतिभिरभिजुहोति सुवर्न घर्मः स्वाहेति पञ्चभिरथ
१५ मारुतैः प्रचरति ॥ ५२ ॥

पर्युपस्तारं दर्विहोमाकारमीदृङ् चान्यादृङ् चत्यनुद्रुत्य
शुक्रज्योतिश्च चित्रज्योतिश्चेति जुहोति शुक्रज्योतिश्च चित्र-
ज्योतिश्चेत्यनुद्रुत्य ऋतजिच्च सत्यजिच्चेति जुहोत्यृतजिच्च सत्य-
जिच्चेत्यनुद्रुत्यर्तश्च सत्यश्चेति जुहोत्यृतश्च सत्यश्चेत्यनुद्रुत्य यो

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"Set the water for sprinkling down (on the mahāvedi). Set the kindling sticks and sacrificial grass beside it."[154] Then (the adhvaryu) mounts the altar, places the chips of wood around (the fire) to serve as enclosing sticks,* smears the faggot of different kinds of wood (with clarified butter), and adds it (to the fire) with the exclamation *svāhā*. He puts the three kindling sticks of different kinds of wood (into the fire): that of udumbara wood with *preddho agne dīdihi puro naḥ* . . . (TS 4.6.5.4k), that of vikaṅkata with *vidhema te parame janmann agne* . . . (l), that of śamī with *tāṁ savitur vareṇyasya citrām* . . . (m). Then he offers two oblations of clarified butter with the sruva ladle (*sruvāhutī*), with *cittiṃ juhomi* . . . (TS 5.5.4.3) and *agne tam adya* . . . (TS 4.4.4.7w; cf. TS 5.7.4.1a–b).* Then he takes four spoonsful of clarified butter into the ladle and offers the ladleful of clarified butter, with *sapta te agne samidhaḥ sapta jihvāḥ* . . . (TS 4.6.5.5n).* At this point, while offering, he should think mentally about the quarters. There is a Brāhmaṇa passage that says, "Thus he obtains him (scil., Agni) from the quarters. He offers curds first, clarified butter afterward. Thus he gives him (scil., the yajamāna) the combined powers of fiery energy (*tejas*) and virile power (*indriya*)" (TS 5.4.7.6).*

Then, standing on the same spot, he asks (the āgnīdhra) for (the cake cooked on) twelve potsherds for (Agni) Vaiśvānara and the (seven cakes cooked on) seven potsherds for the Maruts. Then he spreads (a spoonful of clarified butter in the ladle) and, while he places the entire (cake) for (Agni) Vaiśvānara (in the ladle), says (to the hotā, "Address Agni Vaiśvānara." He pours (clarified butter over the oblations in the ladle) twice. He steps (to the south of the fire), says *Oṃ śrāvaya*, (to the āgnīdhra, who responds *astu śrauṣat*,) and says (to the hotā), "Say the yājyā for Agni Vaiśvānara." When (the hotā) exclaims *vaṣaṭ*, (the adhvaryu) offers the oblation in the center (of the fire).[155] Then he makes (five) oblations of clarified butter with the sruva ladle on it (scil., the offered cake) with five mantras: *suvar na gharmaḥ svāhā* . . . (TS 5.7.5.2b).

Then he offers (the cakes) to the Maruts as darvihomas[156] accompanied by spreading (a spoonful of clarified butter in the ladle). He runs through *īdṛṅ cānyādṛṅ ca* . . . (TS 4.6.5.5o) and makes the first oblation with *śukrajyotiś ca citrajyotiś ca* . . . (p). He runs through *śukrajyotiś ca citrajyotiś ca* . . . (p) and makes the (second) oblation with *ṛtajic ca satyajic ca* . . . (q). He runs through *ṛtajic ca satyajic ca* . . . (q) and makes the (third) oblation with *ṛtaś ca satyaś ca* . . . (r). He runs through *ṛtaś ca satyaś ca* 10.53

[154] ŚK.I.ES, p. 790; Hillebrandt, pp. 55f; ŚK.I.ES, p. 294.
[155] For the procedure of offering, cf. Hillebrandt, pp. 107–110; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 362f.; Volume I, page 47.
[156] ŚK.I.ES, p. 959.

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ऽरण्ये ऽनुवाक्यो गणस्तमनुद्रुत्य जुहोति । यो ऽरण्ये ऽनुवाक्यो गणस्तमनुद्रुत्येदृचास एतादृचास इति जुहोतीदृचास एतादृचास इत्यनुद्रुत्य मितासश्च संमितासश्च न इति जुहोति । मितासश्च संमितासश्च न इत्यनुद्रुत्येदृङ् चान्यादृङ् चेति जुहोति । तानभितो वैश्वानरं परिचिनोति । गणेन गण- ५
मनुद्रुत्य जुहोत्युच्चैर्वैश्वानरस्याश्रावयत्युपाꣳशु मारुताञ्जुहो-
तीति ब्राह्मणम् ॥ ५३ ॥

अथैतं प्रसेकमग्नावायातयति दक्षिणतो वोदञ्चं पश्चादा प्राञ्चं । तस्य स्रुगिव पूर्वार्धो भवत्येवमेव मध्यं । चमस इव बुध्न- स्तस्मिꣳश्चतुर उपस्तृणान आहाप्रमत्तः संततमानय वसोर्धारां १०
निगदिष्यामीति । स यत्र धाराग्निं प्राप्नोति तत्प्रतिपद्यते ऽग्नाविष्णू सजोषसेति सर्वामान्तं वसोर्धारामेतं प्रसेकमग्ना-
वनुप्रहरत्यथैनꣳ सꣳस्रावेणाभिजुहोत्यथ यदाज्यमुच्छिष्यते तस्मिन्ब्रह्मौदनं पचति । तं ब्राह्मणाश्चत्वारः प्राश्नन्ति । तेभ्य- श्चतस्रो धेनूर्दद्यादिति ब्राह्मणमथास्यैतत्पुरस्तादेवौदुम्बरे द्रोणे १५
सर्वौषधं दध्नाज्येन समुदायुतं भवति । तस्यौदुम्बरेण स्रुवेणोप-
घातं वाजप्रसवीयं जुहोति वाजस्येमं प्रसवः सुषुवे अग्ने वाजो नः सप्त प्रदिश इति चतुर्दश स्रुवाहुतीरभिषेकाय प्रसेकं परिश्रिनक्त्यथैनमपिधाय प्रज्ञातं निदधात्यथ नक्षोषासेति

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. . . (r), then runs through the group of mantras that is to be studied in the wilderness (*araṇya*) (i.e., TA 4.25) and makes the (fourth) oblation. He runs through the group of mantras that is to be studied in the wilderness, and makes the (fifth) oblation with *īdṛkṣāsa etādṛkṣāsa* . . . (TS 4.6.5.6s). He runs through *īdṛkṣāsa etādṛkṣāsa* . . . (s) and makes the (sixth) oblation with *mitāsaś ca saṁmitāsaś ca naḥ* . . . (t). He runs through *mitāsaś ca saṁmitāsaś ca naḥ* . . . (t) and makes the (seventh) oblation with *īdṛṅ cānyadṛṅ ca* . . . (o). (While offering the cakes) he piles them around the offering to (Agni) Vaiśvānara (in the fire). There is a Brāhmaṇa passage that says, "He runs through one group (of mantras) and makes the offering with another group (of mantras)" (TS 5.4.7.7), (and another that says,) "He says *o śrāvaya* out loud for the offering to (Agni) Vaiśvānara. He makes the offerings to the Maruts in a whisper" (ibid).

Then he extends the praseka ladle over the fire from south to north or 10.54
from west to east.* The front part of it is like an offering ladle, as is the middle part of it. The base is like a Soma goblet. Spreading four spoonsful of clarified butter in it* he says, "Carefully pour (clarified butter) continuously. I am going to recite the Flow of Wealth (*vasordhārā*)." When the stream reaches the fire he begins *agnāviṣṇū sajoṣasā*. (He recites) the whole Flow of Wealth up to the end (i.e., TS 4.7.1–11). At this point he throws the praseka ladle into the fire.* Then he offers an oblation on it with the remains (of the two or three pots of clarified butter used for the Stream of Wealth). He cooks a pot of rice porridge for brahmins (*brahmaudana*) in the leftover clarified butter.* Four brahmins eat it.*[157] There is a Brāhmaṇa passage that says, "He (i.e., the yajamāna) should give them four cows" (TS 5.7.3.4).

Now the mixture of all kinds of grains with curds and clarified butter has been mixed beforehand in the udumbara bucket. Spooning it out with an udumbara sruva, he (scil., the adhvaryu) makes fourteen sruva oblations as the vājaprasavīya oblation, with *vājasyemaṃ prasavaḥ suṣuve agne* . . . (TS 1.7.10.1a–g) and *vājo naḥ sapta pradiśaḥ* . . . (TS 4.7.12.1a–2g). He saves the remainder (of the mixture) for the unction of the yajamāna. Then he covers this (scil., the bucket containing the remainder) and puts it away some place where he will be able to find it later. Then he offers the milk of

[157] There are various opinions about the identity of these four brahmans; see ŚK.I. ES, p. 16.

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कृष्णायै श्वेतवत्सायै पयो जुहोत्यथ षड्राष्ट्रभृतो जुहोत्यृतापा-
ङृतधामेति । भुवनस्य पत इति रथमुखे पञ्चाहुतीर्जुहोत्यथ
तिस्रो रुचो जुहोति यास्ते अग्ने सूर्ये रुचो या वो देवाः सूर्ये
रुचो रुचं नो धेहि ब्राह्मणेष्वित्यथ पाञ्चामाज्यमानीयाञ्जलि-
५ नोपघातं वातनामानि जुहोति समुद्रो ऽसि नभस्वानार्द्रदानुः
शंभूर्मयोभूरभि मा वाहि स्वाहा मारुतो ऽसि मरुतां
गणः शंभूर्मयोभूरभि मा वाहि स्वाहावस्युरसि दुवस्वाञ्छं-
भूर्मयोभूरभि मा वाहि स्वाहेति । वातमु हैके जुह्वतो
मन्यन्ते । ऽचैताञ्छाकलान्परिधीनग्नावनुप्रहरति । तदेत-
१० च्छाकलान्तम् । ॥ ५४ ॥ सप्तदशः ॥

अथ सदोहविर्धाने संमिनोति । सदोहविर्धाने संमित्या-
ध्वरधिष्ण्याग्निवपति । तेषूपर्यग्निधिष्ण्यानुपदधाति समाग्ने
वर्चो विहवेष्वस्त्वित्याग्नीध्रीय एकां च याजुषीꣳ सप्त च
लोकंपृणा । अथ होतुर्धिष्ण्य एकां चैव याजुषीमेकादश च
१५ लोकंपृणा । अथेतरेष्वेकैकां चैव याजुषीꣳ सप्तसप्त च लोकंपृणा ।
अथ माजालीय एकां च याजुषीं पञ्च च लोकंपृणा । अथा-
ग्नीषोमौ प्रणयत्यग्नीषोमौ प्रणीय यूपस्यावृता यूपमुच्छ्रयति ।
स्वर्वन्तं यूपमुत्सृज्याग्नीषोमीयं पशुमुपाकरोति । तस्य प्रसिद्धं
वपया चरित्वा वपाश्रपणी अनुप्रहृत्य वसतीवरीर्गृह्णात्यथ

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a black cow that has a white calf, with *naktoṣāsā* . . . (h).

Then he offers six Holding of the Realm (*rāṣṭrabhṛt*) oblations (of clarified butter), which *ṛtāṣāḍ ṛtadhāmā* . . . (TS 3.4.7.1a–f). He makes five oblations on the front of the chariot, with *bhuvanasya pate* . . . (g–i). Then he makes three Light oblations (*ruc*), with *yās te agne sūrye rucaḥ* . . . (TS 5.7.6.3 d[1]), *yā vo devāḥ sūrye rucaḥ* . . . (d[2]) and *rucaṃ no dhehi brāhmaṇeṣu* . . . (d[3]). Then he pours clarified butter into a small dish and offers the Wind's Names oblations (*vātānāmāni*) by ladling it out with his cupped hands, with *samudro 'si nabhasvān* . . . (TS 4.7.12.3*i*[1–3]).* Some (ritual authorities) think of the wind while they are offering (these oblations). At this point he puts the chips of wood that have been used as enclosing sticks into the fire.* This is the procedure ending with (the throwing into the fire of) the chips of wood.

Then he measures out (and constructs) the sadas and havirdhāna sheds. After he has constructed the sadas and havirdhāna, he pours down (earth 10.55
and sand to make) the hearths of the officiating priests used in the Soma sacrifice (*adhvaradhiṣṇiya*).[158] On top of these he places the hearths for the Agnicayana. On the āgnīdhra's hearth (he places) one yajus brick, with *mamāgne varco vihaveṣv astu* . . . (TS 4.7.14.1a) and seven Space Fillers.[159] Then (he places) one yajus brick (with b) and eleven Space Fillers on the hearth of the hotā. Then (he places) one yajus brick and seven Space Fillers on each of the other hearths.[160] Then (he places) one yajus brick (with h) and five Space Fillers on the hearth for cleansing the implements (*mārjalīya*).*

Then he brings forth Agni and Soma.[161] After bringing forth Agni and Soma he erects the sacrificial stake in accordance with the procedure for the sacrificial stake. (The yajamāna) leaves the stake after the chip of wood (*svaru*) has been fixed to it. (The adhvaryu) dedicates the animal (i.e., a goat) to be offered to Agni and Soma.[162] He offers the omentum in the established manner, throws the two spits on which the omentum was cooked (*vapāśrapaṇī*) into the fire,[163] and fetches the vasatīvarī water.[164] Then he pours out

[158] C-H, nos. 81–99; ŚK. II. ES, pp. 280–285.
[159] See above, p. 521, n. 45.
[160] I.e., those of the maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchamsin, potā, neṣṭā, and acchāvāka. The respective bricks are placed with c–g respectively.
[161] C-H, no. 106; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 312–316.
[162] C-H, no. 106f; ŚK.II.ES, p. 333; Schwab, nos. 41–45f.; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 788–794, 804.
[163] C-H, no. 106f.; ŚK.II.ES, p. 333; Schwab, nos. 83–84; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 817–820.
[164] C-H, no. 108; ŚK.II.ES, p. 342.

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पशुपुरोडाशं निर्वपति । तमनुवर्तन्ते ऽष्टौ देवसुवाꣳ हवीꣳ-
ष्यग्नये गृहपतय इत्येतानि । तानि नानावघ्नन्ति । नाना
श्रपयन्ति । नानाधान्यानि भवन्ति । प्रैषवान्पशुपुरोडाशो
ऽनुब्रूहि यजेतीतरेषाꣳ हविषाꣳ । स यत्र वारुणस्यावद्यन्नाह
वरुणाय धर्मपतये ऽनुब्रूहीति तदुपभृति स्विष्टकृते सर्वेषाꣳ ५
सकृत्सकृदुत्तरार्धादवद्यति । द्विरभिघारयति । न प्रत्यनक्त्य-
त्याक्रम्याश्राव्याह वरुणं धर्मपतिं यजेति । वषट्कृते जुहोत्यथ वै
भवतीष्टो वरुणो भवत्यनिष्टः स्विष्टकृदथास्य ब्रह्मा हस्तं गृह्णा-
तीति । स यत्रेष्टो वरुणो भवत्यनिष्टः स्विष्टकृदथास्य ब्रह्मा
हस्तं गृह्णाति ॥ ५५ ॥ १०

सविता त्वा प्रसवानाꣳ सुवतामग्निर्गृहपतीनाꣳ सोमो
वनस्पतीनाꣳ रुद्रः पशूनां बृहस्पतिर्वाचामिन्द्रो ज्येष्ठानां मित्रः
सत्यानां वरुणो धर्मपतीनामित्येतदेव सर्वं भवति ये देवा
देवसुव स्थ त इममामुष्यायणमनमिचाय सुवध्वं महते
क्षत्राय महत आधिपत्याय महते जानराज्यायेत्यथैनं यज- १५
मानायतने तिष्ठन्तं प्राहैष वो ऽमी राजेति येषाꣳ श्रेष्ठी
भवति । सोमो ऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजेतीतरे प्रत्याहुरथ
भूर्भुवः सुवरिति वाचं विसृजते । द्वाभ्यां मुखं विमृष्टे प्रति

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the (material for) the cake offering of the animal sacrifice (*paśupuroḍāśa*).[165]

The eight oblations to the Divine Instigators (*devasuvāṁ havīṁṣi*) follow this. These are the ones (prescribed in the section beginning) *agnaye gṛhapataye* . . . (TS 1.8.10.1a).[166] They (scil., the materials for the oblations to the Divine Instigators) are husked separately and cooked separately. They are of different kinds of grain.* † (The offering of) the cake of the animal sacrifice is accompanied by a command (of the maitrāvaruṇa to the hotā), (but) the offerings of the other oblations are accompanied (only) by the commands of the adhvaryu: *yaja* and *anubrūhi*.[167] When he is cutting off the portion to be offered from the oblation for Varuṇa and says, "Address Varuṇa Dharmapati," he cuts off portions for the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt from the northern part of each of the oblations, and puts them into the upabhṛt ladle. He pours clarified butter over them twice. He does not smear (the places from which the portions have been cut off with clarified butter). He steps (to the south of the offering fire),* says *o śrāvaya* (*āśrāvya*) (to the āgnīdhra, who responds *astu śrauṣat*), and says (to the hotā), "Recite the offering verse for Varuṇa Dharmapati." When (the hotā) exclaims *vaṣaṭ*!" the adhvaryu offers the oblation. There is a Brāhmaṇa passage that says, "The offering has been made to Varuṇa and the offering has not yet been made to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt. Then the brahman takes his (i.e., the yajamāna's) hand" (TB 1.7.4.2). When the offering has been made to Varuṇa, (and) the offering has not yet been made to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt, then the brahman takes his hand, with *savitā tvā prasavānāṁ suvatām* . . . ; this whole mantra ends *ye devā devasuvaḥ* . . . (TS 1.8.10.1*b–c*).* Then (the adhvaryu) pro- 10.56
claims him, who is standing in the place of the yajamāna, *eṣa vo 'mī rājā* ("O so-and-so, this is your king") (cf. TS 1.8.10.2d[1]). Thus (the yajamāna) becomes the best of those (who have been addressed). The others reply *somo 'smākaṃ brāhmaṇānāṃ rājā* (Soma is the king of us brahmins") (*d*[2]). Then the yajamāna (who has restrained it since his hand was taken by the brahman) releases his speech with *bhūr bhuvaḥ suvaḥ*. He wipes his face, with two mantras: *prati tyan nāma rāiyam adhāyi* . . . (e) and *sarve vrātā varuṇasyābhūvan* . . . (f). He strides the gāyatrī Viṣṇu strides, with *viṣṇoḥ kramo 'si* . . .

[165] C-H, no. 106g (p. 120); ŚK.II.ES, p. 345; Schwab, nos. 87, 88, 93; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 831–833.
[166] Cf. Heesterman, pp. 69f.
[167] For the procedure of offering, cf. Schwab, nos. 87, 88, 93; ŚK.I.ES, p. 832; Hillebrandt, pp. 107–110; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 362f.; Volume I, pages 47–49.

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[१० । ५६, ५७ ।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम् । ५९

त्यग्नाम राज्यमधायि सर्वे भ्राता वरुणस्याभूवन्निति । गायत्रा-
न्विष्णुक्रमाञ्क्रमते विष्णोः क्रमो ऽसि विष्णोः क्रान्तमसि
विष्णोर्विक्रान्तमसीत्यथ स्विष्टकृता चरति । न रौद्रस्येडान-
वद्यत्यपामेनमभ्यवहरन्ति गम्भिष्ठमिडाभ्ताः पुरोडाशाः संति-
५ ष्ठन्ते । पत्नीसंयाजान्तः पशुर्हृदयशूलान्त इत्येके । अथ वसतीवरीः
परिहृत्य पयाꣳसि विग्रिष्योपवसन्ति ॥ ५६ ॥ अष्टादशः ॥

अथातो महाराच एव बुध्यन्ते । समानं कर्मा सुचाꣳ
सादनात्सादयित्वा सुचो ऽग्निं योगेन युनक्त्यग्निं युनज्मीमौ ते
पचौ चिदसि समुद्रयोनिरिति तिसृभिरथ राजानमुपावहृत्य
१० प्रातरनुवाकमुपाकरोति । परिहिते प्रातरनुवाके ऽपो ऽच्छैत्य-
द्भिरदैति । यः क्रतुस्तमुपैति । प्रसिद्धो ऽभिषवः । प्रसिद्धं
ग्रहा गृह्णन्ते । समानं कर्माग्निमाद्गृहादाग्निमं ग्रहं गृहीत्वैका-
दश रशना आदाय यूपमभ्येति । स्वर्वन्तं यूपमुत्सृज्यैकादश्ग्नि-
नान्पशूनुपाकरोत्याग्नेयं कृष्णग्रीवꣳ सारस्वतीं मेषीं बभ्रुꣳ सौम्यं
१५ पौष्णꣳ श्यामꣳ ग्रितिपृष्ठं बार्हस्पत्यꣳ ग्रिष्पं वैश्वदेवमैन्द्रमरुणं
मारुतं कल्माषमैन्द्राग्नꣳ सꣳहितमधोरामꣳ सावित्रं वारुणं पेत्व-
मिति । तेषां प्रसिद्धं वपाभिस्वरित्वा प्रसर्पन्ति प्रातःसवनाय ।

173 C-H, nos. 112–115; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 358–361.
174 C-H, no. 116–120 (–124); ŚK.II.ES, p. 362–364, 376.
175 C-H, no, 125 a-1 ; ŚK. II. ES, pp. 387–388
176 C-H, no. 125m; ŚK.II.ES, pp. 387–388.
177 C-H, nos. 127–140.
178 Cf. C-H, no. 141a.
179 C-H, no. 141c; Schwab, nos. 83–86; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 817–820

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g^{1-3}). Then (the adhvaryu) performs the offering to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt.[168] He does not cut the iḍā portion from the (porridge offered) to Rudra. This they throw deep into the water. The procedure of offering the cakes comes to an end with the idā rite.[169] The procedure involving the animal sacrifice comes to an end with the patnīsaṃyājas.[170] But some (ritual authorities) say that it comes to an end with the rite concerning the heart spit.[171] Then, after (the adhvaryu) has carried the vasatīvarī water around and given directions concerning the various milks, they pass the night before the pressing day.[172]

Then, therefore, they wake up in the dead of night. The ritual procedure is the same (as in the normal Soma sacrifice) up to depositing the sacrificial ladles.[173] Having deposited the sacrificial ladles he yokes the Agni altar with 10.57
the Yoking formula: the three mantras *agniṃ yunajmi* . . . (TS 4.7.13.1a), *imau te pakṣau* . . . (b), and *cid asi samudrayoniḥ* . . . (c).*

Having taken King Soma down, he initiates the Morning Litany (*prātaranuvāka*).[174] When the Morning Litany has been completed, he goes to fetch water. He comes back with water.[175] He begins the Soma sacrifice according to its type (i.e., he performs the kratukaraṇa oblation).*[176] The procedure of the Soma pressing has been established. The draughts of Soma are drawn as has been established. The ritual procedure is the same (as in the normal Soma sacrifice) up to the drawing of the draught of Soma for the Aśvins.[177]

After he has drawn the draught of Soma for the Aśvins, he takes eleven cords and approaches the sacrificial stake.* (The yajamāna) leaves the stake after the chip of wood (*svaru*) has been fixed to it. (The adhvaryu) dedicates eleven sacrificial animals: a (billy goat) with a black neck for Agni, a ewe for Sarasvatī, a brown (billy goat) for Soma, a dark one for Pūṣan, a white backed one for Bṛhaspati, a variegated one for the Viśvadevas, a ruddy one for Indra, a speckled one for the Maruts, one of mixed colour for Indra and Agni, one with black marks on the lower part of its body for Savitṛ, and a castrated one for Varuṇa.[178] After offering the omenta in the established manner*[179] they crawl forth (to the sadas shed) for the morning pressing.

[168] Schwab, no. 102; ŚK. I. ES. p 832; Hillebrandt, pp. 117 f; ŚK. I. ES, p. 365.
[169] C-H, no. 106g (p. 120); ŚK.II.ES, p. 345; Schwab, no. 103; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 832–833; Hillebrandt, pp. 122f; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 372–374.
[170] C-H, no. 106g; ŚK.II.ES, p. 345; Schwab, no. 109; ŚK.I.ES, p. 847; Hillebrandt, pp. 151f; SK.I.ES, pp. 407–408.
[171] C-H, no. 106g; ŚK.II.ES, p. 345; Schwab, no. 112; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 848–849.
[172] C-H, nos. 109–111; ŚK.II.ES, p. 351.

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तदृजुधा संतिष्ठते। प्रसर्पन्ति माध्यंदिनाय सवनाय। स यत्र क्व च मध्यंदिनो भवति तदेतद्धिरण्यपात्रं मधोः पूरयित्वा सौर्या चित्रवत्यावेक्ष्याश्वमवघ्राप्य ब्रह्मणे ददाति। प्रसिद्धो ऽभिषवः। प्रसिद्धं ग्रहा गृह्णन्ते। समानं कर्मा दाक्षिणेभ्यो। दाक्षिणानि जुह्वा त्रिभिर्मरुत्वतीयैश्चरति। सीदन्ति नाराशंसा आप्या- ५
थिता दक्षिणस्य हविर्धानस्यापालम्बमधोऽधो माहेन्द्रायाथ पुरस्तादभिषेकस्य षट् पार्यानि जुहोत्यग्नये स्वाहा सोमाय स्वाहेत्यथ यजमानायतने कृष्णाजिनं प्राचीनग्रीवमुत्तरलोमोप-स्तृणाति। तद्यजमानं प्राङ्मुखमुपवेश्य सुवर्णरजताभ्यां हस्ताभ्यां पर्युपास्य सर्वौषधेन पुरस्तात्प्रत्यङ्मुखमभिषिञ्चति। शीर्षतो ऽभि- १०
षिञ्चत्या मुखादन्ववस्रावयति ॥ ५७ ॥

देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे ऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यां सरस्वत्यै वाचो यन्तुर्यन्त्रेणाग्नेस्त्वा साम्राज्येनाभिषिञ्चामीन्द्रस्य त्वा साम्राज्येनाभिषिञ्चामि बृहस्पतेस्त्वा साम्राज्येनाभिषिञ्चा-मीति। समुन्मृष्टे समुत्क्रोशन्त्यभ्यषेच्ययमसावामुष्यायणो ऽमुष्य १५
पुत्रो ऽमुष्य पौत्रो ऽमुष्य नप्ताग्निसवेनेत्यथ भूर्भुवः सुवरिति वाचं

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It is concluded in a straightforward manner.[180] They crawl forth for the mid-day pressing. When it is noon, he (scil., the yajamāna) fills the golden vessel with honey. He gazes at it with the solar mantra containing the word *citra* (i.e., TS 1.4.43.1b; cf. 5.7.1.3c). He makes the horse sniff it* and gives it to the brahman. The procedure of pressing the Soma has been established. The draughts of Soma are drawn in the established manner. The ritual procedure is the same (as in the normal Soma sacrifice) up to the libations preceding the distribution of the dakṣiṇās.[181] After offering the dakṣiṇā oblations, (the adhvaryu) offers the three draughts for (Indra) Marutvat.[182] They place the replenished nārāśaṃsa goblets under the prop of the southern havirdhāna cart until the time of the offering of the draught for Mahendra.[183]

Then, just before the unction, he offers (the first) six pārtha oblations, with *agnaye svāhā, somāya svāhā* . . . (TS 1.8.13.3 h[1-6]).[184] Then he spreads the black antelope skin out on the place of the yajamāna with its neck to the east and the hairy side upward.[185] He seats the yajamāna on it with his face toward the east and surrounds him with a golden and a silver plate (i.e., he places the golden plate on his head and the silver plate under him). He anoints him with the mixture of all kinds of grains[186] from the east to the west. He anoints him on the head and makes (the unction fluid) flow down 10.58
to his mouth, with *devasya tvā savituh prasave* . . . (TS 1.7.10.3h).[187] After (the unction fluid) has been wiped off (the yajamāna) in an upward direction, they cry out in a chorus, "This so-and-so, the descendent of so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, the grandson of so-and-so, the great-grandson of so-and-so, has been anointed by the "agnisava" (i.e., the Agnicayana). Then (the yajamāna) releases his speech with *bhur bhuvaḥ suvaḥ*. He wipes his face, with

[180] C-H, nos. 142–172.
[181] C-H, nos. 173–191.
[182] C-H, nos. 193–197.
[183] C-H, no. 197.
[184] Heesterman, pp. 65f.; For the second six partha oblations see below.
[185] Cf. Heesterman, pp. 106 and 108.
[186] This material has been saved from the vājaprasavīya oblation; see above p. 595; cf. Heesterman, pp. 107–108, 114f.
[187] The mantra is given in condensed form in both the saṃhita and the sūtra. The mantra is (1) *devasya . . .agnes tvā sāmrājyenā bhisiñcāmi*; (2) *devasya . . . indrasya tvā sāmrājyenā bhisiñcāmi*; (3) *devasya . . . bṛhaspates tvā sāmrājyenābhisiñcāmi.*

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विसृजते। द्वाभ्यां मुखं विमृष्टे। गायत्राम्विष्णुक्रमाक्रमते। ऽथोपरिष्टादभिषेकस्य षट् पार्थानि जुहोति॥ ५८॥

इन्द्राय स्वाहा घोषाय स्वाहेति। द्वादश भूतानामवेष्टौर्जुहोति पृथिव्यै स्वाहान्तरिक्षाय स्वाहेत्यजुधा माध्यंदिनꣳ सवनꣳ संतिष्ठते। प्रसर्पन्ति तृतीयसवनाय। प्रसिद्धमादित्यग्रहेण चरित्वाग्रयणं गृह्णाति। समानं कर्मा पवमानात्पवमानेन चरित्वा स्वे धामन्पशुभिश्चरति। तेषां नाना मनोता नाना देवता नाना प्रत्यभिमर्शना नाना वसाहोमाः समानो वनस्पतिः समानः स्विष्टकृत्प्रैषवाक्समानीडा समान्यो दिशो। नाना दिश इत्येके। समानं कर्मा यज्ञायज्ञियस्य स्तोत्रायज्ञायज्ञियस्य स्तोत्र एकयाप्रस्तुतं भवत्यथाग्निमभिमृशति नमस्ते अस्तु मा मा हिꣳसीरुद्रो दत्तोदधिं भिन्त्तेति द्वाभ्याꣳ। समानं कर्मा पत्नीसंयाजेभ्यः। पत्नीः संयाज्य प्राङेत्य ध्रुवामाप्याय्याध्वरिकाणि समिष्टयजूꣳषि कृत्वा दशाग्निकान्युपजुहोति यदाकूतात्समसुस्रोदिति। समानं कर्मावभृथादयैतस्मिन्नवभृथे द्वितीयामवभृथाहुतिं जुहोति समुद्राय वयुनाय सिन्धूनां पतये नम इति। प्रसिद्धो ऽवभृथ। उदयनीयेष्टेद्वा

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two mantras.[188] He strides the gāyatrī Viṣṇu strides.† Then, immediately after the unction, (the adhvaryu) offers six pārtha oblations, with *indrāya svāhā ghoṣāya svāhā* . . . (TS 1.8.13.3 h[7-12]).[189] He offers twelve 10.59
oblations "to remove the beings" (*bhūtānām aveṣṭayaḥ*) with *pṛthivyai svāhāntarikṣāya svāhā* . . . (i). The midday pressing is concluded in a straight-forward fashion.[190]

They crawl forth for the third pressing. He deals with the draught for the Ādityas in the established manner and draws the āgrayaṇa draught. The ritual procedure is the same (as in the normal Soma sacrifice) up to the Pavamāna chant. Having performed the Pavamāna chant he continues the sacrifice of the (eleven) animals at his own place.[191] The manotā offerings, the offerings to the principal deities, the touching (of the cut out portions of the animals), and the offerings of the gravy (*vasāhoma*) are performed separately for each of them. The offering to Vanaspati, the offering to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt, including the command (given by the maitrāvaruṇa to the hotā,) the invocation of the iḍā, and the offering to the quarters are performed once in common for all of them.[192] Some (ritual authorities) say that the offering to the quarters is performed separately (for each of the animals).*†

The ritual procedure is the same (as in the normal Soma sacrifice) up to the Yajñāyajñiya chant.[193] During the Yajñāyajñiya chant, when one (the last) verse has not yet been sung, (the adhvaryu) touches the Agni altar, with two mantras: *names te astu mā mā hiṁsīḥ* . . . (TS 4.7.13.2d) and *udno dattodadhiṃ bhintta* . . . (e). The ritual procedure is the same (as in the normal Soma sacrifice) up to the patnīsaṃyāja oblations.[194] After he has offered the patnīsaṃyāja oblations, he goes to the east, fills the dhruvā ladle (with clarified butter) and offers the samiṣṭayajus oblations of the normal Soma sacrifice. Then he offers an additional ten (samiṣṭayajus) oblations of the agnicayana with *yad ākūtāt samasusrot* . . . (TS 5.7.7.1a–3k).* The ritual procedure is the same (as in the normal Soma sacrifice) up to the avabhṛtha (iṣṭi).[195] Then, in the avabhṛtha (iṣṭi) he offers a second avabhṛtha oblation with *samudrāya vayunāya* . . . (TS 4.6.2.6r).[196] The procedure of the avabhṛtha has been established.

After he has performed the concluding offering (*udayanīya-iṣṭi*),

188 Probably TS 1.8.10.2e-f, the same ones used in 10.56; see above, p. 599.
189 See Heesterman, pp. 65f.
190 C-H, nos. 198–215.
191 See C-H, nos. 216–226.
192 Cf. Schwab, nos. 94–103; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 834–837.
193 C-H, nos. 227–241c.
194 C-H, nos. 241c–252.
195 C-H, nos. 253–254d.
196 Cf. C-H, no. 254d.

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मैत्रावरुणीं वशामुपाकरोति । तस्यै मैत्रावरुण्यामिक्षाध्वर्दानीया भवति । सर्वसꣳस्थां पशोः कुर्वन्त्यथ गार्हपत्य आज्यं विलाप्योत्पूय स्रुचि चतुर्गृहीतं गृहीत्वाज्यस्य पूर्णाꣳ स्रुचमग्नेर्विमोकं जुहोतीमꣳ स्तनमूर्जस्वन्तं धयापामित्यथैनमुपतिष्ठते ये ऽग्नयः पुरीष्या इत्यथैनमाग्निभिरुपतिष्ठत आपं त्वाग्ने मनसेति नवभिरनुच्छन्दममथोदवसानीययया यजते । ऽथ देविकाहविर्भिर्यजते । ऽथ वैधातवीययया यजते । ऽथ सौत्रामण्या यजते । संवत्सरं न कंचन प्रत्यवरोहति । न ग्रीष्मामꣳसं खादति न वयसां मांसं । नाग्निं चित्वा रामामुपेयान्नाग्निचिदर्षति धावेद्यदि धावेदुपावर्तेतान्नाद्यमेवाभ्युपावर्तत इति ब्राह्मणम् ॥ ५९ ॥ एकोनविꣳशः ॥ ५ १०

॥ इति दशमः प्रश्नः ॥

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he dedicates a barren cow (*vasā*) to Mitra and Varuṇa.[197] Curdled milk solids (*āmikṣā*) for Mitra and Varuṇa are to be divided and offered along with it.* They perform the whole concluding part of the animal sacrifice.

Then he melts clarified butter over the domestic fire, purifies it, takes four spoonsful into a ladle, and offers the ladleful for the unyoking (*vimoka*) of the Agni altar, with *imaṁ stanam ūrjasvantaṃ dhayāpām* . . . (TS 5.5.10.6e). Then (the yajamāna) stands next to it and recites *ye 'gnayaḥ purīṣyāḥ* . . . (TS 5.5.7.4–5). Then he stands next to it and recites the nine successive Obtainment (*āpti*) mantras: *āpaṃ tvāgne manasā* . . . (TS 5.5.7.5). Then (the adhvaryu) performs the Departure offering (*udavasānīya-iṣṭi*).[198] Then he offers oblations to the minor female deities (*devikāhaviṁṣi*).*[199] Then he performs the Traidhātavīya offering.[200] Then he performs the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice.[201]

For a year (after performing the Agnicayana) (the yajamāna) does not descend (from his seat or chariot) to honor anyone.[202] He does not eat the flesh of the head (i.e., brain), nor the flesh of birds.[203] After he has piled up the Agni altar he should not approach a dark woman (i.e., a śūdrā) for sexual intercourse.[204] One who has piled up the Agni altar should not run when it is raining, but if he happens to run, he should turn back. There is a Brāhmaṇa passage that says, "Thus indeed he turns back toward food" (TS 5.4.9.2).†

THUS ENDS THE TENTH TOPIC

[197] C-H, nos. 255–256.
[198] C-H, no. 259.
[199] C-H, no. 257.
[200] Caland, *Wünschopfer*, no. 178; SK.I.ES, p. 586f.
[201] ŚK. I. ES, pp. 899–943.
[202] TS 5.5.4.2–3.
[203] Cf. TS 5.7.6.1.a.
[204] Cf. TS 5.7.6.4.e.

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II. 1. 1. अथातोऽग्निकल्पं व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

II. 1. 11. खरस्य करण इति ॥ उत्तरपूर्वे ऽवान्तरदेशे कुर्यादिति बौधायन" उत्तर एवेति शालीकिः' ॥

II. 1. 20. सावित्राणाꣳ होम इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य" समृद्ध्या-
५ प्यत्र चतुर्गृहीतं जुहुयादिति शालीकिः' ॥

II. 2. 6. गर्दभरशनाया आदान इति ॥ मन्त्रेणाददीतेति बौधा-
यनस्तूष्णीमिति शालीकिः' ॥

II. 1. 9. वल्मीकवपायै निधाने वैश्यस्योपवेशन इति ॥ सूत्रꣳ
शालीकेर"त्रो ह स्माह बौधायनो वल्मीकवपां निदध्यात्र
१० वैश्यमुपवेशयेद्यत्र खनिः स्यात्तद्गच्छेद्यस्तत्र पृच्छेत्तं प्रति-
ब्रूयादिति' ॥

II. 3. 6. खनन इति ॥ अर्धर्चशः खनेदिति बौधायन" ऋचर्चेति
शालीकिः' ॥

II. 3. 10. पुष्करपर्णेनोत्तरदण्डेन मꣳस्तृणातीति ॥ सूत्रं बौधाय-
१५ नस्य" यथोत्पन्नेनैव मꣳस्तृणीयादिति शालीकिः' ॥

II. 3. 14. पिण्डानाꣳ हरण इति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेर"त्रो ह स्माह
बौधायनः सर्वाभिःसर्वाभिश्चतुर्हरेदिति" गायत्रीभिर्हरेत्त्रि
ष्टुग्भिः सादयेदित्यौपमन्यवः' ॥

II. 4. 8. अश्वस्यात्यायमन इति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेर"त्रो ह स्माह
२० बौधायनस्तूष्णीमश्वमत्यायच्छेत्सर्व एवैष गर्दभमन्त्रः स्यादिति' ॥

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DVAIDHA SŪTRAS

Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra 22.1–22.12

NOW WE SHALL explain the procedure for the Agnicayana.

As for making the mound: Baudhāyana says that one should make (it) to the northeast (of the śālā); Śālīki says to the north (of the śālā). p.485, *l.*19

As for offering the oblations for Savitṛ: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one should offer (another) oblation of four spoonsful (of clarified butter) with (the mantra containing a reference to) "prosperity" (*samṛddhi*) (TS 4.1.1.3i). p.487, *l.*5

As for taking the rein for the donkey: Baudhāyana says that one should take it with a mantra; Śālīki says that (one should take it) without any mantra. p.487, *l.*11

As for depositing an anthill (and) seating a vaiśya: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. Baudhāyana says on this point that one should deposit an anthill; one should not seat a vaiśya. One should go where the (clay) pit is (and) answer the person who questions (one) there. p.487, *l.*16

As for digging: Baudhāyana says that one should dig at the end of each half mantra; Śālīki says at the end of each mantra. p.489, *l.*10

"He covers (the antelope skin) with a lotus leaf with its stalk up"[1]: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that he should cover (it) with (a lotus leaf) in the way in which it grows (i.e., with its stalk down). p.489, *l.*14

As for taking the lumps of clay: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. Baudhāyana says on this point that one should take (clay) four times, using all the mantras each time. Aupamanyava says that one should take (it) with the gāyatrī verses and set it down with the triṣṭubh verses. p.489, *l.*20

As for making the horse go in front: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. Baudhāyana says on this point that one should make the horse go in front without any mantra; this entire mantra (i.e., TS 4.1.4.3h–k[3]) should be for the donkey. p.491, *l.*6

[1] This detail is not mentioned in the main sūtra text.

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II. 4. 12. द्यावापृथिव्योः समीक्षण इति ॥ उभे षट्कृत्वः समीक्षेतेति बौधायनस्त्रिरेवेति शालीकिः " प्राच्यां दिशि संधिमीक्षमाण एतं मन्त्रं जपेदित्यौपमन्यवः ' ॥

II. 4. 16. अपो रशने अभ्यवहरन्त्यपि वाङ्गिरस्युच्छ्रे भुञ्जत इति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः ' ॥ १ ॥ ५

II. 5. 11. उखानां करण इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनो ऽषाढामप्येतस्ये याजुष्ये पादमात्रीं कुर्याद्यावन्मात्रीं चादायेष्टकामृत्तिकायामपिसृजेदेवमस्य सर्वो ऽग्निर्याजुषो भवतीत्येकामेवोखां मन्त्रेण कुर्यात्तूष्णीमितरे इति शालीकिः ' ॥

सर्वासु भिन्नासु प्रत्यय इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनः १० सप्तविधं मन्त्रकर्माभ्यावर्तयेदिति ॥ यदन्यत्सावित्रेभ्य इति शालीकिः ' ॥

II. 6. 4. अथादत्त एकविꣳशतिं वृष्णो अश्वस्य शकृत्पिण्डानभिमग्निं पचनमिति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य " यस्यैव कस्य चाश्वस्याददीतेति शालीकिः ' ॥ १५

II. 6 5. उखानां धूपन इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्यापरिमितैर्मन्त्रैर्धूपयेदिति शालीकिः ' ॥

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As for gazing at the sky and earth: Baudhāyana says that one should gaze at both six times. Śālīki says only three times. Aupamanyava says that one should mutter this mantra while gazing at the eastern horizon. p.491, *l.*10

"They throw the two reins down into the water; or they sprinkle them with water and keep them": the former alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter is that of Śālīki. p.491, *l.*19

As for making the ukhās: Baudhāyana says that one should also make a foot-long brick called invincible (*aṣāḍhā*) from this (same clay), which has been consecrated by formulae, and that one should take a small amount (of the consecrated clay) and mix it with the clay for the bricks. Thus one's whole Agni altar becomes consecrated by formulae. Śālīki says that one should make only one ukhā to the accompaniment of mantras; one should make the other two without mantras. p.495, *l.*3

As for the repetition in case all (of the ukhās) are broken: Baudhāyana says that one should repeat the ritual actions and mantras including the oblation to Savitṛ; Śālīki says that (one should repeat everything) except the oblation to Savitṛ. p.499, *l.*2

"Then he takes twenty-one lumps of stallion dung, a hoe, fire, and fuel": (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one may take the dung of any kind of horse. p.495, *l.*5

As for fumigating the ukhās: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one should fumigate with an unlimited number of mantras(i.e., with any number of mantras taken from TS 4.1.6.1a). p.495, *l.*8

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II. 6. 11. उखानां प्रवृञ्जन इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य "कामेवोखां मन्त्रेण प्रवृञ्ज्यात्तूष्णीमितरे इति शालीकिः' ॥

II. 6. 14. ताः प्राचीर्वेदीचीर्वायातयतीति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः' ॥

II. 6. 15. ५ पचन इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायन उखा ऋषभान्मण्डलेष्टका बार्हस्पत्यं महावीरं लोकंपृणा इत्येतद्गार्हपत्यात्पचेदयेतरद्ग्रामाग्नेरिति" यत्किं चेष्टकोक्तं ग्रामाग्निना तत्पचेद्धविरुक्तं गार्हपत्यादिति शालीकिः' ॥

II. 8. 7. पशुशीर्षाणां करण इति ॥ प्रत्यक्षाणि वा मार्त्तिकानि १० वा स्युरिति बौधायनः" प्रत्यक्षाण्येवेति शालीकि" हिरण्मयानीत्यौपमन्यवो" वायव्यशिरसि वैतान्मन्त्रान्निगदेदित्यौपमन्यवीपुत्रः' ॥

II. 9. 4. त्रिरपसव्यैः पर्णशाखया परिकर्षतीति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्यानुपरिकीर्यैव माषान्यमगाथाभिः परिगायेदिति १५ शालीकिः' ॥

II. 10. 9. आघार इति ॥ उभाभ्यां मन्त्राभ्यामेतमाघारमाघारयेदिति बौधायनो" हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्र इत्येतयैवैतमाघारमाघारयेदिति शालीकिः' ॥ २ ॥ प्रथमः ॥

अनिष्टप्रथमसोमस्याध्वरदीक्षाङ्गतीनाꣳ होम इति ॥ २० अध्वरदीक्षाङ्गतौर्ङ्त्वाग्निका जुहुयादिति बौधायन" आग्निका एवेति शालीकिः' ॥

II. 11. 12. वैराजीषु दीक्षास्विति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनो नासं-

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As for placing the ukhās: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one should place only one ukhā with a mantra, the other two silently. p.495, *l.*17

"He arranges them towards the east or towards the north": the former altern a tive is Baudhāyana's, the latter that of Śālīki. p.495, *l.*18

As for the firing: Baudhāyana says that one should bake the following things (on the fire taken) from the domestic fire: ukhās, Bull bricks, Circle bricks, (cooked rice oblation) for Bṛhaspati, mahāvīra pot, and Space Filler bricks (*lokaṃpṛṇā*), and that one should bake the other things on (the fire taken from) the village fire (i.e., from the kitchen hearth). Śālīki says that one should fire anything that is called a "brick" with the village fire. (One should cook) anything called an "oblation" (on the fire taken) from the domestic fire. p.497, *l.*5

As for the preparation of the heads of the sacrificial victims: Baudhāyana says that they should be either real or made of clay. Śālīki says that they should be real ones only. Aupamanyava says that they should be made of gold. Aupamanyavīputra says that he should recite these mantras over the head of the goat offered to Vāyu. p.499, *l.*10

"He draws the parṇa branch around it three times, counter clockwise." (The view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one should go around (the human head) chanting the Yama stanzas (TA 6.5.3b–d) immediately after scattering the beans around it. p.501, *l.*11

As for the āghāra oblation: Baudhāyana says that one should offer the āghāra with both mantras.[2] Śālīki says that one should offer this āghāra with *hiraṇyagarbhaḥ* . . . (TS 4.1.8.3n) alone. p.503, *l.*15

As for offering the dīkṣāhutis of the normal Soma sacrifice in the case of one who has not performed the first Soma sacrifice: Budhāyana says that one should perform the dīkṣāhutis proper to the Agnicayana after one has performed the dīkṣāhutis of the normal Soma sacrifice; Śālīki says that (one should perform the dīkṣāhutis) proper to the Agnicayana alone. p.507, *l.*19

As for the periods of initiation for obtaining brilliance (*vairājīdīkṣā*):[3] p.505, *l.*24

[2] I.e., TS 1.1.12.1i–2m, which is used in the paradigm of the rite, as well as TS 4.1.8.3n.
[3] The expression *vairājī dīkṣā* does not occur in the main sūtras. It probably refers to TS 5.6.7, which gives the following options regarding the length of the period of consecration: three days, six days, ten days, twelve days, thirteen days, fifteen days, seventeen days, twenty-four days, thirty days, one month, four months, twelve months. Any period of one month or less may be considered a period of vairājī dīkṣā.

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वत्सरꣳ मोष्यन्वैराजीर्दीक्षाः कुर्वीत । कामꣳ संवत्सरꣳ मोष्यन्वैराजीर्दीक्षाः कुर्वीत । संवत्सरं वा भूत्वैकाहिकं कुर्वीतैकाहिकस्त्वेवाग्निरिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 13. 7. काम्यस्यान्ववधान इति ॥ जाते काम्यमन्ववदध्यादिति बौधायनः । पुरस्तादेवेति शालीकिः ॥ ५

II. 13. 18. औदुम्बरीणाꣳ समिधामभ्याधान इति ॥ सूत्रं शालीकेरॅचो ह स्माह बौधायन एकामेव समिधं पञ्चर्चेनाभ्याद-ध्यात्तदेव रात्रोघ्नꣳ स्यादिति ॥

II. 15. 14. अत्रपतीयायै समिधो ऽभ्याधान इति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेरॅचो ह स्माह बौधायनो ऽत्रपतीयां प्रतिसमेधनीयां वैष्ण-वीमित्येता अभ्यादध्यादिति ॥ १०

II. 16. 2. वात्सप्रविष्णुक्रमयोः संनिपात इति ॥ अहरहः संनिपातये-दिति बौधायन । आदितश्चान्ततश्चेति शालीकिः ॥

उख्य उद्वाते प्रायश्चित्तकरणꣳ इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधा-

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Baudhāyana says that one who is going to perform a Soma sacrifice in which the pressing days last for less than a year should not observe the vairājī dīkṣā. One who is going to perform a Soma sacrifice in which the pressing days last for a year may observe the vairājī dīkṣās. Or, having maintained (the fire in the ukhā) for a year, one may perform (the Agnicayana) as a sacrifice in which the Soma is pressed for one day. Śālīki, however, says that the Agnicayana should be performed only as a sacrifice in which the Soma is pressed for one day.

As for adding (fire) to attain a special wish: Baudhāyana says that one should add (the fire) for the attainment of a special wish after the (fire) is born (in the ukhā); Śālīki says before. p.509, *l.*17

As for adding the (five) kindling sticks of udumbara: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. Baudhāyana says on this point that one should add only one kindling sick with the five verses (TS 4.1.10.1a–2e). This itself is the "Rakṣas Slaying." (Thus the action prescribed in the next sūtra of the main text is not necessary according to Baudhāyana.) p.511, *l.*3

As for offering a kindling stick for Annapati: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. On this point Baudhāyana says that one should add a kindling stick for Annapati, one to make the fire flare up, and one for Viṣṇu.[4] p.513, *l.*24

As for the coincidence of the Vātsapra song and the Viṣṇu strides: Baudhāyana says that he should make them coincide (i.e., he should perform them both) every day. Śālīki says that (he should make them coincide) on the first and last day (of the period of consecration). p.515, *l.*6

As for the performance of an expiation in case the fire in the ukhā has

[4] According to the commentary of Vāsudevadīkṣita, Baudhāyana's opinion implies that the adding of a kindling stick for Viṣṇu is accompanied by the mantra TS 5.7.2.2.c and that this act replaces that of making the ukhā fire flare up with the same mantra.

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यनः प्रवृज्य परिदायार्काञ्जतिभिरभिजुहुयादथेतरत्कर्मावृता कुर्यादित्याचार्यो ह स्माह शालीकिः प्रवृज्य परिदायार्काञ्जतिभिरभिजुहुयान्न चेतरत्कर्मावृता कुर्यादिति ॥

II. 16. 12. प्रयाण इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायन उभयेन प्रयायादाध्वरिकेण चाग्निकेन चेत्याग्निकेनैवेति शालीकिः ॥

II. 165. 15. अथ यद्यपर्याणा अप उपाधिगच्छतीति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेराचार्यो ह स्माह बौधायनो यत्रैवापर्याणा अप उपाधिगच्छेत्तद्भस्म प्रवेशयेन्न च विगर्भां तां कुर्याद्यावन्मात्रं चादाय प्रत्यवदध्यात्प्रसद्य भस्मना योनिमित्यथेतरत्स्थालीषु वा सतेषु वानुनिधापयेदिति ॥

II. 17. 13. देवयजनस्याध्यवसान इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायन उभयेनाध्यवस्येदाध्वरिकेण चाग्निकेन चेत्याग्निकेनैवेति शालीकिः ॥ ६ ॥

II. 18. 14. संभाराणां निवपन इति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेराचार्यो ह स्माह बौधायनो भस्म चैवोषाꣳस्य मन्त्रेण निवपेत्तूष्णीमितरौ संभाराविति ॥

II. 19. 4. गार्हपत्यचिताविति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेराचार्यो ह स्माह बौधायनो ऽग्निग्रहणꣳ स्वयंचितिꣳ श्वेतकृष्णयोरभिमर्शनमधिद्रवणमवद्रवणमिति सर्वमेवैतत्कर्मावृता कुर्यादिति ॥

[6] This sūtra is not recorded in the Agnicayana section, but there is a similar sūtra in the Agniṣṭoma section at BŚS 6.9: "Now if he comes to water which he cannot go around, he should murmur *devīr āpo apām napāt* . . . (TS 1.2.3.3k-1). He either enters (it) or crosses it (in a boat)" (cf. C-H, no. 24, p. 27 11. 8f.; ŚK.ES, II, p. 101).

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gone out: Baudhāyana says that one should heat (the ukhā), entrust (it to Mitra) and make the arka oblations.[5] Then one should perform the other ritual procedures without mantras. On this point Śālīki says that one should heat and entrust (the ukhā) and make the arka oblations, but should not perform other ritual procedures.

As for setting out: Baudhāyana says that one should set out with both (mantras): that of the Soma sacrifice (TS 1.2.3.3m–n[1]) and that of the Agnicayana (TS 4.2.3.1c). Śālīki says that (one should set out) with that of the Agnicayana only. p.515, *l.*22

(As for the sūtra) "Now if he comes to water which one cannot go around (i.e., a river without a bridge)":[6] (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. On this point Baudhāyana says that whenever one comes to water which one cannot go around, one should put the ash in the water, but not remove its embryo (i.e., one should not remove the burning coals). (Instead) one takes a small amount (of ash) and puts it back (into the ukhā), with *prasadya bhasmanā yoniṃ* . . . (TS 4.2.3.3i). Then one has the rest (of the ash) put into dishes or platters. p.517, *l.*14

As for (formally) occupying the sacrificial site: Baudhāyana says that one should occupy it with both mantras, the one for the Soma sacrifice (i.e., TS 1.2.3.3o) and the one for the Agnicayana (TS 4.2.4.1a); Śālīki says with the one for the Agnicayana alone. p.517, *l.*21

As for pouring out the collected materials: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. Baudhāyana says on this point that one should pour out both the ash and the saline soil with mantras, but the other two materials without a mantra. p.519, *l.*25

As for (piling up) the (altar for the new) domestic fire: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. On this point Baudhāyana says that the taking of the fire (into oneself), the Self-Piling, the touching of the white and black horses, the mounting and dismounting of the altar, should all be performed without mantras. p.521, *l.*23

[5] If the ukhā fire is extinguished, one puts the ash into water. Then one smears the ukhā pot with horse dung, heats it again, and entrusts (it to Mitra). Having made it fit for the offerings, one makes oblations in it by means of the sruva ladle with the mantra "Beautiful heating cauldron (*gharma*), *svāhā*; beautiful ray (*arka*), *svāhā*" (TS 5.7.5b). One puts two arka kindling sticks (into the ukhā) with two mantras containing the word "sun" (*arka*). One continues the ritual procedure from (adding) the muñja wad up to making the yajamāna recite a mantra on the antelope skin. Now if the stool for the ukhā, the sling, or the fire hall is burnt, one puts kindling sticks (into the ukhā fire) with the Vaiśvānara mantra consisting of eight verses (TS 1.5.11.1a–h) (BŚS 29.6:376.10–377.8 extracts).

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साहस्रं चिन्वीत प्रथमं चिन्वानः पञ्चचितीकं चेति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनः समाप्यैताश्चतुर्थं चिन्वानो जानुदघ्नं चात ऊर्ध्वं प्रत्याददीत पञ्चचितीकं चेत्यृचो ह स्माह शालीकिः समाप्यैताश्चतुर्थं चिन्वानो ग्रीवदघ्नं चैवात ऊर्ध्वं प्रत्याददीतैकचितीकं चेति ॥ ५

वात्सप्रविष्णुक्रमयोः संनिपात इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनो यद्यह वात्सप्रमुपवसथे संपद्येत वात्सप्रेणोपस्थाय संनिवपेतथ यदि विष्णुक्रमा उपवसथे संपद्येरन्विष्णुक्रमैः क्रमित्वा वात्सप्रेणोपस्थाय संनिवापेन प्रक्रामेदित्यृचो ह स्माह शालीकिर्यद्यह वात्सप्रमुपवसथे संपद्येत वात्सप्रेणोपस्थाय श्वो भूते संनिवपेतथ यदि विष्णुक्रमा उपवसथे संपद्येरन्विष्णुक्रमैः क्रमित्वा वात्सप्रेणोपस्थाय श्वो भूते संनिवापेनैव प्रक्रामेदिति ॥ १०

II. 20. 3. तस्यामन्यत्रावेक्षमाणो दधिद्रप्सान्प्रास्यत्यमुं ते शुचि दधामीति वा तूष्णीं वेति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः ॥ १५

II. 20. 5. अथैनाᳬ सिकताभिः पूरयित्वा दध्नोपरिष्टात्संप्रच्छाद्येति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य सिकताभिरेवैनां पूरयित्वोत्तरे शाखाखण्डे निदध्यादिति शालीकिः ॥

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As for the (Brāhmaṇa passage) that one who is piling an Agni altar for the first time should pile one thousand (bricks)[7] and five layers:[8] Baudhāyana says that after completing these,[9] one who is piling for the fourth time and more should repeat the knee-high and five-layered (Agni altar). On this point Śālīki says that after completing these, one who is piling for the fourth time or more should repeat the neck-high and single-layered (Agni altar).

As for the coincidence of the Vātsapra song or the Viṣṇu strides (with the upavasatha day, i.e., the day before the ritual purchase of Soma): Baudhāyana says that if the Vātsapra song falls on the upavasatha day one should worship with the Vātsapra song and then pour down (the two fires) together. But if the Viṣṇu strides fall on the upavasatha day one should stride the Viṣṇu strides, worship with the Vātsapra song, and then proceed to pour down the fires together. On this point Śālīkī says that if the Vātsapra song falls on the upavasatha day one should worship with the Vātsapra song, (and) pour down the fires together on the next day. But if the Viṣṇu strides fall on the upavasatha day, one should stride the Viṣṇu strides, worship with the Vātsapra song, and then proceed to pour down the fires together on the next day. p.521, l.30

"Looking aside he throws drops of curds into it, with 'I give your heat to so-and-so' or without a mantra." The former alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter Śālīki's. p.523, l.5

"Then he fills it with sand, covers the top with curds (and places it in the northern part of the śālā)." The (view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one fills it with sand alone and places it in the northern part of the śālā. p.523, l.6

[7] "One piling for the first time should pile a thousand. . . . One piling for the second time should pile two thousand. . . . One piling for the third time should pile three thousand. . . . One piling for the first time should pile as high as the knee. . . . One piling for the second time should pile as high as the navel. . . . One piling for the third time should pile as high as the neck" (TS 5.6.8.2).

[8] "One piling for the first time should pile a five-layered (Agni altar). . . . One piling for the second time should pile a three-layered (Agni altar), . . .One piling for the third time should pile a single-layered (Agni altar)" (TS 5.2.3.6; cf. BŚS 30.5:397.15).

[9] The first three pilings described in the Brāhmaṇa passages.

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II. 20. 7. ग्निक्यस्यादान इति ॥ मन्त्रेणाददीतेति बौधायनस्त्वाणी-
मिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 20. 15. नैर्ऋतीनामुपस्थान इति ॥ कुर्वीतात्र तयादेवतसूंददोहवे
इति बौधायनो न कुर्वीतेति शालीकिः ॥

II. 20. 17.[५] उदपात्रस्योपनिनयन इति ॥ प्रदक्षिणमुपनिनयेदिति
बौधायनो यथोपपादमिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 21. 1. गार्हपत्यस्योपस्थान इति । सूत्रं बौधायनस्याहवनीय-
मेवैतेन यजुषोपतिष्ठेरन्निति शालीकिः ॥ ४ ॥ द्वितीयः ॥

II. 21. 13 स्तम्बयजुषो हरण इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्यापरवकाला-
१० दप्यत्राग्नीध्रो हरेदिति शालीकिः ॥

III. 57. 4. आख्यातं चालालस्य परिलेखनम् ॥

III. 57. 7. आख्यातं लोकाग्नीनां हरणम् ॥

III. 94. 5. आख्यातं स्फ्यविघनानामुपस्थानम् ॥

II. 21. 17. कार्ष्णाजिनीनामुपमोचन इति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायन-
१५ स्योत्तरः शालीकेः ॥

II. 22. 6. वज्रिणीनामुपधान इति ॥ सूत्रं शालीकेरत्रो ह स्माह
बौधायनो ऽग्रेण यूपावटीयं शङ्कुं तिष्ठन्धनुरधिज्यं कृत्वा
प्राञ्चं बाणं प्रविध्येत्तमनुद्रुत्याश्मानमुपदध्यादेवं दक्षिणत एवं
पश्चादेवमुत्तरत इति ॥

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As for taking the sling: Baudhāyana says that one should take it with a mantra; Śālīki says without a mantra. p.523, *l.*9

As for placing[10] the Nairṛti bricks: Baudhayāna says that one should recite the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras at this point; Śālīki says that one should not. p.523, *l.*16

As for pouring out the vessel of water: Baudhāyana says that one should pour it out clockwise; Śālīki says in any way. p.523, *l.*20

As for standing near the (old) domestic fire and reciting: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that they should only stand near the (old) offering fire and recite that yajus mantra. p.525, *l.*4

As for taking the stambayajus clods: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that the āgnīdhra should also take them from the place for the sounding holes. p.525, *l.*22

The circumscription of the cātvāla hole has already been described.[11]

The carrying of the dirt dug out from the cātvāla (*lokāgni*) has already been described.[12]

The worshipping of the wooden sword and the hammer has already been described.[13]

As for putting on the sandals made of black antelope skin: the former alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter Śālīki's. p.525, *l.*34

As for putting down the Vajriṇī bricks:[14] (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. On this point Baudhāyana says that, standing in front of the peg that marks the place of the hole for the sacrificial post, one should string the bow, draw it and shoot the arrow to the east (i.e., *outside* the Field of Agni). He should run after it and put a stone down (at the spot). He should do the same in the south, west, and north. p.529, *l.*1

[10] Instead of Caland's reading *upasthāna*, we read *upadhāna*, which is supported by many manuscripts and makes better sense in this context.
[11] Schwab, no. 19; ŚK.I.ES, p. 778.
[12] Schwab, no. 20; ŚK.I.ES, p. 779.
[13] C-H, no. 142a?; cf. BŚS 21.14:94.5–8; the exact reference of the text is not clear.
[14] The stones placed in the quarters are called Vajriṇī bricks in accordance with the contents of the mantra with which they are put in place.

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II. 23. 2. ऐन्द्रिया उपधान इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य " पुच्छ ऐन्द्रीमुपदध्यादिति शालीकिः ' ॥

II. 23. 8. उदपात्रस्योपनिनय इति ॥ प्रदक्षिणमुपनिनयेदिति बौधायनो " यथोपपादमिति शालीकिः ' ॥

ib. दर्भस्तम्बस्योपधान इति ॥ वाक्का समुद्र उपदधात्विति वा तूष्णीं वेति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः ' ॥ ५

II. 23. 10. दूर्वेष्टकाया उपधान इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनो दूर्वया वा सहोपदध्याद्दूर्वां वैवेति[१] " मन्त्रदूर्वैवैषा स्यादिति शालीकिः ' ॥

II. 23. 13. औदुम्बरं युगलाङ्गलमिति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य " दार्व्य- १०
वृक्षमेवैनत्कुर्यादिति शालीकिः ॥ पुरुषा एवैतद्युगलाङ्गलं पुरस्तादाददते ऽध्वर्युः पश्चादिति बौधायनः " प्रत्यक्षमेवैत-त्संयुज्य कृषेदिति शालीकिः ' ॥

II. 24. 1. कर्षण इति ॥ संप्रत्याहारं कृषेदिति बौधायन " आवा-जग्र इति शालीकिः ॥ ५ ॥ १५

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As for putting down the Aindrī brick: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one should put the Aindrī brick down on the tail. p.529, *l.*5

As for pouring out the pot of water: Baudhāyana says that one should pour it out clockwise; Śālīki says in any way. p.529, *l.*11

As for putting down the bunch of darbha grass: (one should either put it down with) *vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu* (KB 38.13: 116.1–3) or without a mantra. The former alternative is that of Baudhāyana, the latter that of Śālīki. p.529, *l.*13

As for putting the dūrvā "brick" in place: Baudhāyana says that one should either put it in place with (real) dūrvā grass or (one should put) dūrvā grass alone. Śālīki says that it should only be accompanied by the mantra contining the word *dūrvā*. p.529, *l.*17

As for the yoke and plow made of udumbara wood: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhayana's; Śālīki says only that one should make them of hardwood. Baudhāyana says that men take hold of the yoke and plow from the front and the adhvaryu takes it from behind. Śālīki says that one should really yoke it and plow (i.e., it should be drawn by oxen, not by men). p.520, *l.*20

As for plowing: Baudhāyana says that one should bring the plow back after plowing each furrow. (Thus the three furrows in each set will all be plowed in the same direction.) Śālīki says that one should plow them boustrophedon. p.531, *l.*7

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II. 23. 16. गोयुगानामनुमन्त्रण इति॥ तत्तदेवानुमन्त्रयेदिति बौधायनः" सर्वाणि मन्त्रेति शालीकिः'॥

II. 24. 10. सर्वौषधस्य वपन इति॥ अर्धर्चशो वपेदिति बौधायन" ऋचर्चेति शालीकिः'॥

II. 24. 14. ५ इतरमितरत्र विपरिहरतीतरमितरत्रेति॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्यादद्दान एवैतां दिशमभिसंपादयेदिति शालीकिर्यजुषा यजुर्विपरिहरेदित्यौपमन्यवः'॥

II. 26. 8. स दर्भपुञ्जीलानि पयःप्रोक्षे ऽवधाय तैः प्रोक्षत्यग्नीन्वो ऽग्निभ्यो जुष्टाम्प्रोक्षामीति वा तूष्णीं वेति॥ पूर्वः कल्पो १० बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः'॥

II. 27. 5. कुम्भेष्टकानामुपधान इति॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य" पक्षपुच्छे ष्वेवैना[१] उपदध्यादिति शालीकिः'॥

नानामन्त्रासु दिशो भजमानास्विति॥ तयादेवतेनानुक्रम्य पारे सूददोहसः कुर्वीतेति बौधायनस्तांतामेवेष्टकां १५ परिनिस्तिष्ठेदिति शालीकिः'॥

इष्टकागणानामुपधान इति॥ तयादेवतेनानुक्रम्य पारे सूददोहसः कुर्वीतेति बौधायनस्तंतमेवेष्टकागणं परिनिस्तिष्ठेदिति शालीकिः'॥

II. 28. 8. 10. अभिमर्श ऽभिहोम इति॥ सूत्रमाचार्ययोर्चो ह स्माहौ-

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As for reciting mantras over the yokes of oxen: Baudhāyana says one should recite once over each; Śālīki says one should recite over all of them at once.[15] p.531, l.1

As for sowing the mixture of all kinds of grains: Baudhāyana says that one should sow at each half verse (i.e., twice per furrow); Śālīki says at each verse (i.e., once per furrow). p.531, l.16

"He transposes one from one place to another." The (view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. "Even when taking (the clod) he should make (the direction from which the clod is taken) correspond with this direction" is the opinion of Śālīki. "He should transpose one mantra with another" is the opinion of Aupamanyava. p.533, l.13

He dips the bunches of darbha grass into the milk for sprinkling and sprinkles with them to the accompaniment of *agnīn vo 'gnibhyo juṣṭān prokṣāmi* or without a mantra. The former alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter Śālīki's. p.535, l.14

As for placing the pot bricks (i.e., the pots): (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one should place them only on the wings and the tail. p.539, l.5

As for (bricks) that are placed in different directions with different mantras: Baudhāyana says that one should recite the Tayādevata mantra after putting each brick in place), then recite the Sūdadohas mantra (over each of them) at the end. Śālīki says that one should complete each brick separately. (I.e., one should recite both the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras immediately after placing each brick.)

As for placing groups of bricks: Baudhāyana says that one should recite the Tayādevata mantra (after putting each group of bricks in place) then recite the Sūdadohas mantra (over all of them) at the end; Śālīki says that one should complete each group separately (i.e., one should recite both the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras immediately after placing each group).

As for touching (the golden man) and making an oblation (on the golden breast plate): (the view expressed in) the sūtra is that of both teachers (i.e., Baudhāyana and Śālīki). p.539, l.17

[15] See also BŚS 25.30:263.9, below, p. 655, n. 11.

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पमन्यवः पुरस्तादभिमर्शाभिहोमाभ्यां तथादेवतसूददोहसः कुर्वीतेति ॥

II. 28. 15. सर्पशिरस उपधान इति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः ॥

II. 30. 10. औदुम्बरं चोलूखलमुसलमिति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य ५ दार्ब्बमृच्चमेवैनत्कुर्यादिति शालीकिः ॥ ६ ॥

II. 30. 11. सर्वौषधस्यावहनन इति ॥ मन्त्रेणावहन्यादिति बौधायनस्तूष्णीमिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 30. 17. उखानामुपधान इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य कामेवोखां मन्त्रेणोपदध्यात्तूष्णीमितरे इति शालीकिः ॥ १७

II. 31. 13. पशुशीर्षाणामुपधान इति ॥ मध्य उपदध्यादिति बौधायनो ऽन्तेषु तस्य व्युदूह्योपदध्यादिति शालीकिः ॥

अथर्वशिरस उपधान इति ॥ पुरस्तात्सर्वतोमुखमग्रेण स्वयमाहवणमत्र नवर्चमथर्वशिर उपदध्यादिति बौधायनो नाथर्वशिर इति शालीकिः ॥ १५

II. 33. 12. सर्वतोमुखस्योपधान इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्यानुदिशमेव गायत्रीरुपदध्यादिति शालीकिः ॥

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Aupamanyava says on this point that one should recite the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras before touching (the golden man) and before making the oblation (on the golden breast plate).

As for placing the snake's head: the former alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter Śālīki's. p.539, *l.*27

As for the mortar and pestle made of udumbara wood: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki only says that one should make them of hardwood. p.543, *l.*16

As for husking the mixture of all kinds of grain; Baudhāyana says that one should husk with a mantra; Śālīki says without. p.543, *l.*19

As for placing the ukhā pots: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one should place only one ukhā with a mantra, the the other two without mantras. p.543, *l.*31

As for placing the heads of the sacrificial victims: Baudhāyana says that one should place (them) on the middle (of the Agni altar); Śālīki says that one should separate them and place them at the edges (of the body of the Agni altar). p.547, *l.*12

As for placing the Head of Atharvan bricks (*atharvaśiras*): Baudhāyana says that one should place the Head of Atharvan with nine mantras[16] in front of the naturally perforated stone before making the Agni altar face in all directions. Śālīki says that one should not place the Head of Atharvan. p.549, *l.*17

As for piling the Agni altar so that it faces in all directions: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should place a brick with the gāyatri mantra in each of the directions (i.e., the four directions and the center). p.549, *l.*22

[16] These are not mentioned in the main sūtra, but cf. TS 5.6.6.3c; TB 1.5.8; and ĀpŚS 17.8.2.

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II. 33. 15. अङ्गानामुपधान इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य " विज्ञातेष्वेवाङ्गेष्वङ्गान्युपदध्यादिति शालीकिः ' ॥

II. 34. 2. ऋषभस्योपधान इति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेर "त्रो ह स्माह बौधायन ईषत्प्रत्यवहतशिरसमेनमुपदध्याद्यथर्षभो वाशितमुपतिष्ठतीति ' ॥

अतीतानामिष्टकागणानामुपधान इति ॥ आधिमुपदध्यादिति बौधायनश्चित्यन्त इति शालीकिः ' ॥

व्रतप्रदान इति ॥ मध्यंदिने व्रतं प्रयच्छेदिति बौधायनश्चित्यन्त इति शालीकिः ' ॥ ७ ॥ तृतीयः ॥

II. 35. 4. १० पुरीषचितेरुपधान इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य " पूर्वेद्युरेव पुरीषचितिं परिनिर्मिष्टेदिति शालीकिः ' ॥

अश्वाभिमन्थितां कृष्ण उत्तरः श्वेतो दक्षिण इति ॥ अत्रैवाभ्यां तिष्ठद्भ्यां घासमाहारयेदिति बौधायनः " कालेकाल एवैनावुदानयेयुरिति शालीकिः ' ॥

II. 39. 1. १५ वालखिल्यानामुपधान इति ॥ उपरिष्टादालखिल्या उपदध्यादिति बौधायनः " पार्श्वत इति शालीकिः ' ॥

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As for placing (the bricks called) the Limbs (of Agni): the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should place the Limb bricks on the well recognized limbs (of the bird-shaped altar). p.549, l.27

As for placing the Bull brick: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's; Baudhāyana says on this point that one should place it with its "head" somewhat lowered as if the bull (drawn on it) were starting to bellow.[17] p.551, l.4

As for placing groups of bricks that have been skipped accidentally: Baudhāyana says that one should place them as an addition (i.e., when one notices they have been skipped); Śālīki says at the end of the layer (i.e., after the bricks specific to that layer have been placed). p.549. l.17

As for giving the vrata milk (to the yajamāna): Baudhāyana says that one should give the vrata milk at noon; Śālīki says (that one should give it) upon the completion of the layer. p.551, l.19

As for spreading the layer of soil: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should complete the layer of soil on the preceding day (after completing the layer of bricks).[18] p.553, l.3

Two horses stand beside (the site of the Agni altar): a black one to the north and a white one to the south (cf. TS 5.7.1b). Baudhāyana says that one should feed them grass as they stand there; Śālīki says that they should be led out (of the site of the Agni altar) whenever appropriate (i.e., whenever they are to be fed).

As for placing the Vālakhilya bricks: Baudhāyana says that one should place the Valākhilyā bricks over (the naturally perforated stone); Śālīki says at the side (of the naturally perforated stone). p.561, l.3

[17] This refers to the drawing of a bull on the brick. cf. BŚS 30.6: 399.4.
[18] See also BŚS 25.27ff., below, p. 647 ff.

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II. 41. 1. सृष्टीनामायातन इति ॥ अग्रेण स्वयमातृण्णामुदीचीरेना आयातयेदोत्तरस्मात्पक्षमधेः सर्वतो वेति[२] ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः[1] ॥

II. 41. 5. व्युष्टीनामुपधान इति ॥ सूत्रं शालीकेरिति[1] ह स्माह बौधायनः पुरस्तादेनाः प्रतीचीरुपदध्यात्पुरस्ताद्धि प्रतीची रात्रिर्व्युच्छतीति[1] ॥ ५

II. 42. 18. तामां पुरीषवतीं मध्य उपदधातीति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनः पुरीषेण वा मह्योपदध्यात्पुरीषं वैवेति[1] मन्त्र-पुरीषैवैषा स्यादिति शालीकिः[1] ॥

II. 42. 20. वैराजानामुपधान इति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः ॥ १०

II. 43. 9. याज्ञमेनीनामुपधान इति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पः शालीकेरुत्तरो बौधायनस्य ।

II. 43. 21. घृतेष्टकानामुपधान इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनो घृतेन वा मह्योपदध्याद्घृतेन वाभ्यज्येति[1] मन्त्रघृता एवैताः स्युरिति शालीकिर्घृतपिण्डानेवाचोपदध्यादित्यौपमन्यवः[1] ॥ १५

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As for laying out the creation bricks: one should lay them out (from the southern shoulder) to the juncture of the northern wing and the body, in a northward line to the east of the naturally perforated stone; or (one should place them) around (the naturally perforated stone). The first alternative is that of Baudhāyana, the latter that of Śālīki. p.565, *l.*6

As for putting the dawn bricks in place: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's; Baudhāyana says on this point that one should place them in a line from the east to the west, because the night shines from the east to the west. p.565, *l.*10

As for the sūtra, "He places the one of them that is accompanied by (a mantra containing the word) 'mud', in the middle": Baudhāyana says that one should either place it with mud (on it), or should place mud only (instead of the brick). Śālīki says that it should only be accompanied by the mantra containing the word 'mud'. p.567, *l.*30

As for placing the Virāj bricks: the former alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter Śālīki's. p.567, *l.*34

As for placing the Yājñaseni bricks:[19] the former alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter Śālīki's. p.569, *l.*28

As for putting the clarified butter bricks in place: Baudhāyana says that one should put them in place along with clarified butter or after anointing them with clarified butter; Śālīki says that these (bricks) should only be accompanied by mantras referring to clarified butter; Aupamanyava says that at this point one should only place balls of clarified butter. p.569, *l.*43

[19] The "Meter bricks" are also called "Yajñasena's piling," since Yajñasena Caitriyāyaṇa taught it (see TS 5.3.8.1).

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इष्टकानामावापस्थान इति ॥ अन्तरेण ज्योतिष्मतीश्च भूतेष्टकाश्चैतदिष्टकानामावापस्थानं भवतीति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनः संवेशनयजुः प्रबुद्धयजुः प्रयाणयजुरपर्याणयजुः सामिधेनीराप्रीरतीताꣳश्चेष्टकागणानत्रोपदध्यादित्यत्रो ह स्माह शालीकिर्नानिष्टकं मन्त्रमिष्टकावदापादयेदतीतानेवेष्टकागणानत्रोपदध्यादिति ॥

II. 45. 4. पौर्णमास्या उपधान इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्योत्तर एवाꣳसे पौर्णमासीमुपदध्यादिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 45. 6. नक्षत्रेष्टकानामुपधान इति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेरत्रो ह स्माह बौधायनः प्रतितारकं चात्रेष्टका उपदध्यात्तत्रतत्र च रोचयेदिति ॥

II. 45. 45. सर्वतोमुखस्योपधान इति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेरत्रो ह स्माह बौधायनो व्यर्थं खल्विदं कृष्णस्याभिमर्शनेन भवति सर्वतोमुखमुपधास्यन्कृतमश्वमभिमृशेदिति ॥

II. 46. 3. वर्धनेष्विति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेरत्रो ह स्माह बौधायनो

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As for the point at which to insert (other) bricks: the point at which to insert (other) bricks is between the Luminous bricks and the Being bricks. Baudhāyana says that one should put the following bricks in place at this point: the one accompanied by the Saṃveśana mantra (TS 1.2.3.1c), the one accompanied by the Prabuddha mantra (d), the one accompanied by the Prayāṇa mantra (m–n[1] and TS 4.2.3.1c), the one accompanied by the Aparyāṇa mantra (TS 1.2.3.3k–l), those accomipanied by the Sāmidhenī mantras (TS 4.1.7.1a-k), those accompanied by the Āprī mantras (TS 4.1.8.1a–m), and left over groups of bricks (that were not put in place at their appointed time). Regarding this, Śālīki says that one should not use a mantra that is not prescribed to accompany the placing of a brick as though it were;[20] at this point one should put in place only those left over groups of bricks (that have not been placed at their appointed time). p.571, l.35

As for putting the Full Moon brick in place: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudāhyana's; Śālīki says that one should place a Full Moon brick on the northern shoulder alone. p.573, l.7

As for putting the Lunar Mansion bricks in place: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's; Baudhāyana says on this point that one should place bricks corresponding to each of the stars (that make up each of the lunar mansions) and then make each of them shine. p.573, l.13

As for placing (the group of bricks called) "facing in all directions": (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's; Baudhāyana says on this point that this has been interrupted by the action of touching the black horse. (Therefore) when one is about to place (the group of bricks called) "facing in all directions," he should (again) touch the white horse (and mount the altar). p.575, l.1

As for the additions: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's; Baudhāyana says on this point that however many additions coincide on the p.575, l.7

[20] I.e., the bricks accompanied by the Saṃveśana and following mantras should not be placed, since these mantras are not prescribed to accompany the placing of bricks.

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यावन्ति वर्धनानि समाने ऽहनि संनिपतेयुः सर्वेषां पारे तथादेवतसूद्दोहमः कुर्वीतेति ॥ ८ ॥ चतुर्थः ॥

II. 47. 9. अथ प्रोक्षणीषु हिरण्यशल्कान्प्रत्यस्यत्यूर्ध्वं त्रिभ्यो ऽपरिमितानिति सहस्रमिति प्रोक्तं ॥ पूर्वः कन्यो बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः ॥ ५

II. 48. 9. शतरुद्रीयस्य होम इति ॥ सूत्रमाचार्ययोः पूर्वस्मिन्नेवानीके जुहुयादिति गौतमः ॥

II. 49. 8. नमस्कारैरुपस्थान इति ॥ स ह स्माह बौधायनः सधनुष्क एवोपतिष्ठेतोत्तरस्या एव दिश आवृत्यैतेनैव यथेतमेत्य पश्चात्प्राङ् तिष्ठन्नूर्ध्वामुपतिष्ठेतेत्यृचो ह स्माह शालीकिर्दक्षिणैव धनुरुपतिष्ठेतैतस्यै चैव दिश आवृत्यैतेनैव यथेतमेत्य पश्चात्प्राङ् तिष्ठन्नूर्ध्वामुपतिष्ठेतेति ॥ १०

II. 49. 15. परिषिच्यमाने यजमानं वाचयतीति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेरृचो ह स्माह बौधायनः परिषिच्यपरिषिच्यैवाश्मनि कुम्भं निदध्यादश्मꣳस्ते चुदमुं ते शुगृच्छत्वित्यभिनिर्दिशेद्यं द्विष्यादिति ॥ १५

II. 50. 3. विकर्षण इति ॥ अर्धर्चशो विकर्षेदिति बौधायन ऋचर्चेति शालीकिः ॥

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same day, one should recite the Tayādevata and Sūdadohas mantras for all of them at the end.

It is said that one puts chips of gold into the water for sprinkling, an unspecified number—but more than three—(or) a thousand. The first altarnative is that of Baudhāyana, the latter that of Śālīki. p.577, *l.*17

As for offering the Śatarudrīya oblation: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is that of both teachers (i.e., Baudhāyana and Śālīki). Gautama says that one should make the offering on the eastern edge (of the northern wing). p.579, *l.*15

As for "worshipping with the exclamation *namas*" (*namaskāra*): Baudhāyana says that one should only worship holding the bow. (After proceeding clockwise around the Agni altar worshipping at each quarter) one should turn around in the north, go back the way one came and, standing in the west facing east, worship the zenith. Śālīki says that one should worship after giving the bow away. One should turn around at that point, go back the way one came, and standing in the west facing east, worship the zenith. p.581, *l.*12

As for the sūtra "While (the Agni-altar) is having water sprinkled around it (the adhvaryu) has the sacrificer recite": (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. Baudhāyana says on this point that each time one sprinkles water around (the Agni) one should place the water pot on the stone, with *aśmaṁs te kṣud amuṃ te śug ṛchatu* (TS 4.6.1.1b), and specify the person whom he hates (by inserting his name in place of the word *amuṃ* in the mantra). p.581, *l.*19

As for sweeping: Baudhāyana says that one should sweep with each half verse; Śālīki says with each verse. p.583, *l.*9

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I. 52. 3. स्वयमातृण्णायै व्याघारण इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्याग्नि-
चतुरश्रामेनां व्याघारयेदिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 53. 4. वैश्वानरमारुतानां मन्त्रामन्त्र इति ॥ मन्त्रवन्तः स्युरिति
बौधायनस्तूष्णीका इति शालीकिर्वैश्वानर एव मन्त्रवान्स्या-
५ त्तूष्णीका मारुता इत्यौपमन्यवः ॥

II. 53. 6. आनीकवतस्य होम इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्याहवनीय
एवानीकवतं जुहुयादिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 54. 4. अथैनꣳ संचितमाज्यप्रोक्षेण प्रोक्षतीति ॥ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेः
रृचो ह स्माह बौधायनो मन्त्रानुदिशं चैनं प्रोक्षन्मन्त्रा-
१० नुलोकं चेति ॥

II 54. 15 इध्मस्य निधान इति ॥ म ह स्माह बौधायन उभये-
नेध्मं निदध्यादाध्वरिकेण चाग्निकेन चेत्याग्निकेनैवेति
शालीकिः ॥ ९ ॥

II. 55. 1. शाकलैः परिधान इति ॥ आहवनीयं परिदध्यादिति
१५ बौधायनः पुच्छमेवेति शालीकिः ॥

II. 55. 5. स्रुवाहुत्योः करण इति ॥ कुर्यादिति बौधायनो न
कुर्यादिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 55. 7. पूर्णाहुत्यै करण इति ॥ कुर्यादिति बौधायनो न
कुर्यादिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 55. 8.१० अत्र जुहुन्मनसा दिशो ध्यायेदिति ॥ दिग्भ्यो ऽहमग्नि-

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As for pouring (clarified butter) over the naturally perforated stone: (the procedure specified in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one should pour (clarified butter) over it from the four corners of the Agni altar. p.587, l.7

As to whether or not there should be mantras to accompany (the preparation of) the cakes for (Agni) Vaiśvānara and the Maruts: Baudhāyana says they should be prepared with mantras; Śālīki says they should be prepared without mantras; Aupamanyava says that only the cake for (Agni) Vaiśvānara should be prepared with mantras, those for the Maruts should be prepared without mantras. p.589, l.10

As for offering the anīkavat oblation: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should offer the anīkavat oblation only on the (new) offering fire (after the fire has been brought forth to the Agni altar). p.589, l.13

As for the sūtra, "Then he sprinkles the piled-up (Agni altar) with clarified butter for sprinkling": (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's. Baudhāyana says on this point that (one should sprinkle in each direction) while sprinkling this (altar) to the direction and to the space expressed in each mantra.[21] p.591, l.12

As for depositing the faggot (on the Agni altar): Baudhāyana says that one should deposit the faggot with both sets of mantras: those prescribed for the Soma sacrifice (i.e., TB 2.5.8.12) and those prescribed for the Agnicayana (i.e., TS 4.6.5.3 h[1]-i): Śālīki says with only those prescribed for the Agnicayana. p.591, l.23

As for enclosing (the fire) with chips of wood: Baudhāyana says that one should enclose the offering fire (on the Agni altar); Śālīki says (that one should enclose) only the tail (of the Agni altar). p.593, l.3

As for making two oblations of clarified butter with the sruva ladle: Baudhāyana says one should make (them); Śālīki says one should not make (them). p.593, l.11

As for making an oblation of a ladleful (of clarified butter): Baudhāyana says one should make (it); Śālīki says one should not make (it). p.593, l.13

As for the sūtra "At this point while offering he should think of the quarters mentally": one should either say, "May I draw together Agni p.593, l.18

[21] The meaning of this passage is not clear. Vāsudeva Dīkṣita comments as follows: "According to Śālīki's view, one should sprinkle on every occasion from the south and the west to the north and the east; according to Baudhāyana, one should sprinkle from the center out in each direction."

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मभि मंभराणीति वा तूष्णीं वेति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायन-स्योत्तरः शालीकेः ॥

II. 56. 8. प्रसेकस्यायातन इति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पः शालीकेरुत्तरो बौधायनस्य ॥

II. 56. 10. तस्मिꣳस्तुर उपस्तृणान आहेति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य नोपस्तृणीतेति शालीकिः ॥ ५

II. 56. 12. प्रसेकस्यानुप्रहरण इति ॥ अनुप्रहरेदिति बौधायनो नानुप्रहरेदिति शालीकिः ॥

II. 56. 13. ब्रह्मौदनस्य अपण इति ॥ अग्न्याधेयवच्छ्रपयेदिति बौधायन एतस्मिन्नेवेति शालीकिः ॥ १०

II. 56. 14. ब्रह्मौदनस्य प्राशन इति ॥ उत्तरे ओष्यन्ते प्राश्नीयुरिति बौधायनः पुच्छमेवाभित इति शालीकिः ॥

II. 57. 4. वातनामानाꣳ होम इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य वातमप्यत्राञ्जलिना जुहुयादिति शालीकिः कृष्णाजिनपुटेन जुहुयादित्यौपमन्यवः ॥ १५

II. 57. 9. शाकलानामनुप्रहरण इति ॥ अनुप्रहरेदिति बौधायनो नानुप्रहरेदिति शालीकिः ॥ १० ॥ पञ्चमः ॥

II. 57. 12. अग्निधिष्णियानामुपधान इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य सर्वा एव याजुषीरुपदध्यादिति शालीकिः ॥

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from the quarters," or one should not say anything. The first alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter Śālīki's.

As for extending the praseka ladle (over the fire): the former alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter Śālīki's. p.595, *l.*15

As for (the sūtra), "Spreading four spoonsful of clarified butter in it, he says . . .": (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's. Śālīki says that one should not spread clarified butter. p.595, *l.*17

As for throwing the praseka ladle (into the fire) subsequently: Baudhāyana says that one should throw (it); Śālīki says that one should not throw (it). p.595, *l.*21

As for cooking the rice porridge for brahmans: Baudhāyana says that it should be cooked as in the Agnyādheya (i.e., in water or milk, cf. ŚK. I.ES p. 15); Śālīki says one should cook it in this (left over clarified butter) itself. p.595, *l.*24

As for eating the rice porridge for brahmans: Baudhāyana says they should eat it at the edge of the northern hip (of the Agni altar); Śālīki says they should eat it around the tail. p.595, *l.*24

As for offering the wind's names oblations: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should also offer wind in his cupped hands; Aupamanyava says that one should (also) offer (wind) in a cup made by folding a black antelope skin. p.597, *l.*10

As for subsequently putting the chips of wood into the fire: Baudhāyana says that one should put (them into the fire); Śālīki says that one should not put (them into the fire). p.597, *l.*13

As for putting the hearths of the Agnicayana in place: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should place all (of the bricks) as Yajus bricks.[22] p.597, *l.*25

[22] I.e., one should place all of the bricks in each of the hearths with the mantras prescribed for the respective Yajus bricks.

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II. 58. 2. नानाबीजानां निर्वपण इति ॥ निर्वपणेनानुमन्त्र्य[1] व्यभिमृशेदिति बौधायनस्तत्तदेव हविः परिनिस्लिष्टेदिति शालीकिः[1] ॥

तेषां व्रीहिष्वेव हविष्कृतमुद्दादयत्युपोद्यच्छन्ते यवानिति ॥

५ सूत्रꣳ शालीकेरचो ह स्माह बौधायन आवपनप्रभृति यवेषु मन्त्रकर्माभ्यावर्तेत तन्त्रं तु हविष्कृत्[1] स्यादिति[1] ॥

आप्यनिनयन इति ॥ जघनेन गार्हपत्यमाप्येभ्यो निनयेदिति बौधायनो[1] ऽग्रेणातिहायेति शालीकिरग्रेण वा जघनेन वेत्यौपमन्यवः[1] ॥

१० मन्त्रपशुपुरोडाशा एवेतरेषाꣳ हविषामिडा अवद्येदभ्यर्धादेति[1] सपशुपुरोडाशानां वेति ॥ पूर्वः कल्पो बौधायनस्योत्तरः शालीकेः[1] ॥

II. 58. 7. अत्याक्रमण इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य[1] सह स्विष्टकृतात्याक्रामेदिति शालीकिः[1] ॥

II. 60. 10. १५ अभिषेक इति ॥ सूत्रमाचार्ययोरचो ह स्माहौपमन्यवः

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As for pouring out the different kinds of grain:[23] Baudhāyana says that one should put them together at the time of pouring them out, then toucn (each of the oblation materials) separately (and assign it to the respective deity); Śālīki says that each oblation should be accomplished separately (i.e., from the time of pouring out). p.599, l.7

As for the sūtra, "Only in the case of (husking) the rice grains among these (different kinds of grain) does (the adhvaryu) speak the Haviṣkṛt formula out loud. They lift up the barley grains while the rice is being husked":[24] (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Śālīki's; Baudhāyana says on this point that the mantras and actions, starting from that of pouring them into the mortar[25] should be repeated in the case of the barley grains, but the Haviṣkṛt formula should be pronounced only once for all the grains.

As for pouring out water for the Āpyas:[26] Baudhāyana says that one should pour out water for the Āpyas to the west of the domestic fire; Śālīki says to the east (of the domestic fire), slightly removed from it. Aupamanyava says either to the east or to the west.

One should cut off the iḍā portions of the other oblations along with those of the porridges and the cake of the animal sacrifice, or (one should cut them off) separately, or (one should cut off the iḍā portions of the other oblations) along with that of the cake of the animal sacrifice (but not of the the porridge?). The former alternative is Baudhāyana's, the latter Śālīki's.

As for stepping (to the south of the offering fire): (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should step (to the south of the fire) with the portion cut out for (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt.†[27] p.599, l.16

As for the unction: (the view expressed in) the main sūtra is that of both teachers (i.e., Baudhāyana and Śālīki); on this point Aupamanyava says p.599, l.25

[23] For this and the following two sūtras, see Hillebrandt, pp. 22–29; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 264–274.
[24] ŚK.I.ES, p. 713, 1.43f.
[25] Hillebrandt, p. 28f.; ŚK.I.ES, p. 273, 11.25–32.
[26] Hillebrandt, p. 43; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 287, 714.
[27] I.e., one should cut out portions for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt from the offerings for the Divine Instigators before offering the latter. See also BaudhŚS 25.31.265.2–3, and p. 659, l. 4.

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उरस्तात्त्विष्टकृतो यावदाज्यातेनाभिषिञ्चेत्राच कृष्णाजिनं न रुक्मौ न पार्थानि भवन्ति कुशानेव सꣳस्तीर्य तेष्वेनमभिषिञ्चेदिति ' ॥

II. 58. 18; 59. 8. योगे विमोक इति ॥ अहरहर्युञ्ज्यादहरहर्विमुञ्चेदिति बौधायनो " ऽहरहर्युञ्ज्यादन्ते विमुञ्चेदिति शालीकिर" ादित एव युञ्ज्यादन्ते विमुञ्चेदित्यौपमन्यवः ' ॥ ५

II. 59. 11. क्रतुकरण इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य " यथाक्रत्वेवास्य क्रतुकरणानि कुर्यादिति शालीकिः ' ॥

II. 59. 13. ऐकादशिनानां पशूनामुपाकरण इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्ये" कयूप एवैकादशिनान्पशूनुपाकुर्यादिति शालीकिः ' ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥

II. 59. 17. वपानां परिहोम इति ॥ तांतां परिजुहुयादिति बौधायन " आदितस्यान्ततस्येति शालीकिः ' ॥

II. 60. 3. अश्वस्यावघ्रापण इति ॥ सूत्रं बौधायनस्य " माध्यंदिन एव सवने ऽश्वमवघ्रापयेदिति शालीकिः ' ॥

पशूनामासादन इति ॥ पशुंपशुं पञ्चहोत्रासादयेदिति बौधायनो " मुख्यमेवेति शालीकिः ' ॥ १५

हृदयशूलानामुद्वासन इति ॥ एकैकश उद्वासयेदिति बौधायनः " सर्वाञ्छ्रेति शालीकिः ' ॥

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that one should perform the unction before the sviṣṭakṛt offering (of the agniṣomīyapaśupuroḍāśa),[28] (and that one should perform) only as much as has been transmitted (in the Brāhmaṇa, i.e. TS 5.6.3.2–3). Here there is neither the black antelope skin, nor the two plates, nor the pārtha oblations. [29] One should only spread blades of kuśa grass and anoint him (scil., the yajamāna) on them.†

As for yoking and unyoking (the Agni altar): Baudhāyana says that one should yoke it each day and unyoke it each day;[30] Śālīki says that one should yoke it each day and unyoke it at the end; Aupamanyava says that one should yoke it only at the beginning and unyoke it at the end. p.601, *l.*15

As for the kratukaraṇa oblation: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should make the kratukaraṇa oblations according to the procedure of the Soma sacrifices.[31] p.601, *l.*19

As for the dedication of eleven sacrificial animals: (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should dedicate the eleven sacrificial animals at a single stake (instead of at eleven stakes) cf. TS 5.5.7.1 & 5.6.8.1–2b). p.601, *l.*25

As for the two oblations made before and after (*parihoma*) the offering of the omentum: Baudhāyana says that one should make them before and after each (omentum offering); Śālīki says that one should make one (before) the first (omentum offering) and one (after) the last.[32] p.601, *l.*33

As for making the horse sniff (the golden vessel full of honey): (the view expressed in) the sūtra is Baudhāyana's; Śālīki says that one should just make the horse sniff (it) during the midday pressing (i.e., not necessarily exactly at noon). p.603, *l.*4

As for placing (the cut out portions) of the sacrificial animals (within the vedi): Baudhāyana says that one should put (the portions of) each animal in place with the Pañcahotṛ mantra; Śālīki says that (one should place the portion of) only the first animal (with the Pañcahotṛ mantra).[33] p.605, *l.*18

As for the disposal of the heart spits;[34] Baudhāyana says that one should dispose of them one by one. Śālīki says (one should dispose of) all of them at once. p.605, *l.*28

[28] Rather than during the midday pressing, above, p. 603, *l.* 12.
[29] See above, pp. 603–605.
[30] I.e., each pressing day of an ahīna or sattra Soma sacrifice.
[31] ŚK.II.ES, p. 388, n. 3.
[32] Cf. Schwab, no. 83; ŚK.I.ES, p. 820.
[33] Cf. Schwab, no. 94; ŚK.I.ES, p. 834 1.24f.
[34] Cf. Schwab, no. 112; and ŚK.I.ES, p. 848f.

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II. 62. 1. आमिक्षायै मन्त्रामन्त्र इति ॥ मन्त्रवती च स्याद्ध्यवदानीया चेति बौधायनस्तूष्णीका च स्याद्ध्यवदानीया चेति शालीकिर्मन्त्रवती च स्यात्तन्त्रहरया चैनया निरूढया यजेतेत्यौपमन्यवः ॥

II. 62. 6.[1] देविकाहविषां करण इति ॥ कुर्यादिति बौधायनो न कुर्यादिति शालीकिः ॥ १२ ॥ षष्ठः ॥

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As for the question of whether or not the offering of the āmikṣā is accompanied by mantras: Baudhāyana says that it should be accompanied by mantras and should be divided and offered along with (the portions of the cow); Śālīki says that it should be performed without mantras and should be divided and offered along with (the portions of the cow); Aupamanyava says that it should be accompanied by mantras, and one should not perform it as part of the sacrifice (of the cow) (*tantrahara*), but as an independent animal sacrifice. p.607, *l.*3

As for performing the offering to the minor female deities: Baudhāyana says that one should perform (it); Śālīki says that one should not perform (it). p.607, *l.*11

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५ अथेममग्निचयं त्र्युपसत्कꣳ षडुपसत्कं द्वादशोपसत्कमिति[२] चिन्वते। स यदि साहस्रं त्र्युपसत्कं चेष्यमाणो भवति पूर्वाह्णे प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य प्रथमां चितिꣳ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताहुती जुहोति। द्वितीयां चितिꣳ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताहुती जुहोति। श्वो भूते प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य तृतीयां
१० चितिं चतुर्थीं चितिं पञ्चमीं चितिꣳ षष्ठीं चितिꣳ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताहुती जुहोत्यौपवसथिकैव तृतीयाथ यदि साहस्रꣳ षडुपसत्कं चेष्यमाणो भवति पूर्वाह्णे प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य प्रथमां चितिꣳ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताहुती जुहोति। श्वो भूते प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य द्वितीयां चितिꣳ सपुरीषामुपधाय
१५ संचिताहुती जुहोति[१]। स एवमेव पञ्चाह्नौपवसथिकैव षष्ठ्याथ यदि साहस्रं द्वादशोपसत्कं चेष्यमाणो भवति यथासूत्रं[१] तथाथ

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KARMĀNTA SŪTRAS

Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra

25.27–32

NOW THEN, THIS AGNI altar is constructed in three Upasad days, six Upasad days, or twelve Upasad days. If one is going to construct (an Agni altar) of one thousand (bricks) in three Upasad days, in the morning one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the first layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, and offers two saṃcita oblations (on it). (Then), one puts the second layer, including the (layer) of) soil, in place, and offers two saṃcita oblations (on it). On the next day one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the third layer, the fourth layer, the fifth layer, and the sixth layer,[1] including the (layer of) soil, in place, and offers two saṃcita oblations (on each of them). The third (Upasad day) is given over to the ritual activities of the day before the pressing day.[2]

If one is going to construct (an Agni altar) of one thousand (bricks) in six Upasad days,[3] then in the morning one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the first layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, and offers two saṃcita oblations (on it). On the next day one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the second layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, and offers two saṃcita oblations (on it). Thus one does the same for (the first) five days. The sixth (day) is given over to the ritual activities of the day before the pressing day.

Now if one is going to construct (an Agni altar) of one thousand bricks in twelve Upasad days, one does as described in the (main) sūtra text.

[1] See p. 573 above.
[2] See pp. 585–601 above.
[3] This is the option followed by the Nambudiris.

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यदि द्विषाहस्रं ऽउपसत्कं चेष्यमाणो भवति पूर्वाह्णे प्रवर्ग्यो-
पसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य प्रथमां चितिꣳ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताञ्जती
ञ्जलाहार्याꣳ सपुरीषामुपदधाति । द्वितीयां चितिꣳ सपुरी-
षामुपधाय संचिताञ्जती ञ्जलाहार्याꣳ सपुरीषामुपदधाति ।
श्वो भूते प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य तृतीयां चितिं चतुर्थीं चितिं ५
पञ्चमीं चितिꣳ षष्ठीं चितिꣳ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताञ्जती
ञ्जलाहार्याꣳ सपुरीषामुपदधात्यौपवसथिकैव तृतीयाय यदि
द्विषाहस्रꣳ षड्डपसत्कं चेष्यमाणो भवति पूर्वाह्णे प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां
प्रचर्य प्रथमां चितिꣳ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताञ्जती ञ्जला-
हार्याꣳ सपुरीषामुपदधाति । श्वो भूते प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य १०
द्वितीयां चितिꣳ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताञ्जती ञ्जलाहार्याꣳ
सपुरीषामुपदधाति । स एवमेव पञ्चाहमौपवसथिकैव षष्ठ्याय
यदि द्विषाहस्रं द्वादशोपसत्कं चेष्यमाणो भवति पूर्वाह्णे
प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य प्रथमां चितिमुपधायाध्यस्तपुरीष
एताꣳ रात्रिं वसति । श्वो भूते प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य १५
पुरीषमुपधाय संचिताञ्जती ञ्जलाहार्याꣳ सपुरीषामुपदधाति

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Now if one is going to construct (an Agni altar) of two thousand bricks in three Upasad days, in the morning one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the first layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and puts an additional (layer), including the (layer of) soil, in place. (Then) one puts the second layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and puts an additional (layer), including the (layer of) soil, in place. On the next day one performs the Pravargya and Upasad and puts the third layer, the fourth layer, the fifth layer and the sixth layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place. One offers two saṃcita oblations (on each layer) and puts an additional layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place (after offering each pair of saṃcita oblations). The third day is given over to the ritual activities of the day before the pressing day.

Now if one is going to construct (an Agni altar) of two thousand (bricks) in six Upasad days, in the morning one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the first layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and puts an additional layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place. On the next day one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the second layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and puts an additional layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place. One does the same for (the first) five days. The sixth (day) is given over to the ritual activities of the day before the pressing day.

Now if one is going to construct (an Agni altar) of two thousand (bricks) in twelve Upasad days, in the morning one performs the Pravargya and Upasad and puts the first layer in place. After one has (physically, but not ritually) put the (layer of) soil over (the first layer of bricks) one passes the night. On the next day one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the (layer of) soil in place (ritually), offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and and puts an additional layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place.

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स एवमेव यथासूत्रं तथा वर्तमानः पुरीषंपुरीषमुपधाय संचिताऽऽतौ ऽऽलाहार्याᳬ सपुरीषामुपदधात्यौपवसथिकैव द्वादशी' ॥ २७ ॥

अथ यदि त्रिषाहस्रं त्र्युपसत्कं चेष्यमाणो भवति पूर्वाह्णे
५ प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य प्रथमां चितिᳬ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताऽऽतौ ऽऽलाद्वे आहार्ये सपुरीषे उपदधाति' द्वितीयां चितिᳬ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताऽऽतौ ऽऽलाद्वे आहार्ये सपुरीषे उपदधाति' श्वो भूते प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य तृतीयां चितिं चतुर्थीं चितिं पञ्चमीं चितिᳬ षष्ठीं चितिᳬ सपुरीषा-
१० मुपधाय संचिताऽऽतौ ऽऽलाद्वेद्वे आहार्ये सपुरीषे उपदधात्यौपवसथिकैव तृतीयाथ यदि त्रिषाहस्रᳬ षड्डुपसत्कं चेष्यमाणो भवति पूर्वाह्णे प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य प्रथमां चितिᳬ सपुरीषामुपधाय संचिताऽऽतौ ऽऽलाद्वे आहार्ये सपुरीषे उपदधाति' श्वो भूते प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य द्वितीयां चितिᳬ सपुरीषा-
१५ मुपधाय संचिताऽऽतौ ऽऽलाद्वे आहार्ये सपुरीषे उपदधाति' स एवमेव पञ्चाहमौपवसथिकैव षष्ठ्यथ यदि त्रिषाहस्रं द्वादशोपसत्कं चेष्यमाणो भवति पूर्वाह्णे प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य प्रथमां चितिमुपधायाध्यस्तपुरीष एताᳬ रात्रिं वसति' श्वो भूते प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचर्य पुरीषमुपधाय संचिताऽऽतौ ऽऽलाद्वे आहार्ये सपुरीषे उपदधाति' स एवमेव यथासूत्रं तथा

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In this way, following the (main) sūtra text,[4] one puts a (layer of) soil in place, offers two saṃcita oblations, then puts an additional layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place. The twelfth day is given over to the ritual activities of the day before the pressing day.

Now if one is going to construct (an Agni altar) of three thousand (bricks) in three Upasad days, in the morning one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the first layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and puts two additional layers, including the layer of soil, in place. (Then) one puts the second layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and puts two additional layers, including the (layers of) soil, in place. On the next day one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the third layer, the fourth layer, the fifth layer, and the sixth layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, offers two saṃcita oblations (on each layer), and puts two additional layers in place (after each pair of saṃcita oblations). The third day is given over to the ritual activities of the day before the pressing day.

Now if one is going to construct (an Agni altar) of three thousand (bricks) in six Upasad days, in the morning one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the first layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and puts two additional layers, including the (layers of) soil, in place. On the next day one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the second layer, including the (layer of) soil, in place, offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and puts two additional layers, including the (layers of) soil, in place. One does the same for (the first) five days. The sixth (day) is given over to the ritual activities of the day before the pressing-day.

Now if one is going to construct (an Agni altar) of three thousand bricks in twelve Upasad days, in the morning one performs the Pravargya and Upasad and puts the first layer in place. After one has (physically, but not ritually) put the (layer of) soil over (the first layer of bricks) one passes the night. On the next day one performs the Pravargya and Upasad, puts the (layer of) soil in place (ritually), offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), and puts two additional layers, including the (layers of) soil, in place. In this way, following the (main) sūtra text, one puts a (layer of) soil in place,

[4] I.e., putting a layer in place on one day and then spreading the layer of soil on the subsequent day.

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वर्तमानः पुरीषंपुरीषमुपधाय संचिताञ्जती ञ्जत्वा द्वेद्वे आहार्ये
मपुरीषे उपदधात्यौपवसथिकैव द्वादशी । कथमु खल्वन्त-
रुपसत्कं बहिरुपसत्कमन्तर्बहिरुपसत्कमिति विजानीयाद्दैवस्य
संवत्सरस्य द्वादशावग्निष्य राजानं क्रीणीयात्सो ऽन्तरुपसत्कः ।
संवत्सरे पर्यवेते राजानं क्रीणीयात्स बहिरुपसत्को दैवस्य ५
संवत्सरस्य प्रथमेऽग्निष्य राजानं क्रीणीयात्तास्योपसदः स्युरुत्तरस्य
षड्रात्रः सो ऽन्तर्बहिरुपसत्कः ॥ २८ ॥ सप्तदशः ॥

II. 1. 8. मृद्मेताᳬ समां बिलेन करोतीति । समां भूम्यां
II. 1. 16. निदधातीत्येवेदमुक्तं भवत्यथैतावग्नगर्दभावुत्तरत उपस्थापयति
पुरस्ताद्वा प्रत्यञ्चौ । स यदि पुरस्तात्प्रत्यञ्चौ दक्षिणो ऽग्न १०
उत्तरो गर्दभो । ऽथ यद्युत्तरतः पूर्वो ऽग्नो ऽपरो गर्दभो ।
ऽग्निभ्यः पशूनालभत इति । पञ्चानां पशूनां ब्राह्मणं भवति ।
स यद्यु हैतान्पशूनुपाकरोत्या बर्हिष उपासनात्पाशुबन्धिकं
कर्म वर्तयित्वा शिराᳬसि प्रच्छिद्यापो देहानभ्यवहरेयुरपो

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offers two saṃcita oblations (on it), then puts two additional layers, including the (layers of) soil, in place. The twelfth day is given over to the ritual activities of the day before the pressing day.

How indeed should one distinguish between (an Agnicayana) with inner Upasads, one with outer Upasads, and one with inner and outer Upasads? If one buys King (Soma) when twelve days remain of the year-long period of consecration, then it is (an Agnicayana) with inner Upasads. If one buys King (Soma) after a year has elapsed, then it is (an Agnicayana) with outer Upasads. If one buys King (Soma) when six days remain of the year-long period of consecration and these (six days) as well as the following six days, are Upasad days, then it is an (Agnicayana) with inner and outer Upasads.

"He makes that clay level with the hole." This means that he puts it in the ground so that it is level (with the surrounding earth). p.485, *l.*13

Then he has the donkey and the horse stand to the north or east (of the sacrificial shed) facing west. If he (has them stand) to the east facing west, the horse is to the south and the donkey is to the north. If (he has them stand) to the north, the horse is to the east and the donkey is to the west. p.485, *l.*25

There is a Brāhmaṇa passage about the five victims: "He offers the animals to the Agnis" (TS 5.1.8.2). If he dedicates (i.e., offers) those (five real) victims, then he performs the rites of the animal sacrifice up to laying down (a blade of grass from) the barhis,[5] cuts off the heads, and throws the bodies p.499, *l.*10

[5] I.e., just before killing the victim; see Schwab, no. 67; SK.I.ES, p. 817.

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देहानभ्यवहरन्नीति विज्ञायते। मासमेतं ब्रह्मचर्यं चरति।
सो ऽधःसंवेशमाꣳसाशस्त्युपायो भवति पूर्वदीक्षेत्येतामाचक्षते।
II. 14. 7. त्रयोदशमेवैतं मासमभि दीक्षमाणो मन्यते। ऽत्र कृष्णाजिने
यजमानं वाचयति मुष्टी चैव न करोति वाचं च न यच्छ-
५ तीति। कृष्णाजिनप्रभृति कर्मान्त एष भवत्यावेदनात्प्रथमाया-
मुपसदि वेदिं विमिमीते स्तम्बयजुर्हरतीति। कर्मवश-
II. 18. 16. कारितमेवैतद्भवत्यथ संभारेषूषाग्निवपन्यददश्चन्द्रमसि कृष्णं
तन्मनसा ध्यायेत्तदपीक्षेति। ॥ २९ ॥

II. 24. 1. उत्तरमुत्तरं प्रति बलीवर्दमुत्तरामुत्तराꣳ सीतां कृषन्स-
II. 28. 9. र्वौषधं वपन्स्वयमातृण्णावकाशं नावक्रामेदित्यथ हैके पुरुषे
II. 37. 8. च स्वयमातृण्णायां च साम गायन्ति। किमु खलु स्वयमातृ-
ण्णानिकोतं भवतीति। हिरण्येष्टका मण्डलेष्टका रेतःसिगित्येव
ब्रूयाद्यमिष्टकागणमुपदध्यात्तं न व्यवेयाद्दक्षिणेन दक्षिण-
मुत्तरेणोत्तरꣳ। स यदि दक्षिणतः पुरस्तादेष्टका उपदध्या-
१५ दपसलैरचावर्तेताथ यद्युत्तरतः पश्चादा प्रदक्षिणमावृत्य
II. 43. 15. स्वयमातृण्णामेवाभिमुख इष्टका उपदध्यात्कृत्तिका उपदधा-

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into the water, (since) it is recognized that "They throw the bodies into the water."[6]

He leads the austere life of a religious student for that month (preceding the consecration). He sleeps on the ground, does not eat meat, and does not approach women (for sexual intercourse). This is considered the prior consecration. He is considered as undergoing consecration during this thirteenth month.[7] p.505, *l.*19

"At this point he makes the yajamāna, (sitting) on the black antelope skin, recite (the Yajñānvāraṃbha mantra). (But the yajamāna) does not clench his fists or restrain his speech." This is the ritual procedure (of the consecration) starting from the (spreading of) the black antelope skin[8] and ending with the declaration (of the yajamāna's consecration).[9] p.511, *l.*14

"He measures out the (mahā)vedi and takes the stambayajus on the first Upasad day." This is brought about in accordance with the special prescription for this rite.[10] p.525, *l.*22

Then, while pouring out the saline soil over the materials, one should mentally think that the black (spot) yonder in the moon is here too. p.519, *l.*25

Each time (one comes to the end of the furrow, one should lead) the oxen to the north (in order to plow the next furrow).[11] p.531, *l.*7

While plowing one furrow after another, and while sowing all kinds of grains, one should not step on the spot for the naturally perforated stone. p.531, *l.*21

Some authorities sing a sāman over the (golden) man and the naturally perforated stone. p.539, *l.*16

In reply to the question, "What, indeed, is the svayamātṛṇṇānikota?" one should say, "The 'golden brick' (*hiraṇyeṣṭakā*), the Circle brick (*maṇḍaleṣṭakā*), and the Seed-Discharging brick (*retaḥsic*)." p.535, *l.*7

One should not interrupt whatever group of bricks one is putting in place. (E.g.,) one should not interrupt (a group of bricks) in the south with (another group of bricks) in the south, or (a group of bricks in the north) with (another group of bricks) in the north.

If one is placing bricks in the south or in the east, one should turn around counterclockwise, (if one is placing bricks) in the north or in the west, one should turn around clockwise, and put the bricks in place while facing the naturally perforated stone.

As for (the direction), "He puts the kṛttikā bricks in place," (in p.569, *l.*30

[6] Source unknown; cf. ŚB 6.2.1.7.
[7] This presupposes a year-long period of consecration.
[8] C-H, no. 17a; ŚK.II.ES, p. 68, 1. 13.
[9] C-H, no. 18; ŚK.II.ES, p. 70, 1. 7.
[10] In the normal Soma sacrifice the measuring of the mahāvedi and the stambayajus rite fall on the second Upasad day. In the Agnicayana they fall on the first Upasad day. See Volume I, p. 386.
[11] Or "(one should recite TS 4.2.5.5p–q) over each ox in turn."

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तीति । कतमा उ खल्विमाः कृत्तिका भवन्तीति । विद्युत
इत्येव ब्रूयादस्रवणार्थं[१] बौधायनस्याग्नावग्नौ पुनस्त्रिति: । सह
सा न पुरीषचितिः षष्ठ्या चित्या वृद्धिजेति । वृद्धिजैवेति
II. 45. 17. शालौकिः । षष्ठं प्रच्छादमाहरमाणः कस्मिन्नु खल्वेनत्काल
आहरेदिति । नक्षत्रेष्टका उपधायेत्येव ब्रूयात्स त्रिभिः कर्म- ५
भिरभिप्रैति पुरीषस्योपधानेन साहस्रवता प्रोक्षणेन धेनुकरणे-
नेति । सो ऽष्टाभिः कर्मभिरभिप्रेत्युत्तमे संचिताहुती शत-
रुद्रीयं नमस्काराः परिषेचनं विकर्षणꣳ सर्पाहुतीः सामभिरु-
पस्थानमनुशꣳसनमिति । ॥ ३० ॥ अष्टादशः ॥

III. 133. 1. अथ किं नानाबीजानां निर्वपणे तन्त्रमिति । स्रुगादानं १०
तन्त्रꣳ शूर्पादानं तन्त्रं धूःप्रभृतयः शकटमन्त्राः सर्वे तन्त्रं
भवत्या सावित्राद्बीजबीजमभ्यावर्तते सावित्रं । तन्त्रं
दशहोताभिप्रव्रजनं परिदानमिति । तन्त्रं भवति । तन्त्रं
कृष्णाजिनावधवनं तन्त्रमुलूखलाध्यूहनं तन्त्रं पुरोडाशीयाना-
मावपनं तन्त्रं मुसलस्यावधानं तन्त्रꣳ शूर्पस्योपोहनं तन्त्रꣳ १५

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response to the question), "Which ones indeed are the 'kṛttikās'?" one should say, "They are flashes of lightning."

According to Baudhāyana, there should be a "repiling" (of the Agni altar)[12] in each Agnicayana, in order to prevent (the libation) from flowing away.

The layer of loose soil is not (put in place as) an addition to the sixth layer. Śālīki says that it is (put in place as) an addition. p.573, l.31

One brings in the sixth layer. (In response to the question,) "At what time should one bring it in?" one should answer, "After putting the lunar mansion bricks in place." p.573, l.31

He (the yajamāna) approaches (the Agni altar) during three rites: the spreading of the layer of loose soil, the sprinkling with water containing a thousand (chips of gold), the transformation (of the bricks) into cows. p.579, l.1

He (the yajamāna) approaches (the Agni altar) during eight rites: the last two saṃcita oblations, the Śatarudrīya offering, the namaskāras, the sprinkling around, the sweeping, the offerings to the snakes, the worshipping with sāmans and the praising (with the Uktha). p.585, l.10

As for the question which rites are common (*tantram*) to all the oblation materials at the pouring out of the different kinds of grain (and are performed only once):[13] the taking of the (Agnihotra) ladle is common; the taking of the winnowing basket is common; all of the mantras recited in connection with the cart (in which the grains are kept), from that with which the yoke is touched up to the Sāvitra mantra (with which the grains are poured out), are common; the Sāvitra mantra is repeated (thrice) for each kind of grain; the Daśahotṛ mantra is common; the rites of going up to (the domestic fire) and entrusting (the winnowing basket to it) are common; the shaking out of the black antelope skin is common; the placing of the mortar (upon the skin) is common; the pouring of the grains for the cakes (into the mortar) is common; the placing of the pestle (upon the grains) is common; the bringing of the winnowing basket near (the mortar) is common; p.599, l.7

[12] This refers to eight yajus and four Space-filler bricks put in place with TS 4.7.13.2f–n and TS 4.2.4.4n, respectively, TS 5.4.10.3–5; ĀpŚS 17.24.11-12; BŚS 17.17:297.4–14).
[13] Hillebrandt, pp. 22–29; ŚK. I. ES, pp. 264–274.

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हविष्कृदावपनप्रभृतिमन्त्रो बीजंबीजमभ्यावर्तते प्रस्कन्दनान्तो।
III. 133. 13. यथो एतच्छालीकैः कल्पं वेदयन्ते सह खिष्टकृतात्याक्रामे
III. 134. 1. दित्येकादशप्रयाज एवैतदुपपद्यते न पञ्चप्रयाजे। यथो एतदौ-
पमन्यवस्य कल्पं वेदयन्ते पुरस्तात्खिष्टकृतो यावदाम्नातेना-
५ भिषिञ्चेन्नात्र कृष्णाजिनं न रुक्मौ न पार्यानि भवन्ति
कुशानेव सꣳस्तीर्य तेष्वेनमभिषिञ्चेदिति। कथमु खलु
सत्त्रिणामभिषेक आवर्तत इत्यभिषेक आवेदनं प्रथमे ऽह्न्यभि-
षेकः प्रथमे ऽह्न्यश्वस्यावघ्रापणमादितश्चान्ततश्च बहिष्पवमान-
मास्तावे स्तुवीरन्नहरहर्यज्ञायज्ञियस्य स्तोत्रे द्वाभ्यामभिम्रगे-
१० दिति॥ ३१॥

कथमु खल्वेकादशिनानां पशूनां चर्याया उपक्रमो भवती-
तीडसूनꣳ सꣳस्तीर्य पृषदाज्यं विहृत्य जुह्वाꣳ समानीयान्तरेण
चात्वालोत्करावुदङ्गुपनिष्क्रम्य संवदेताभिघारयेदासादयेत्पशुं
पञ्चहोत्रा चतसृभूपस्तृणीते। मुख्यस्य पशोर्देवतमवदाय

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the recitation of the Haviṣkṛt formula is common. The mantras from that recited when the grains are poured (into the mortar) to that recited when the grains are poured (into the pan) are to be repeated for each kind of grain.

The view of Śālīki, as it has been reported, "One should step to the south (of the sacrificial fire) with the portion cut out for (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt," applies only to sacrifices in which there are eleven foreofferings (*prayāja*), but not to sacrifices in which there are five foreofferings.[14] p.641, *l.*24

The view of Aupamanyava has been reported: One should perform the unction before the sviṣṭakṛt offering (of the agniṣomīya paśupuroḍāśa), (one should perform) only as much as has been transmitted (in the Brāhmaṇa, i.e., TS 5.6.3.2–3). Here there is neither the black antelope skin, nor the two plates, nor the pārtha oblations.[15] p.643, *l.*6

How, indeed, is the unction of the performers of a sattra repeated? The announcement of the unction is on the first (pressing) day, the unction is on the first (pressing) day,[16] the rite of having (the horse) sniff (the golden vessel full of honey (is on the first pressing day);[17] they should chant the Outdoor Chant for the Purified Soma at the āstāva on the first and last (pressing days);[18] one should touch (the Agni altar) with two mantras during the Yajñāyajñiya chant on each (pressing day).[19] p.605, *l.*1

How indeed does one proceed with the performance of the eleven animal sacrifices?[20] After (the āgnīdhra) has laid out the carving board (*iḍasūna*), (the pratiprasthātā) should stir the mixture of clarified butter and curds (*pṛṣadājya*), pour some of it into the juhū ladle, go out (of the mahāvedi) to the north, between the cātvāla pit and the rubbish heap, and engage in a dialogue (with the śamitā). (The adhvaryu) should pour clarified butter (over the heart of) the (first) victim, place (the organs) inside (the mahāvedi), with the Pañcahotṛ formula, and spread clarified butter in the four vessels.[21] He should cut out the portions for the principal deity from (the organs of) p.605, *l.*18

[14] Thus Śāliki's view should be followed in the oblations to the Divine Instigators as the paśupuroḍāśa, in which they are included, has eleven fore offerings (cf. Schwab, no. 81; ŚK.I.ES, p. 953, 1. 12f).
[15] Cf. BŚS 22.11:133.15; and p. 641, *l.* 25 above.
[16] See p. 603 above.
[17] Ibid.
[18] C-H, no. 134.
[19] See p.605. above.
[20] These sūtras explain how the procedure for offering the organs of a single animal is to be modified in the sacrifice of eleven animals (cf. Schwab, nos. 94–103; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 833–837).
[21] I.e., the juhū and upabhṛt ladles, the iḍā pot, and the container for the gravy.

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वृक्यमेदो यूषन्नवधाय तेन जुहूं प्रोर्णुयाद्यूष्णोपसिच्याभि-
घारयेदथोपभृति स्विष्टकृते सर्वेषां त्र्यङ्गाणाꣳ सकृत्सकृत्स्वि-
ष्टकृते समवदाय वृक्यमेदो यूषन्नवधाय तेनोपभृतं प्रोर्णुया-
द्यूष्णोपसिच्य नाभिघारयेदथ हृदयं जिह्वां वक्षस्तनिम
मतन्त्रौ वनिष्ठुमिति पात्याꣳ समवधाय यूष्णोपसिच्य ५
नाभिघारयेदथ कꣳसे वा चमसे वा वसाहोमं गृहीत्वा
यूष्णोपसिच्याथाभिघारयेत्संमृशेत्पशुं पार्श्वेन वसाहोमं
1. 123. 13 प्रयौयान्नꣳस्तः कुम्बतो जघनेनोत्तरवेदिं परिक्रम्याश्रावये-
द्याज्याया अर्धर्चं प्रतिप्रस्थाता वसाहोमं जुहुयात्परिशिꣳ-
ष्याच्च दिग्भ्यो ऽथेतरद्वसाहोमहवन्याꣳ समवनयेद्वषट्कृते हवि- १०
र्जुहोति सो ऽनिष्ट्वैव स्विष्टकृतमुदङ्कृत्याक्रम्य जुहूं चैव
वसाहोमहवन्यां चोपस्तृणीते द्वितीयस्य पशोर्देवतमवदाय
वृक्यमेदो यूषन्नवधाय तेन जुहूं प्रोर्णुयाद्यूष्णोपसिच्याभि-
घारयेदथोपभृति स्विष्टकृते सर्वेषां त्र्यङ्गाणाꣳ सकृत्सकृत्सम-
वदाय वृक्यमेदो यूषन्नवधाय तेनोपभृतं प्रोर्णुयात्समवत्त- १५

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the first victim, dip the fat of the kidneys into the broth, and cover the juhū ladle (containing the oblation) with it. He should sprinkle (the oblation) with broth and pour clarified butter over it. Then, for the sviṣṭakṛt offering, he should cut off a piece of each of the three organs[22] into the upabhṛt ladle, dip the fat of the kidneys into the broth, and cover the upabhṛt ladle with it. He should sprinkle (the oblation) with broth, but he should not pour clarified butter over it. Then he should cut off into a dish (for the iḍā) pieces of the heart, the tongue, the sternum, the liver, the kidneys, and the large intestine, and sprinkle them with broth, but he should not pour clarified butter over them. Then he should take the gravy into a pot of white copper or a wooden goblet, sprinkle it with broth and pour butter over it. He should touch (the portions cut from the organs of) the victim. He should stir the gravy with the thick end of a rib. He should go around behind the uttaravedi and call out, *o śrāvaya*. In the middle of the yājyā verse the pratiprasthātā should offer the gravy. He should leave some over for (the offering to) the quarters. He should pour it into another vasāhomahavani ladle. When (the hotā) exclaims, *vaṣat*! (the adhvaryu) should offer the oblation. Without making the sviṣṭakṛt oblation, he should step to the north and spread clarified butter in both the juhū ladle and the vasāhomahavanī ladle. He should cut out the portions for the principal deity from the organs of the second victim, dip the fat of the kidneys into the broth, and cover the juhū ladle (containing the oblation) with it. He should sprinkle (the oblation) with broth and pour clarified butter over it. Then, for the sviṣṭakṛt offering, he should cut off a piece of each of the three organs into the upabhṛt ladle, dip the fat of the kidneys into the broth, and cover the upabhṛt ladle with it.

[22] I.e., the right forefoot, the left buttock, and the rectum.

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मेतद्यूष्णोपसिच्य नाभिघारयेत्तथैव कꣳसे वा चमसे वा
वसाहोमं गृह्णीयाद्यूष्णोपसिञ्चेदथाभिघारयेत्संमृशेत्पशुं
पार्श्वेन वसाहोमं प्रयौयान्मꣳस्तः कुम्बतो जघनेनोत्तरवेदिं
परिक्रम्याश्रावयेद्याज्याया अर्धर्चे प्रतिप्रस्थाता वसाहोमं जुहु-
५ यात्परिगिꣳष्याच्च दिग्भ्यो वषट्कृते हविर्जुहोति स एव-
मेव सर्वेषां पशूनाꣳ स यत्र वारुणस्य स्विष्टकृते ऽवद्येत्त-
द्विरभिघारयेत्संभवत्तमेवैतद्यूष्णोपसिच्याभिघारयेत्तथैव कꣳसे
वा चमसे वा वसाहोमं गृह्णीयाद्यूष्णोपसिच्याभिघारयेत्संमृ-
शेत्पशुं पार्श्वेन वसाहोमं प्रयौयान्मꣳस्तः कुम्बतो जघनेनो-
१० त्तरवेदिं परिक्रम्याश्रावयेद्याज्याया अर्धर्चे प्रतिप्रस्थाता वसा-
होमं जुहुयात्परिगिꣳष्याच्च दिग्भ्यो ऽथेतरद्वसाहोमहवन्याꣳ
समवनयेद्वषट्कृते हविर्जुहोत्यथ पुरस्तादनस्पतेः समान्यो
दिशः प्रतियजेदथ वनस्पतिना चरेदथ स्विष्टकृता सिद्धमत
III. 135. 3. ऊर्ध्वं यथो एतदौपमन्यवस्य कल्पं वेदयन्ते मैत्रावरुण्यामि-
१५ क्षया निरूढया यजेतेति सिद्धमत्रौपवसथिकं कर्म जानौ-
II. 62. 8. याद्यथामावास्यायाꣳ संनयतो ऽन्यत्र पिण्डपितृयज्ञात्संवत्सरं

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He should sprinkle the combined pieces with broth, but not pour clarified butter over them. Then he should take the gravy into a pot of white copper or a wooden goblet, sprinkle it with broth, and pour butter over it. He should touch (the portions cut from the organs of) the victim. He should stir the gravy with the thick end of a rib. He should go around behind the uttaravedi and call out, *o śrāvaya*! In the middle of the yājyā verse the pratiprasthātā should offer the gravy. He should leave some over for (the offering to) the quarters. He should pour it into another vasāhomahavanī ladle. When the hotā exclaims, *vaṣaṭ*! (the adhvaryu) should offer the oblation. (He should perform the rites) in the same way for each of the sacrificial animals. When he cuts off the pieces for the sviṣṭakṛt offering from (the organs of the victim) offered to Varuṇa, he should pour clarified butter on them twice. He should sprinkle the pieces that have been cut out (and placed together in the juhū ladle) with the broth and pour clarified butter over them. Then he should take the gravy into a pot of white copper or a wooden goblet, sprinkle it with broth and pour clarified butter over it. He should touch (the portions cut from the organs of) the victim. He should stir the gravy with the thick end of a rib. He should go around behind the uttaravedi and call out, *o śrāvaya*! In the middle of the yājyā verse the pratiprasthātā should offer the gravy. He should leave some for the quarters. He should pour it (the gravy) into another vasāhomahavinī ladle. When (the hotā) exclaims *vaṣaṭ*! (the adhvaryu) should offer the oblation. Before the offering to Vanaspati he should offer the combined oblations to the quarters (with the remains of the gravy oblations). Then he should proceed with the offering to Vanaspati, then with that to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt. The rest is performed in the established manner.

As for Aupamanyava's option, as it has been reported, that one should perform the offering of curdled milk solids to Mitra and Varuṇa in the form of an independent animal sacrifice: one should understand that the ritual activity of the day preceding the day of sacrifice has been established. It should be the same as in the New Moon sacrifice of one who offers the sāṃnāyya,[23] with the exception of the piṇḍapitṛyajña.[24]

[23] Hillebrandt, pp. 4–14; ŚK.I.ES, pp. 217–252.
[24] ŚK.I.ES, pp. 480–484.

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न कंचन प्रत्यवरोहेन्न शीर्षमाꣳसं खादेन्न वयसां माꣳसं नाग्निं चित्वा रामामुपेयान्नाग्निचिद्धर्षति धावेद्यदि धावेदुपावर्तेतान्नाद्यमेवाभ्युपावर्तत इति ब्राह्मणम्[1] ॥ ३२ ॥

एकोनविꣳशः ॥

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For a year (after performing the Agnicayana) (the yajamāna) does not descend from his seat or chariot to honor anyone. He does not eat the flesh of the head (i.e., brain?), or the flesh of birds. After he has piled up the Agni altar he should not approach a dark woman (i.e., a śūdrā) for sexual intercourse. One who has piled up the Agni altar should not run when it is is raining, but if he happens to run, he should turn back. There is a brāhmaṇa passage that says, "Thus indeed he turns back toward food." p.607, *l.*21

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अथ वै भवति छन्दश्चितं चिन्वीत पशुकाम इति । स छन्दश्चिद्यच्च क्व चाऽऽहुतिरागच्छति जुहोत्येव तच्चाथ यदन्यदाऽऽहुतिभ्यः शरीरवद्यजुरेव तत्र जपति यजुरेव रशनयोर्यजुरश्वगर्दभयोर्यजुरुखायै प्रवृञ्जने । यजते वायव्येन पशुना । दीक्षते । विमायाग्निं परिखायापस्यायतने यजुरेव तत्र जपति यजुः सर्वासामिष्टकानामुपधाने । जुहोति शतरुद्रीयं । कुरुते वसोर्धाराः । श्येनचितं चिन्वीत सुवर्गकाम इत्ययमे-

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Appendix

The Optional Forms of the Agni Altar to be Constructed for the Fulfilement of Special Desires (Kāmyāś Citayaḥ)

THERE IS (a Brāhmaṇa passage that says:) "One who desires cattle should pile an altar in the form of mantras (*chandaścit*)" (TS 5.4.11.1).[1] 17.28
This is the altar in the form of mantras: Wherever an oblation occurs (in the normal Agnicayana ritual), he makes an oblation (in the chandaścit ritual). Then, whenever there is a rite involving a physical object other than an oblation, he only murmurs the Yajus mantra: there are only mantras for the two reins, the horse and donkey,[2] and placing the ukhā (in the pit to fire it).[3] He performs the animal sacrifice to Vāyu.[4] (The yajamāna) is consecrated.[5] After (the adhvaryu) has measured out the (field of) Agni and dug (trenches) around it, he only murmurs mantras in the area for the pebbles.[6] There are only mantras for the placing of all the bricks. He offers the Śatarudrīya oblation,[7] and performs the Stream of Wealth.†[8]

"One who desires heaven should pile an altar in the form of a falcon (*śyena*)" (TS 5.4.11.1).

NOTES

[1] According to the Śulbasūtra one should pile the altar in the form of mantras after piling that of three thousand bricks (BŚS 30.7:400.17–401.2; cf. BŚS 22.4:122.1, p.619 above). See also Seidenberg, above, pages 108–113.
[2] p.487 above.
[3] p.495 above.
[4] pp.499–505 above.
[5] p. 507 above.
[6] p. 519 above.
[7] pp. 579–581 above.
[8] p. 595 above.

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वैष[1] श्येनचित्कङ्कचितं चिन्वीत यः कामयेत शीर्षण्यानमुष्मि-
ल्लोके स्यामित्येतस्यैव सतो ऽरत्निमात्रेण प्राक् शिर इव
निरूहति। स तथा विमितो भवति यथा न बहिर्वेदि यूपः
स्याद्रथचक्रचितं चिन्वीत चतुःसीतं प्रतिष्ठाकाम इत्येतस्यैव सतो
५ ऽरत्निमात्रेण पक्षावावणीयाꣳसौ भवतस्तावन्मात्रेणापिपक्षौ
वरीयाꣳसौ। तौ मनागपनतौ परोऽणीयाꣳसौ भवत।
एकैकामृचा सीतां हरति। प्रउगचितं चिन्वीत भ्रातृव्यवा-
नित्येतस्यैव सतः समुद्गृह्याꣳसौ प्रागायातयति। स तथा
विमितो भवति यथा न बहिर्वेदि यूपः स्यादुभयतःप्रउगं
१० चिन्वीत यः कामयेत प्रजातान्भ्रातृव्यानुदेय प्रतिजनिष्यमाणा-
नित्येतस्यैव सतः समुद्गृह्यैव श्रोणी प्रत्यगायातयति। स तथा
विमितो भवति यथा न बहिर्वेदि यूपः स्यात्। ॥ २८ ॥

रथचक्रचितं चिन्वीत भ्रातृव्यवानिति विज्ञायते।
आकृतिविकारः शब्दसंयोगाद्यावानग्निः सारत्निप्रादेशस्तावतीं
१५ भूमिं परिमण्डलां कृत्वानुशर्करमन्तःशर्करमिष्टकाः परिचिनो-
त्यथान्ततो ऽथान्तरत। एवमेवा स्वयमातृण्णाया। अथा-

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This falcon-shaped altar is the very one.[9]

"One who wishes, "May I have a head in yonder world,' should pile an altar in the form of a heron" (ibid.). While (the form of the falcon-shaped altar) remains the same, he draws out its head an aratni to the east. It is measured out in such a way that the sacrificial post is not outside the vedi.[10]

"One who desires a firm support should pile an altar with four furrows[11] in the form of an alaja bird" (ibid.). While (the form of the altar) remains the same, the ends of the wings are (made) an aratni narrower. The junctures of the wings and the body are made that much wider. They (i.e., the wings) are bent slightly outward (in the center) and are narrower at the outside (i.e., the ends). He plows each furrow with a verse.

"One who has rivals should pile an altar in the form of the triangle (made by the two shafts and the cross beam of a chariot)" (ibid.). While (the size? of the altar[12]) remains the same, he pulls the shoulders together and stretches it out to the east. It is measured out in such a way that the sacrificial post is not outside the vedi. "One who wishes, 'May I repel my rivals, those that have been born and those that are yet to be born,' should pile an altar in the form of a double triangle" (ibid.). While (the form of the triangular altar) remains the same, he pulls the two hips together, in the same way, and stretches it out to the west. It is measured out in such a way that the sacrificial post is not outside the vedi.

"One who has rivals should pile an altar in the form of a chariot wheel" 17.29
(ibid.), according to tradition. There occurs a modification of the shape in accordance with the expression.[13] He makes into a circle as much ground as is enclosed by the Agni altar of which the wings and tail have been lengthened by an aratni and a prādesa respectively,[14] and piles bricks around along the pebbles and inside the pebbles.[15] Then (he piles more bricks) inside (them), and then more bricks inside those.[16] He proceeds in this way up to the naturally perforated stone.

[9] I.e., the square variety of bird-shaped altar described by the main sūtra text.

[10] I.e., the eastern edge on the altar should not cross the mahāvedi's eastern edge, where the sacrificial post is raised.

[11] This may refer to plowing the field of Agni once rather than three times in each direction; cf. p. 531 below.

[12] The Śulbasūtra bases the construction of the praügacit on a square of double the area of the square variety of bird-shaped altar. See Thibaut, pp. 156, 58.

[13] I.e., the expression "chariot wheel" of the quoted TS passage requires the modification of the shape of the altar.

[14] I.e., the square variety of bird-shaped altar. The main sūtra text does not prescribe the lengthening of the tail by a prādeśa, nor does TS 5.2.5.1. This detail is, however, found in the Śulbasūtra (BŚS 30.8:402.4–5) and is prescribed by KS 20.3.

[15] See p. 519 above.

[16] We adopt the reading *athāntarato 'thāntarato* give in the apparatus.

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भितः स्वयमातृण्णां । मध्ये नाभिमिव करोति । तस्या अनु-
दिशमवान्तरदिशमरानिव नेमिमिवेष्टका आयातयति । स
एष रथचक्रचिद्भ्रातृव्यवतः परिक्रयो । द्रोणचितं चिन्वीतान्न-
काम इत्येतस्यैव सतेर ऽरत्निमात्रेण प्रागोष्ठमिव निरूहत्यथ
मध्ये निम्नमिव करोति । स एष द्रोणचिदन्नकामस्य परि- ५
क्रयः । समूह्यं चिन्वीत पशुकाम इति विज्ञायते । पुष्कर-
पर्णꣳ रुक्मꣳ हिरण्मयं पुरुषꣳ स्रुचावित्येतल्लक्षणमित्या-
चक्षते । कुरुत एव तदथो पुरीषस्यैवेष्टका आयातयति ।
स एष समूह्यः पशुकामस्य परिक्रयः । परिचाय्यं चिन्वीत
ग्रामकाम इत्यनुशर्करमन्तःशर्करमिष्टकाः परिचिनोत्यथा- १०
न्ततो ऽथान्तरत । एवमेवा स्वयमातृण्णाया । अथाभितः
स्वयमातृण्णामिष्टकाः परिचिनोति । स एष परिचाय्यो ग्राम-
कामस्य परिक्रयः । ॥ २९ ॥

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Then (he piles bricks) around the naturally perforated stone. In the center he makes the nave (of the wheel), as it were. Around it he arranges bricks (along the radii) in the quarters and the intermediate quarters like the spokes and the rim of a wheel. This chariot wheel shaped altar should be drawn in the shape of a circle for one who has rivals.*

"One who desires food should pile an altar in the form of a wooden trough" (ibid.). While (the chariot wheel form of the altar) remains the same, he draws out a spout, as it were, an aratni to the east. Then he makes a depression, as it were, in the middle.[17] This wooden trough shaped altar should be drawn in the shape of a circle for one who desires food.

"One who desires cattle should pile (an altar of soil) that has to be collected together" (ibid.); thus is known from tradition. They say that the lotus leaf, the golden breastplate, the golden man, and the two ladles are only to be indicated.[18] He actually performs in that way. Then he arranges "bricks" of soil only. (This altar of soil) that has to be collected should be drawn in the shape of a circle for one who desires cattle.

"One who desires a village should pile a circular altar" (ibid.). He piles bricks around along the pebbles and inside the pebbles. Then he piles (more bricks) inside (those), and then (more bricks) inside (them.) (He proceeds) in this way up to the naturally perforated stone. Then he piles bricks around the naturally perforated stone. This circular altar should be drawn in the shape of acircle for one who desires a village.

[17] I.e., at the placing of the layer of soil, more soil is laid at the edge than in the middle. Cf. BŚS 30.21:414.8–9; Thibaut, p. 203.

[18] Possibly by drawing figures on the ground; so says Dvārakanāthayajvan on BŚS 30.18:411.6 (Thibaut, p. 182).

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[१०।३०।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम्। ३०९

श्मशानचितं चिन्वीत यः कामयेत पितृलोकं ऋध्नुयामिति। षट् प्राञ्चः पुरुषास्त्रयः पुरस्तात्तिर्यञ्चौ द्वौ पश्चात्तिर्यञ्चौ स आत्मा। तस्य मात्रा। यदि ग्रीवदघ्नं पुरस्तान्नाभिदघ्नं पश्चाद्यदि नाभिदघ्नं पुरस्ताज्जानुदघ्नं पश्चाद्यदि
५ जानुदघ्नं पुरस्तादुरुफदघ्नं पश्चाद्यदि गुरुफदघ्नं पुरस्तात्समं भूमेः पश्चात्स एष श्मशानचित्पितृलोककामस्याथ हैष कूर्मचिद्ब्राह्मणो। मध्य उत्पृष्टः परिक्रम्य। एतस्यैव सतो ऽरत्निमात्रेण प्राक् शिर इव निरूहति। तस्यावान्तरदिशं पादानिवेष्टका आयातयति। स एष कूर्मचिद्ब्राह्मणो मध्य उत्पृष्टः
१० परिक्रम्यः। ॥ ३० ॥ दशमः ॥

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"One who wishes, 'May I prosper in the world of the fathers,' should pile an altar in the form of a funeral pyre" (ibid.). The body (of the altar) is six puruṣas (from west) to east, three across in the east and two across in the west.[19] (As for) its measurement: if it is neck-high in the east, it should be navel-high in the west; if it is navel-high in the east, it should be knee-high in the west; if it is knee-high in the east, it should be ankle-high in the west; if it is ankle-high in the east, it should be level with the ground in the west. This is the pyre shaped altar for one who desires the world of the fathers. 17.30

Now for the tortoise shaped altar, which is not prescribed by a Brāhmaṇa passage. It is circular with its back raised in the middle.[20] While (the form of the circular altar) remains the same, he draws out its head, as it were, an aratni to the east. He arranges bricks like feet for it in the intermediate quarters. This is that tortoise shaped altar, which is not prescribed by a Brāhmaṇa passage, and which is to be drawn in the shape of a circle with its back raised in the middle.

[19] We adopt the reading *trayaḥ purastāttiryaco dvau paścāttiryañcau* given in the apparatus. Dvārakanāthayajvan says that the unit length of puruṣa is here reduced to $\sqrt{7.5/15}$ (square puruṣas); thus the area of this trapezium form of śmaśānaciti remains 7.5 square puruṣas. (See Thibaut, p.184).

[20] "One should put down a thin layer of soil on the edge of the tortoise (-shaped altar), a thick (layer of soil) in the middle" (BŚS 30.21:414.8, Thibaut, p. 203).

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१७४ बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम् । [२३ । १५ ।]

II. 307. 13. रथचक्रचितौ पुरीषस्योपधान इति ॥ पुरीषस्यान्तान्कु-
र्यादिति बौधायन" इष्टकास्वेव पुरीषस्यान्तं गच्छेदिति[९]
शालीकिः ॥ १५ ॥ अष्टमः ॥

[२६ । २८ ।] बौधायनश्रौतसूत्रम् । ३११

II. 306. 8. ५ अथ वै भवति छन्दश्चितं चिन्वीत पशुकाम इत्यभ्यादा-
नप्रभृतीन्मन्त्रान्साधयेदा वायव्यात्प्रत्यचं वायव्येन पशुना
यजेत प्रत्यचं दीचणीययोखाप्रवृञ्जनप्रभृतीन्मन्त्रान्साधयेदा
वात्सप्रविष्णुक्रमेभ्यः प्रत्यचं वात्सप्रविष्णुक्रमैः क्रमित्वा निगदे-
देवेतरान्मन्त्रान्विहरेदग्निम्[४] रूपाणि दर्शयेद्गच्छेदिरिणं
१० तत्र नैर्ऋतान्मन्त्रान्निगदेत्स्व[५] प्रत्यचं गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठेत प्रत्यचं
प्रायणीयया प्रत्यचमातिथ्यया कार्ष्णाजिनीप्रभृतीन्मन्त्रा-
न्साधयेदा कर्षणवपनाभ्यां प्रत्यचं कर्षणवपने प्रथमां
चितिम् सपुरीषां निगदेदेवं द्वितीयामेवं तृतीयाम् सर्वां
चितिम् सपुरीषाम् सवण्डां चितिम् सपुरीषां निगदेद्या[२]
अहान्तःशालीका आहुतयः स्युर्जुहुयादेव ता अथ य
औत्तरवेदिका मन्त्राः स्युर्निगदेदेव तान् ॥ २८ ॥

[32] The reading of Caland's text of this passage is "wholly uncertain." *Vaṇḍaciti* seems to be identified with the second and the fourth layers according to the occurrences of the word in BŚS 17.24, 25 and 26. But we don't see the reason why they are called *vaṇḍa*. Is it that these even numbered layers have no svayamātṛṇṇā pebbles, while they are put in the center of each odd-numbered layer?

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DVAIDHA

As for placing the layer of soil on the altar shaped like a chariot wheel: 23.15
Baudhāyana says one should make the (altar's) edges of soil. Śālīki says the edge of soil should go over the bricks themselves.

KARMĀNTA

There is (a Brāhmaṇa passage that says) "One who desires cattle 26.28
should pile an altar in the form of mantras" (TS 5.4.11.1). He recites the mantras from the one for taking the hoe[21] up to the animal sacrifice for Vāyu. He really performs the animal sacrifice for Vāyu[22] and the consecration iṣṭi.[23] He recites the mantras from the one for placing the ukhā (on the offering fire)[24] up to the adoration of the ukhā fire with the Vātsapra Hymn and the Viṣṇu steps.[25] After he has really performed the adoration of the ukhā fire with the Vātsapra Hymn and stepped the Viṣṇu steps he should only recite the other mantras. He should construct the Agni altar geometrically.[26] He should show the shapes (of the bricks). He should go to the place of saline soil and recite the mantras to Nirṛti there.[27] He should really worship the domestic fire.[28] (He should) really (perform) the introductory iṣṭi of the Soma sacrifice, and the guest offering for Soma.[29] He should recite the mantras from those for the sandals made of black antelope skin[30] up to plowing and sowing (the field of Agni).[31] He should really plow and sow (the field of Agni). He should recite (the mantras for) the first layer along with (those for) the layer of soil. Similarly, (he should recite the mantras for) the second and third (layers). He should recite (the mantras for) each complete layer along with a layer of soil (and also) the partial layer along with the layer of soil.[32] He should really perform those oblations that take place in the śālā (i.e., the Old Hall). But mantras which are connected with the uttaravedi (i.e., the Agni altar) should only be recited.

[21] p. 487 above.
[22] pp. 499–505 above.
[23] p. 507 above.
[24] p. 509 above.
[25] p. 513 above.
[26] p. 517 above.
[27] p. 523 above.
[28] p. 525 above.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] pp. 529–531 above.

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KAUṢĪTAKI BRĀHMAṆA ON THE ATIRĀTRA

E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma

THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATION *is not literal, but it attempts to follow the text closely without sacrificing clarity. It consists of Chapters XIV through XVII, and the first four sections of Chapter XVIII, adding explanatory notes from Udaya's commentary wherever necessary. The text has been published by the author (Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1968), as well as Udaya's commentary (Wiesbaden 1976). For a discussion of these chapters and their context in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, see the article "The Atirātra according to the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa" in Part III of this volume (pages 161–167).*

XIV. 1. Then the next is the Ājya (Conquering). By the Ājya the gods conquered all desired things, all immortality. In just the same way the yajamāna, by the Ājya alone, conquers all desired things, all immortality.[1] This Ājya is sixfold: the silent muttering (ŚŚS 7.9.1), the silent recital (ŚŚS 7.9.2), the Prior Light (ŚŚS 7.9.3), the hymn (RV 3.13), the Śastra Vigor (ŚŚS 7.9.6), and the offering verse (RV 3.25.4). The year, which consists of six seasons, is sixfold. Through this sixfold Ājya the gods attained the sixfold year consisting of six seasons; and, through the year, all desired things, all immortality. In the same way the yajamāna now, through the sixfold Ājya, attains the sixfold year consisting of six seasons; and, through the year, all desired things, all immortality. That he first mutters the silent muttering (is because) the ritual is indeed the world of heaven, and by beginning with the silent muttering, he performs a beneficial rite for the attainment of the world of heaven. Next he recites the silent recital inaudibly, for the attainment of all desired things.[2] (He says,) "Fire Light, Light Fire"; thereby he attains this world among the worlds and also the morning pressing of the ritual. (He says,) "Indra Light, Light Indra"; thereby he attains the middle world among the worlds and also the midday pressing of the ritual. (He says,) "Sun Light, Light Sun"; thereby he attains the yonder world of the worlds and also the third pressing of the ritual. Then there is the Nivid,[3] which is indeed he who glows beyond.

XIV. 2. For he comes forth revealing all this.[4] It (the Prior Light) is placed be-

[1] Udaya takes this as the etymological explanation of the name *ājya*: *ā* + *ji*, an instrument by which one conquers directly or completely.
[2] Udaya notes that according to ŚŚS 7.9.1–2, after the silent muttering, the āhāva is to be made, followed by the silent recital.
[3] This is the Prior Light (*puroruc*) consisting of twelve parts.
[4] Etymology of the word *nivid* (*ni* + *vid*) = *nivedanam* is indicated here.

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fore the hymn in the morning pressing, because the sun is in front at that time; in the middle of the hymn during the midday pressing, because he is then in the middle (of the sky); after reciting the last verses in the third pressing, because at that time he has moved to the back. Therefore in accordance with his appearance (the hotā) continues to fix the Nivid. They say that the colored horses draw the morning pressing, the white-backed the midday pressing, and the glossy white the third pressing, as in the case of the sun. He recites the Prior Light, consisting of twelve parts, one by one. Indeed twelve months make one year. This is for the attainment of the year. Then he recites the Ājya (hymn) consisting of seven verses, because the meters are seven. This is for the attainment of all meters. It is in the anuṣṭubh meter. Anuṣṭubh is speech. So whatever is described by speech, the anuṣṭubh, he attains.[5] He recites each quarter separately.[6] That is the symbol of generation, for man approaches woman by separating (her thighs). The act of dividing also symbolizes the two feet (which are the support). Further what is in between the two quarters is the mouth of death. If somebody says to him who takes breath in between, "You are falling into the mouth of death; you will not live," then it will happen like that.

Therefore he shall pass (to the next quarter) without breathing out.[7] XIV. 3
Breath is indeed immortality. So by immortality he crosses death. He combines the quarters of the next hemistich and ends with a praṇava; by doing so he indeed hurls the thunderbolt at his evil rival. They become ten gāyatrīs. The tenth quarter is of only eight syllables. That which is anuṣṭubh here becomes (one) gāyatrī.[8] Gāyatrī is the meter of Agni. The adhvaryu takes up ten cups at the morning pressing. They chant the Bahiṣpavamāna in nine (verses) (based on RV 9.11.1–9). The word *hiṃ* is the tenth (PB 2.1.1). So there are ten. They (the adhvaryu, udgātā and hotā), acting in different ways, prepare the Virāj.[9] All this food is nothing but Virāj. After procuring it they bestow it on the yajamāna. By repeating the first (RV 3.13.1) thrice and the last (RV 3.13.7) thrice they make eleven; the offering verse (RV 3.25.4) is the twelfth. Since twelve months make the year, this leads to the year. Thus, recited properly, they become sixteen gāyatrīs.

[5] Udaya gives the explanation following Bhartṛhari that the world of forms is covered by the world of names. He also refers to the view that, because in the Nighaṇṭu the word *anuṣṭubh* is included as a synonym of *vāc* ('speech'), *anuṣṭubh* is identified with *vāc*. According to another view, following RV 1.164.45, *vāc* consists of four legs, and is identified with *anuṣṭubh*, which consists of four quarters.
[6] The first hemistich of RV 3.13.1 is to be recited separating the two quarters.
[7] Hence the form of the recital is *gamad devebhir āsano yajiṣṭho barhir āsado*.
[8] Seven anuṣṭubhs, each consisting of thirty-two syllables, when converted into gāyatrī make nine full gāyatrīs and eight independent syllables. These eight syllables are to be reckoned as one gāyatrī relying upon the dictum *aṣṭākṣarā gāyatrī* (TS 5.6.5.1, etc.).
[9] The adhvaryu takes up ten cups; the udgātā sings ten sāmans; the hotā recites, as above, ten gāyatrīs. "Ten syllables make the meter Virāj" (PB 2.1.1).

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Therefore the Ājya becomes one with gāyatrī.[10] The offering verse (RV 3.25.4) is addressed to Agni and Indra; thus he makes Indra share half of the pressing: Kauṣītaki says, "Make the deities partake of it." Virāj consists of thirty-three syllables, the deities are thirty-three; so he makes the deities share one syllable each. After reciting the hemistich, "You Agni and Indra in the house of the generous" (RV 3.25.4), leaving the last quarter, he breathes. Virāj is prosperity and food. So he establishes himself in prosperity, in Virāj, which is food. With the next hemistich of the Virāj he utters vaṣaṭkāra. By that indeed he places the yajamāna in the world of heaven. Then he follows with the next vaṣaṭkāra for the tranquility of the oblations, for the stability of the oblations.

XIV. 4 At the morning pressing he calls out, "Let us two recite." The adhvaryu (responds,) "O divine, let us all recite." These make eight syllables.[11] At the morning pressing the hotā shall say inaudibly, "The śastra is recited." "O the reciter of hymns," says the adhvaryu. They are eight.[12] Beginning the pressing with gāyatrī they have concluded it in gāyatrī.[13] At the midday pressing he calls out, "O adhvaryu, let us two recite." "O divine, let us all recite," (says) the adhvaryu. There are eleven syllables.[14] At the midday pressing the hotā shall say inaudibly, "The hymn for Indra is recited. "O! the reciter of hymns," (says) the adhvaryu. There are eleven.[15] Beginning the pressing with triṣṭubh they have concluded it in triṣṭubh. At the third pressing he calls out in reduplication, "O adhvaryu, let us two repeatedly recite." The adhvaryu responds with reduplication, "O divine, let us all recite repeatedly." There are twelve syllables.[16] Because of hairiness, they become thirteen.[17] At the third pressing, the hotā shall say inaudibly, "The hymn has been recited to Indra and the gods." "O! the reciter of hymns," (says) the adhvaryu. They make exactly twelve.[18] Beginning the pressing with jagatī, they have indeed concluded it in jagatī. Whatever is sown in the middle becomes this alone.[19] Even if other meters are inserted in the ritual, for him who knows this fact,

[10] Twelve anuṣṭubhs are equal to sixteen gāyatrīs (8 × 3). Udaya remarks that according to PB 6.3.11 the morning pressing is related to gāyatrī. After reciting the last ṛk (3.13.7), the Śastra Vigor (*ukthavīrya*) is recited, followed by the offering verse.
[11] *Śoṃsāvo* (3) plus *śoṃsāvo daiva* (5) makes eight syllables.
[12] *Uktham avāci* (5) plus *ukthaśā* (3) makes eight syllables.
[13] Because, as stated above, gāyatrī consists of eight syllables.
[14] *Adhvàryo śoṃsāvo* (6) plus *śoṃsāmo daiva* (5) makes eleven syllables.
[15] *Uktham avācīndrāya* (8) plus *ukthaśā* (3) makes eleven syllables.
[16] *adhvaryo śośoṃsāmo* plus *śośoṃsāmo daiva* (6) makes twelve. The reduplication in the first is counted as one syllable.
[17] Jagatī has twelve syllables. Here by counting the first reduplication as one syllable we arrive at twelve. Just as hair grows on a child after it is born without changing it, one may be counted as two, and twelve as thirteen.
[18] *Avācīndrāyokthaṃ devebhyaḥ* (9) plus *ukthaśā* (3) makes exactly twelve syllables.
[19] The three pressings are carried by the meters, gāyatrī, triṣṭubh and jagatī, respectively. Even when other meters than these are used in the middle of these pressings, they are to be considered as gāyatrī, triṣṭubh or jagatī.

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only the fixed (three) meters carry the ritual. Further it is said that the following verse (RV 1.164.23) confirms what is said here: "That the gāyatrī[20] is deposited on gāyatra (the morning pressing) and that the triṣṭubh[21] was carved out of traiṣṭubha (midday pressing) and that the jagatī[22] is placed upon jagatī (third pressing); those who knew this attained immortality." Further[23] these deities are also exalted in these worlds. In this world which is gāyatra, the Agni which is gāyatra is exalted. In the middle world which is traiṣṭubha, the wind god which is traiṣṭubha is exalted. In the world beyond, which is jāgata, the sun beyond, which is jāgata, is exalted.

After reciting the Ājya he recites Praüga ('Assemblage'). The self of the yajamāna is Ājya, the vital senses are Praüga.[24] Since he recites the Praüga after reciting the Ājya, the yajamāna, after obtaining the whole of life in this world, attains immortality and imperishableness in the world of heaven. After the Pavamāna is chanted, he recites the Ājya; after the Ājya is chanted (he recites) the Praüga. This Praüga is indeed the śastra of Pavamāna. Ājya itself is the śastra of the Ājya chant. He transposes these two.[25] It is just like twisting the inner cords of a chariot. Kauṣītaki says that the cups are to be followed by the recitations. The cups for the Wind and for Indra and Wind together are (TS 1.4.4.1) to be followed by (the triplets) addressed to Wind (RV 1.2.1–3) and to Indra and Wind together (RV 1.2.4–6), respectively. The cups for Mitra and Varuṇa shall be followed by (the verses) addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa (RV 1.2.7–9); the cups for the Aśvins by those addressed to the Aśvins. For the offering verses of the Prasthitas,[26] (he recites the triplet) addressed to Indra. When the assistants (hotras) offer the oblations (he recites the triplet) addressed to the Viśvedevas. Speech itself is Sarasvatī in all the pressings.[27] Further the Prior Light is he who glows beyond; for it is he who shines in front. Moreover the Prior Light is the vital breath itself and the hymn is the body. Or, the Prior Light is itself the body; offspring and cattle are the hymn. So one should not call out between XIV. 5.

[20] *Śoṃsāvo śoṃsāmo daiva* (8 syllables).
[21] *Adhvaryo śoṃsāvo śoṃsāmo daiva* (11 syllables).
[22] *Adhvaryo śośoṃsāvo śoṃsāmo daiva* (12 syllables).
[23] The verse quoted above should be interpreted not only as describing the ritual, but also as describing the position of the deities in the worlds.
[24] Udaya interprets *prāṇa* as *cakṣur ādayaḥ* (the vital senses) in order to equate the number of triplets in the Praüga śastra with the number of prāṇas (AB 1.17.8 *sapta vai śīrṣan prāṇāḥ*).
[25] The Bahiṣpavamāna chant normally should be followed by Praüga and the Ājya chanting by the Ājya śastra. But here these positions are reversed.
[26] The offerings made by the praśāstā, the brahman, the potā, the neṣṭā, and the āgnīdhra under the instruction of the adhvaryu are meant here.
[27] This statement, according to Udaya, is the answer to an unexpressed question as to the propriety of reciting a triplet addressed to Sarasvatī in the Praüga śastra, since no cup is offered to that deity. The substance of this statement is that, as all the cups are offered with recitation (which is Sarasvatī = Vāc), the recital of the triplet of Sarasvatī is only proper: it becomes the recital for all the cups.

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the Prior Light and the hymn. First reciting the hymn combined with the Prior Light, he shall call out before (reciting) each subsequent Prior Light,[28] "The Wind proceeds in the front" (ŚŚS 7.10.9). This is the symbol of inhalation. "O! Wind here" (RV 1.2.1–3); this is the symbol of exhalation.

XIV. 6. He recites the Praüga beginning with gāyatrī (RV 1.2.1–3). By this the morning pressing is attained. He recites (the triplet) addressed to Indra (RV 1.2.4–6). By this the midday pressing is attained. He recites (the triplet) addressed to the Viśvedevas (RV 1.3.7–9). By this the third pressing is attained. Then he recites the Prior Light of which Viśvedevas are the deity (ŚŚS 7.10.13). It consists of six quarters. As such they call it the seasons, for the seasons are six. He recites it making a pause after each two quarters. Therefore the seasons are spoken of in pairs, the Summer, the Rainy, and the Winter. Here some (ritualists) recite the Prior Light having Sarasvatī for its deity (ŚŚS 7.10.15). It should not be done; for it becomes an excess. Radiant indeed is speech; speech itself is the Prior Light. The hymns beginning with "Wind come hither, O lovely one" (RV 1.2) and "O Aśvins, (you enjoy) the ritual oblations" (RV 1.3) with nine and twelve verses, respectively, make the Praüga. That becomes twenty-one. The chant consisting of twenty-one verses is the highest among the fourfold chants; so he attains the highest chant. There are twenty-one: twelve months, five seasons, and these three worlds; the sun beyond is the twenty-first; so he exalts the yajamāna by this in his (the sun's) world.

XIV. 7. They form seven triplets. Seven are the meters, so this leads to the attainment of all meters. Moreover by these the gods appropriated the seven sevenfolds[29] of the Asuras. In the same way, the yajamāna by these alone appropriates the seven sevenfolds of his hateful rival. Formerly the morning pressing belonged to Agni, the midday pressing to Indra, and the third pressing to the Viśvedevas. As such Agni wished, "Let me partake of the midday pressing as well as of the third pressing." Indra wished, "Let me partake of the morning pressing as well as of the third pressing." The Viśvedevas wished, "Let us partake of the midday pressing as well as of the morning pressing." Those deities leaving the third pressing, proceeded towards the morning pressing and assembled therein. Because they assembled together in it, it is called the "Assemblage" (Praüga). Hence several deities are praised in the Praüga. Therefore, all pressings belong to all the deities. After reciting the śastra, he utters the offering verse, "With all (deities), O Agni, you drink the sweet Soma" (RV 1.14.10). For this śastra is addressed to the Viśvedevas. Because of the gāyatrī, the morning pressing is called gāyatra. He should also utter the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra.

[28] After reciting the Prior Light, he shall immediately follow with the recital of the triplet, without any call-out in between; then a call-out followed by the Prior Light and the triplet.

[29] Udaya interprets this to mean seven kinds of valuables. The Bṛhaddevatā (V.123) enumerates them: discus, chariot, jewels, wife, land, horse, and elephant.

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The gods, after propitiating the (pressing) stones with the Arbuda hymn (RV 10.94) and the purifying verses,[1] obtained immortality, made their resolutions come true. In the same way the yajamāna, when he praises the (pressing) stones with the Arbuda hymn and the purifying verses, obtains immortality and makes his resolutions come true. When the Pavamāna chant is over, they proceed with *dadhi gharma*, for this is its proper time. This makes the pressing sappy. Then they proceed with the set of five oblations.[2] The explanation for this has already been given (KB 13.1.10). At midday, the Prasthita offering verse is that of Bharadvāja (RV 6.17.1); for it was Bharadvāja who gave Soma to Indra in the midday pressing. The verse having Indra as its deity is in triṣṭubh. He utters the subsequent *vaṣaṭkāra* for the tranquility of the oblations, for the stability of the oblations. Then the associates (hotrās) make their offerings together, the explanation of which has been given (KB 13.5.20). Then the ritual food, then the hotā's vessel; the explanation of which has been given (KB 13.5.23–28). After the Dākṣiṇa offerings are made, the remunerations are given. The pressing ends with this. Further, giving away the remunerations is indeed the redemption of oneself. Moreover, it is through remunerations that the ritual is made viable. Because the ritual is made viable through remunerations, it is called *dakṣiṇā*. So they (each) should daily utter (the mantra), "Here let me make myself the remuneration for auspicious fame, for the world of heaven, for immortality." Thus they indeed make themselves the remuneration for auspicious fame, for the world of heaven, for immortality. After reciting a verse of Viśvāmitra (RV 3.51.7) as the invitatory verse after the cup for the Maruts, he offers the oblation with a verse of Visvāmitra (RV 3.47.2). The cup for the Maruts indicates the continuity of pressing. Speech itself is Viśvāmitra;[3] due to speech the sacrifice spreads. These two (verses) are addressed to Indra and are in triṣṭubh. The midday pressing belongs to Indra and the triṣṭubh. He utters the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra for the tranquility of the oblations, for the stability of the oblations. XV. 1.

Then he recites the sixfold Marutvatīya;[4] since six seasons indeed make the year, this results in attaining the year. He recites six meters in the order: anuṣṭubh, gāyatrī, bṛhatī, uṣṇih, triṣṭubh and jagatī. Hence it (i.e., the Marutvatīya) is sixfold. He begins the Marutvatīya with, "To you like a chariot for protection" (RV 8.68.1) in the anuṣṭubh. The Marutvatīya is XV. 2.

[1] According to ŚŚS 7.15 the recital can be done optionally by transposing the Arbuda and Pāvamanī hymns. The transposed order is as follows: RV 1.24.3; 5.81.1; 8.81.1; 8.81.6; 8.81.7; 9.31.4; 10.94.1, 2; 9.31.5; 10.94.3,4; 9.31.6; 10.94.5; 9.8.4; 9.67.7; 9.15.7; 9.65.14; 9.17.4; 9.67.15; 9.31.4; 10.94.6, 7; 9.31.5; 10.94.8, 9; 9.31.6; 10.94.10; 9.31.4; 10.94.11; 9.31.5; 10.94.12–16; 9.31.6; 10.94.13.

[2] Curd, fried rice, flour, cake, and curdled milk.

[3] Speech makes friends; Viśvāmitra means "the one who has the world as his friend" (cf. Pāṇini 6.3.130). Therefore speech is equated with Viśvāmitra.

[4] Udaya reminds us that the drinking of the Marutvatīya cup precedes the Marutvatīya recital.

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the śastra of the Pavamāna chant. The anuṣṭubh is the meter of Soma. The explanation for transposing the quarters has already been given (KB 14. 2.22). He recites the verses in gāyatrī (RV 8.68.2,3; 8.2.1–3). The verses in gāyatrī are indeed the vital breath. By this he retains the vital breath in himself. "This food, O bright one, is pressed" (RV 8.68.4) is the antistrophe containing the words "pressed" and "drink." For this is the śastra of the Pavamāna chant. "O Indra, come nearer" (RV. 8.53.5–6) is a mingled verse (Pragātha) inviting Indra. For the Maruts encouraged him (Indra) by saying, "Come nearer." He replied: "After slaying Vṛtra and being successful, I may have the drink of Soma with you." This mingled verse symbolizes his drinking of Soma with them. "Brahmaṇaspati indeed (recites)" is a mingled verse addressed to the deity Brahmaṇaspati. "Smite him," said Brahmā, encouraging him (Indra). He replied: "After slaying Vṛtra and being successful, I may have the drink of Soma with you." This mingled verse symbolizes his drinking of Soma with Brahman. "In it make the deities partake," Kauṣītaki has said, "in which Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, the gods, made their abode." In this the deities are made to partake.

XV. 3. It is asked: as the two mingled verses, one inviting Indra and the other addressed to Brahmaṇaspati, are neither strophes nor antistrophes, why are they recited in repetition so as to obtain the kakubh meter? (The answer is): the sāman chanters do the Pavamāna chanting by repetition; hence the same form is maintained here.[5] "Agni is, just like the Sun, the leader of the folk" (RV 3.20.4); "You, O Soma, with your acts, are wise" (RV 1.91.2): these two verses are addressed to Agni and Soma, respectively. Agni and Soma were inside Vṛtra. Indra was unable to hurl his vajra at them. They demanded a share of this (two verses) as ransom, besides their share in the full moon ritual. This śastra, which is Marutvatīya, is the killer of Vṛtra. For it was with this that Indra killed Vṛtra. "The munificient Maruts make the waters flood" (RV 1.64.6) is the verse containing the word "water-flood." This verse referring to the flooding of water is indeed water itself. As the

[5] The question refers to the following idea: the quarters of RV 8.53.5,6 and 1.40.5,6, the two pragāthas mentioned here, are repeated by the hotā in order to make them in kakubh meter. According to the general rule, the hotā has to recite the ṛk verses on which the chanters base their sāman. In this context the chanters do not make use of the above mentioned ṛks for their sāman singing. Therefore, the recitation of these verses by the hotā is a violation of the general rule. How does one account for this violation? The answer is this: during the midday pressing the chanters base their sāmans on the three meters, gāyatrī, bṛhatī, and triṣṭubh. There they chant the two sāmans called Gāyatra and Amahiyava on six ṛk-verses in the gāyatrī meter (RV 9.61.10). This is followed by singing the Raurava and Yaudhājaya sāmans on six verses in the bṛhatī metre (RV 9.107.6). Then the sāman called Auśana based on three verses in the triṣṭubh meter (RV 9.87.1) is chanted. Among these, the Raurava and Yaudhājaya sāmans based on the bṛhatī metres are chanted in repetition. Therefore the two mingled verses are now recited by the hotā, through repetition obtaining the kakubh meter. So there is no violation of the general rule.

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waters gushed out following the killing of Vṛtra, and flooded, the verse "water flood" is relevant. It is in the jagatī meter. Through this all pressings become related to the jagatī.[6] The hymn beginning, "You were born, O terrific, for the strength (of gods) and destruction (of enemies)" (RV 10.73.1) is addressed to the Maruts and contains the word "born." The birth of Indra was that he killed Vṛtra. So he who performs the ritual takes (a new) birth. To the first (verse) in this, the adhvaryu responds once (with the expression) containing the word "*mad*"; for it is here that Indra first became intoxicated.[7]

This hymn addressed to the Maruts is indeed the conquerer of armies; XV. 4.
for it is through this that Indra conquered the armies. He places the Nivid in the middle of it.[8] For it is in the middle of the body that food is placed. He recites the Nivids. The Nivids are indeed the vital senses. So he retains the vital senses in himself. These he recites one by one, pausing between. By doing so he retains each vital sense, one by one, in himself. With the last one, he utters the praṇava. Through this he exalts this vital breath (over all vital senses). Therefore all vital senses follow this vital breath.[9] They also say further that the Nivids are food. Therefore he should recite them leisurely; for one eats one's favorite food without haste. After reciting the śastra he offers (uttering) the verse: "Those who encouraged you, O bounteous, at the slaying of the dragon; those who (encouraged you) in the battle with Śambara and also, O owner of horses, with those who were in search of cattle" (RV 3.47.4). He did all these valorous deeds together with these. So this is his Soma drinking with them all. This verse addressed to Indra is in triṣṭubh. The midday pressing is related to Indra and triṣṭubh. He utters the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra for tranquility of the oblations, for stability of the oblations. The anuṣṭubh which is first (in this śastra), is speech itself. Five gāyatrīs follow it. The invitation to Indra is the mind; (the couplet) addressed to Brahmaṇaspati is the ear. The three isolated verses are respectively inhalation, exhalation, and circulation (of vital airs). The hymn is the body and the Nivid is what is inside the body. The concluding verse is the feet, and the offering verse the food.

The next is the Niṣkevalyam ('The Exclusive'). Several deities are praised XV. 5.
prior to this and several later too. But this Niṣkevalya is Indra's alone. That is the exclusiveness of the Niṣkevalya. That it is begun with a verse in the bṛhatī is because he who glows beyond is related to bṛhatī, therefore he (the hotā) enriches him (the sun) with his own form. Two are made into three by repetition. That is the symbol of progeny. For in the beginning there are only two; then the progeny is added. After reciting the strophe he recites the

[6] Not only this midday pressing but all three pressings. For this occupies the central position (Udaya).
[7] The adhvaryu utters the pratigara *madāmo daiva* at the end of the first verse.
[8] After reciting six verses (10.73.1–6), the Nivids are to be recited.
[9] According to Udaya, the prāṇas here mean the "senses." The last mentioned prāṇa is the *mukhya prāṇa* or 'life breath'.

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antistrophe. The strophe is one's own self and the antistrophe is progeny. Therefore he should make the antistrophe agreeable in form, so that only an agreeable one will be born as his offspring, not one who is not agreeable. Then he recites the Supporting verse (*dhāyyā*). The Supporting verse is indeed the vital breath, so he places the vital breath in himself. He recites the mingled verse. The mingled verse is indeed cattle. It leads to obtaining cattle. Moreover the mingled verse in the bṛhatī metre is the symbol of inhalation and exhalation. Therefore he retains inhalation and exhalation in himself. The hymn consisting of fifteen verses beginning with "I shall now proclaim the heroic deeds of Indra" (RV 1.32) is the Niṣkevalyam. Vajra is indeed fifteen, so they annihilate the evil in the yajamāna through the Vajra. In the middle he places the Nivid. It is in the middle of the body that food is placed. Then he recites the Nivids. Nivids are indeed the vital senses. So he retains the vital senses in himself. He recites them with a break after each piece. Thus he retains in himself each vital sense separately. With the last one he utters the praṇava. By this he exalts the vital breath over all others. That is why all vital senses follow this vital breath. Moreover, they also say that the Nivids are food. Therefore he should recite them in a leisurely manner, for one eats one's favorite food without haste.

XV. 6. The concluding verse is to be recited in a lower tone; in this way the wife will not go astray. It should not be in a raised pitch, so the wife will not be puffed up. The strophe is one's own self, the antistrophe progeny. The supporting verse is the wife and the mingled verse is cattle. The hymn is one's own self and the Nivid is what is inside it. The concluding verse is the foot and the offering verse the food. When the Pavamāna was being chanted outside the sadas, death lay in wait for the hotā. He outwitted it, except in the strophe, with the Ājya śastra. Then it lay in wait in the first Ājya sāman. He outwitted it, except in the strophe, with the Praüga. It lay in wait for him in the midday Pavamāna chant. He outwitted it again, except in the strophe, by the Marutvatīya. That is why the Niṣkevalyam is initiated with the strophe. It is just like one overcoming death after freeing himself from fear. They put the query: here (i.e., in the Agniṣṭoma recital) there is the Exclusive; there in the Mahāvrata also there is the Exclusive. There the recitals are made in meters which progress by increments of four syllables. How are they obtained here? (The answer is:) here they are obtained better. When the strophe and the antistrophe are recited, they make the seven (meters), each increased by four syllables over the previous one; and a quarter of four syllables emerges in excess. They are cattle. He (the hotā) confers those cattle on the yajamāna. Indeed the Agniṣṭoma is Virāj. The number of strophes recited here totals one hundred and ninety. By reciting the offering verse in Virāj, he attains the form of Agniṣṭoma directly. "Drink Soma, O Indra, let it make you delighted," he exhales after reciting the hemistich in Virāj. Virāj is prosperity and food. So he establishes himself in prosperity, the Virāj, which is food. With the next hemistich of the Virāj

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he utters the vaṣaṭkāra. That places the yajamāna in the world of heaven. Then he utters the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra for the tranquility of the oblations, for the stability of the oblations.

Of the Vasus is the morning pressing, of the Rudras the midday pressing, of the Ādityas the third pressing. Therefore, as the third pressing begins with the cup for the Ādityas, it commences with its own deity. Further, this pressing, which is called the third pressing, is exhausted of its sap.[1] This cup, which is the cup for the Ādityas, is full of sap.[2] With this he makes the third pressing full of sap. After reciting the invitatory verse in triṣṭubh (RV 7.51.13) for the Āditya cup, he recites the offering verse in triṣṭubh (RV 7.51.2). The triṣṭubh is (the symbol of) strength and vigor. Through this he confers strength and vigor on the yajamāna. He does not utter the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra in this case. The Āditya cup is the beginning of pressing and the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra is (a mark of) conclusion. (He thinks therefore,) "Let me not conclude the pressing before (the proper) time." The offering verse contains the word *mad*[3], for the third pressing is related to intoxication. Then after the Pavamāna[4] is chanted, they proceed with the victim, the explanation of which has already been given (KB 12.7.6). Then they proceed with the five oblations.[5] The explanation of this also has already been given (KB 13.1.90). XVI. 1.

The verses addressed to Indra and Ṛbhus are recited (RV 4.35), during the third pressing, when the vessels are filled.[6] Only when the Ṛbhus obtained the love of Prajāpati did Indra allow them to partake of the Soma drink. Therefore they (the chanters) do not chant on the verses addressed to the Ṛbhus, but only afterwards do they call it the Pavamāna related to the Ṛbhus.[7] In the third pressing, he (the hotā) recites the verse addressed to Indra and Ṛbhus as the Prasthita offering verse (RV 3.60.5). By this he makes Indra share half of the pressing.[8] It is in the jagatī metre, for the third XVI. 2.

[1] A mythological account says that the meter gāyatrī, in the form of a bird, brought the Soma creeper from heaven. In her descent she sucked its juice, as the plant was held in her beak. In actual fact, by the third pressing the creeper shall have lost much of its sap, which will have been extracted during the two former pressings.
[2] The content of this cup is curds.
[3] I. e., *mādayantāṃ*.
[4] This is the Ārbhava-Pavamāna chant.
[5] Consisting of curd, fried rice, flour, cake, and curdled milk.
[6] These are recited by the maitrāvaruṇa priest after receiving the order from the adhvaryu.
[7] The Ṛbhus were human beings. By their good deeds they won the favour of Prajāpati. On Prajāpati's advice, Indra allowed them to partake of the Soma drink. Therefore, although the chanters do not praise the Ṛbhus, the Pavamāna stotra came to be called the "Ārbhava-Pavamāna" consequent upon their admission to the Soma ritual.
[8] The whole of the midday pressing is Indra's own; by this he gets a share in the third pressing, too.

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pressing is related to the jagatī. It contains the word *mad*, for the third pressing is related to intoxication. He follows with the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra for tranquility of the oblations, for stability of the oblations. Then the assistants (hotrās) recite their (Prasthita) offering verses.[9] The explanation of these has already been given (KB 13.5.21) This is followed by the iḍā, then the vessel of the hotā. The explanation of this has already been given (KB 13.6.2–3; 14). In the third pressing they place the rice balls called "Aupāsana" (near their respective vessels). By this they gratify the Manes.[10] Then they proceed with the cup for Savitṛ. Him they propitiated first in the morning pressing. At that time the progeny were not yet born. Him they again (propitiated) at the midday pressing; at that time (the progeny) were still not born. At the third pressing again they propitiated him. Then the progeny were born. Therefore, (the cup for) Savitṛ is restricted to the third pressing. Moreover, Savitṛ is one among the Ādityas. Of the Ādityas is the third pressing. So they propitiate him in the third pressing. After reciting the invitatory verse in triṣṭubh (RV 4.54.1) for the Savitṛ cup, he recites the offering verse in jagatī (AV 7.14.4). Triṣṭubh is indeed strength and vigor. Jagatī is cattle. Therefore he stabilizes himself in strength and vigor and, at the end, in cattle. No subsequent vaṣaṭkāra is uttered; for this cup for Savitṛ is indeed the vital breath and a subsequent vaṣaṭkāra is (the mark of) conclusion. Therefore (he thinks,) "Let me not stop the vital breath before the (proper) time." For this vital breath is, as it were, yoked (to oneself). The offering verse contains the word *mad*; for the third pressing is related to intoxication.

XVI. 3. He begins the Vaiśvadeva (śastra of all the gods) with (the deity) Savitṛ, because after being permitted by Savitṛ, the gods prepared for the third pressing. Therefore, the strophe, the antistrophe, and the hymn are addressed to Savitṛ. He begins the Vaiśvadeva śastra with "We choose that of Savitṛ" (RV 5.82.1) in anuṣṭubh. This Vaiśvadeva śastra is indeed related to the Pavamāna (chant). Anuṣṭubh is the metre of Soma. The explanation of the transposing of the quarters (RV 5.82.2–7) has already been given (KB 14. 2.22). He recites the verses in gāyatrī (RV 5.82.2–6). Gāyatrīs are the vital breath. So he retains the vital breath in himself. He recites the hymn addressed to Savitṛ (RV 4.54); for the cup now being offered is for Savitṛ. By this he indeed praises it. He recites the verse addressed to the Wind (ŚŚS 8.3.10). The verse addressed to the Wind is indeed vital breath. Thus he retains the vital breath in himself. When this (verse addressed to the Wind) is recited, they (the adhvaryu and others) fill the cups for the twin deities; it is (the mark of) placing all (other) breaths in the vital breath, which is Wind. He recites the verses addressed to Heaven and Earth (RV 1.159). Heaven and Earth are the supporters, so he gets support. Here the adhvaryu,

[9] Maitrāvaruṇa: RV 6.68.10; brāhmaṇācchaṃsī: RV 4.50.10; potā: RV 1.85.6; neṣṭā: RV 3.36.3; acchāvāka: RV 6.69.7; āgnīdhra: RV 1.94.1.
[10] ŚŚS 8.2.13. gives the prescription for this action.

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responds with (the formula) consisting the word *mad*, for the third pressing is related to intoxication. He recites the verse (containing the words) "maker of fair forms" (RV 1.4.1). Fair form is indeed food. Thus he confers food on himself. Moreover this Soma drinking is related to all forms. Therefore he retains the (good) form in himself. He recites the hymn related to the Ṛbhus (RV. 1.111). It is here (i.e., the third pressing) that Prajāpati provided for them.[11] Then he recites the verses related to Vena (RV 10.123.1), to Aditi (RV 10.63.3), and to Bṛhaspati (RV 4.50.6). With these he is indeed praising the cups named Śukra, Manthin, and Āgrayaṇa, respectively. Moreover, the recital is indeed addressed to the Viśvedevas, so as not to exclude any deity; the cup now being raised is also for the Viśvedevas, so he praises it with this recitation. Twice he recites the concluding verse of the hymn (RV 1.89.10), each quarter separately; the third time (he recites) it in hemistiches. Thus it becomes Virāj.[12] Virāj is prosperity and food; so he attains prosperity, the Virāj, which is food.

He recites four hymns (RV 4.54; 1.159; 1.111; 1.89) in the Vaiśvadeva śastra. The Vaiśvadeva śastra is indeed cattle;[13] cattle are fourfold, also four-footed; so this leads to the attainment of cattle. Therefore, he should recite this in leisurely manner; then cattle will remain with him. The Vaiśvadeva śastra is recited with sixteen call-outs.[14] All this, (the entire universe,) consists of sixteen parts; so this leads to the attainment of everything. It (the recital) becomes seventeenfold: eleven deities,[15] four Nivids, the Śastra Vigor (ŚŚS 8.21.3), and the offering verse (RV 6.52.13). Prajāpati is indeed seventeen. The act which corresponds to the Prajāpati is indeed bound to prosper. After reciting the śastra, he offers the oblation with a verse addressed to the Viśvedevas: "O Viśvedevas, hear this my invitation to you" (RV XVI. 4.

[11] The story found in Vedic mythology tells us that the Ṛbhus, by their good deeds, obtained the love of Prajāpati. Prajāpati sent them to the morning pressing where Agni and the Vasus did not allow them to participate. They were then asked to go to the midday pressing. Indra along with Rudra prevented them there also. When they were sent to the third pressing, the Viśvedevas admitted them and they got their share. Therefore the hymn related to the Ṛbhus is recited in the third pressing.

[12] The last verse is to be recited thrice. Each quarter is separately recited twice, which makes the number of the quarters eight. The third recitation is done by dividing it into two hemistiches. So the number of recitations becomes ten. Virāj is described as consisting of ten syllables (AB 6.20.20; PB 3.13.3, etc.).

[13] Udaya gives the following explanations: By this śastra one attains cattle. Vaiśvadeva is addressed to several deities; cattle are also of several kinds. Cattle are used for their fat, blood, meat, and marrow; they also have four feet. The Vaiśvadeva śastra consists of four hymns. Thus by equating these numbers with the number of hymns, Vaiśvadeva is equated with cattle.

[14] The starting triplet; the succeeding triplet; the hymns on Savitṛ, Vāyu, and Dyāvāpṛthivī; the Surūpakṛtnu verse; the Ārbhava hymn; each of the three isolated verses; the Vaiśvadeva hymn; the four Nivids; and the last verse, an āhāva, are to be uttered beforehand.

[15] By the term "deities," the śastra parts are meant, not the gods.

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6.52.13); for this śastra belongs to the Viśvedevas. The offering verse is in triṣṭubh. Triṣṭubh is strength and vigor. So he confers strength and vigor on the yajamāna. The verse contains the word *mad*, for the third pressing is related to intoxication. He utters the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra, for tranquility of the oblations, for stability of the oblations. The anuṣṭubh (which is the first of the śastra) is indeed speech itself. Five gāyatrīs follow it. The hymn addressed to Savitṛ is the mind. The verse addressed to the Wind is the vital air. The hymns to Heaven and Earth are the eyes. (The verse) "The marker of beautiful forms" is the indiscernible vital breath. The hymn of the Ṛbhus is the ear. The three isolated verses are inhalation, exhalation, and circulation. The hymn is the body and Nivid is what is inside it. The concluding verse is the support and the offering verse food.

XVI. 5. They put the query: why are only the Brahma and Kṣatra unstable, while the Viś is stable? (The answer is:) the morning pressing is indeed the Brahma; the midday pressing the Kṣatra; the third pressing the Viś.[16] So in the morning pressing and the midday pressing, the concluding verse varies according to the context. Therefore the Brahman subjects live without stability, the Kṣatriyas also without stability. But as the concluding verse of the third pressing is always the same, the Viś is stable. "Offer the melted butter, offer the cooked rice to Soma," says (the adhvaryu). Indeed it is with these two, with the melted butter and the Soma, that the ritual progresses. In this he satisfies them both, (thinking that) when satisfied they carry the ritual forward. The offering verse for the melted butter is (recited) inaudibly. Melted butter is indeed (the symbol of) pouring the seminal seed; the seminal seed is poured in secret. Then the offering verse for the deity Soma is (uttered) aloud. Soma is indeed the moon. The moon is certainly discernible. Some say that after the oblation for Soma, no other oblation (with melted butter) should be made; because (all luminaries) below him (the moon) look down on this (earth). But the decision is that the oblation (of melted butter) should be offered (even after the Soma oblation). (The reason is): the melted butter is (the symbol of) the world of Gods;[17] Soma, the world of the Manes.[18] So they go beyond the world of the Manes and reach the world of gods (by making an oblation after the Soma oblation). Moreover by proceeding with the Soma oblation they certainly make the Manes pleased. Further they say that this is the performance of the Upasads; for in the Upasads the oblations are offered to Agni, Soma, and Viṣṇu. This also (is offered to) Agni, Soma, and Viṣṇu. They bring the Soma oblation to the sadas. The hotā accepts it and places it beside him. Then looking his reflection in the melted butter he touches it with two fingers.[19] Then he shall rub his eyes, with the

[16] The concluding verses in the two pressings, morning and midday, vary, whereas RV 1.89.10 is invariably the concluding verse in the third pressing.
[17] According to RV 1.3.5, melted butter is preferred by the gods.
[18] According to RV 8.48.13, Soma is related to the Manes.
[19] The thumb and the ringfinger.

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utterance, "You are the protector of eyes; you protect my eyes." This act indeed protects his eyes. Then he hands it over to the sāman chanters.

Then they proceed with the cup for the gods together with their wives (Pātnīvata). By this they make the wives share in the Āhavanīya oblations. A subsequent vaṣaṭkāra is not uttered here. The oblation is mixed with melted butter; melted butter does not deserve the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra (BŚS 8.14.24). The offering verse is recited inaudibly. The cup for the gods with wives is indeed (the symbol of) pouring the seminal seed, and the seminal seed is poured in secret. There is no subsequent vaṣaṭkāra here. The cup for the gods with wives is indeed the pouring of the seminal seed; a vaṣaṭkāra marks the conclusion. (Therefore he thinks,) "Let me not terminate the poured seminal seed before the (proper) time." They ask: this offering verse should belong to the neṣṭā;[20] therefore why should the āgnīdhra recite this verse? The answer is: this offering verse is indeed addressed to Agni. The āgnīdhra is related to Agni. Therefore this offering verse is uttered by the āgnīdhra. Moreover by this the vaṣaṭkāras become equally distributed among all those who do not recite the śastra. XVI. 6.

He recites the Āgnimāruta ("Fiery Airy") with twenty-one call-outs. The group of chants consisting of twenty-one verses is the last of the groups and (a symbol of) a firm stand; it indeed leads to stability. It (the recital) is twenty-fourfold; there are twenty joints; so it is forty-four.[21] Triṣṭubh consists of forty-four syllables. Triṣṭubh is strength and vigor. Therefore he confers strength and vigor on the yajamāna. He recites the hymn addressed to Viśvānara (RV 3.3), because it is the cup for Viśvānara that is being offered. So he praises the cup with this recital. He recites the verse addressed to Rudra (RV 2.33.1). Rudra is indeed terrific. By this he applies the healing medicine. Moreover Rudra occupies the last position in the ritual. Therefore he praises him in the last recital.[22] He recites the hymn addressed to the Maruts (RV 1.57). Rudra is indeed in their group, so he restores him (Rudra) to his group. Then follow the strophe (RV 6.48.1) and the antistrophe (RV 7.16.11) of the Yajñāyajñīya. These are recited in the middle, indeed, out of fear.[23] The female genitals are indeed in the middle of the body out of fear. He recites the hymn addressed to Jātavedas (RV 1.143). So this śastra is XVI. 7.

[20] Because the neṣṭā is the priest in charge of the wife.

[21] Verses addressed to Viśvānara, Rudra, and the Maruts; strophe and antistrophe; hymns addressed to Jātavedas, Waters, Ahirbudhnya, the wives of gods, and Rākā; Akṣarapaṅkti; verses addressed to the Manes, Yama; Svāduṣkulīya verse; three isolated verses; the concluding verse; three Nivids; before all these, one āhāva is to be made. These make twenty-one; Śastra Vigor and offering verse added, we get twenty-three. The call-out "adhvaro śośoṃsāvo" makes it twenty-four. Twenty-four and the twenty joints (connecting the twenty-one mentioned above) make forty-four.

[22] Āgnimāruta is the last śastra in the Agniṣṭoma-saṃsthā.

[23] Instead of at the beginning, as is the normal case, these pragāthas are recited in the middle of this śastra. This is for protection; for those who are in the middle have a sense of security.

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called "Fiery Airy." Therefore this is to be recited in utter haste, just like the person who wants to escape the blazing wild fire (is in utter haste).

XVI. 8. He recites the verses having Waters as their deities (RV 10.9.1–3). Waters are indeed the healing medicine. So by this (recital), towards the end of the ritual, the healing medicine is applied. Therefore he should recite these in a leisurely manner as one sports in the water. He recites the verse addressed to Ahirbudhnya. Ahirbudhnya is indeed fire. So with this he makes it blaze up. Moreover he praises all fires in their abodes. He recites the verses "Wives of the gods" (RV 5.46.7) and "I (invoke) Rākā" (RV 2.32.4). With these he praises the cup for the gods with their wives. As the wives are known to occupy the last part (in the house), these verses are recited at the final recitation. He recites Akṣarapaṅktis (RV 6.44.7–9). Akṣarapaṅktis are indeed cattle. So the recital leads to the attainment of cattle. Moreover, Akṣarapaṅktis are inhalation and exhalation. So he retains in himself inhalation and exhalation. Moreover, this relates the śastra to Indra.[24] He recites the verses addressed to the Manes (RV 1.123.6–8) and Yama (RV 10.14.4–6). By this he is praising the vessels called Nārāśaṃsa. Further, the Manes occupy the last part (of the world); so he recites for them in the final recitation. He recites the verses beginning with "This is indeed tasty" (RV 6.47.1–3). By this he makes the Soma tasty to Indra. Moreover Indra is the divine world; Yama is the world of Manes; thus they cross over to the divine world from the world of Manes. When these are recited the adhvaryu responds with the phrase containing the word *mad*. For the third pressing is related to intoxication. He recites the verse addressed to Viṣṇu and Varuṇa together (VS 8.59). The ritual belongs to Viṣṇu and Varuṇa. Whatever is erroneous or in excess in the ritual, is healed by this. This is indeed the healing medicine. He recites the verses addressed to Viṣṇu (RV 1.154.1) and Agni (RV 10.53.6). Agni and Viṣṇu are at the extremes of (the panel of) gods. So he praises them in the final recitation. He recites the concluding verse addressed to Indra (RV 4.17.20). The Soma ritual belongs to Indra, so he establishes it, at the end, in Indra himself.

XVI. 9. Madhuka asked Gauśra who is the deity of the Soma ritual. After reciting the verses beginning with "The Soma flows" (RV 9.96.5), he replied that the other (deities) could only be the extension of Soma. The view of Paiṅgya, as one belonging to the Ṛgveda, was that it (Soma ritual) belonged to Indra. Kauṣītaki's view was that it belonged to both Indra and Agni. As it begins with Ājya it begins with Agni; it ends with the concluding verse addressed to Indra, and thus belongs to Indra. This is indeed the Agniṣṭoma. This alone is performed for attaining whatever is desired. If one performs another ritual without performing this, it is indeed an error. It is said that he will be overpowered or done to death. This is the Agniṣṭoma that begins

[24] RV 6.44.7–9 are addressed to Indra, and in this Fiery Airy śastra there are no other verses addressed to Indra.

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with the "Conqueror" and ends with the "Fiery Airy". In the recitation three hundred and sixty verses are obtained. The number of days in a year is also three hundred and sixty. Thus he obtains the days of the year. After reciting the śastra he utters the offering verse (for the oblations of cups). "O Agni (you drink) Soma, along with the shining and praiseworthy Maruts" (RV 5.60.8). This śastra is related to Agni and the Maruts. This verse is in jagatī and the third pressing is also related to jagatī. This verse also contains the word *mandasāna*, for the third pressing is related to intoxication. He utters the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra for tranquility of the oblations, for stability of the oblations.

The chants (belonging to śastra) in the Ukthya are addressed to Indra and Agni. Indra and Agni (represent) all gods. The third pressing belongs to the Viśvedevas, so it gratifies all gods. For Maitrāvaruṇa they (the chanters) use the verse addressed to Agni; and for the other two, those addressed to Indra. So, the verses together are addressed to Indra and Agni. They[25] recite four hymns each. The śastras are indeed cattle. Cattle are fourfold and also four-footed. This therefore leads to the attainment of cattle. They become twelve.[26] The year consists of twelve months. It leads to the attainment of the year. There are four call-outs for each śastra. The śastras are cattle. Cattle are fourfold and four-footed, so they lead to the attainment of cattle. The offering verses of these śastras are addressed to twin deities.[27] The yajamāna is a biped. It leads to stability. They make the number four.[28] Śastras are indeed cattle. Cattle are fourfold and four-footed. They lead to the attainment of cattle. (The offering verse) of the maitrāvaruṇa is addressed to Indra and Varuṇa (RV 6.68.11), for Indra and Varuṇa are the deities of this śastra. (The offering verse) of the brāhmaṇācchaṃsī is addressed to Indra and Bṛhaspati (RV 7.97.10), because Indra and Bṛhaspati are the deities for his śastra. (The offering verse) of the acchāvāka is addressed to Indra and Viṣṇu (RV 6.69.3), because Indra and Viṣṇu are the deities for this śastra. The first and the last (offering verses) contain the word *mad*.[29] The third pressing is related to intoxication. All these offering verses are in triṣṭubh. The triṣṭubh is strength and vigor. So they confer strength and vigor on the yajamāna. They utter the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra for tranquility of the oblations, for stability of the oblations. XVI. 10

[25] The maitrāvaruṇa, the brāhmaṇācchaṃsī, and the acchāvāka.
[26] Each of these priests reciting four śastras make the number twelve.
[27] Indra and Vāyu; Mitra and Varuṇa; and the Aśvins.
[28] The three offering verses addressed to the twin deities plus the biped yajamāna make four.
[29] RV 6.68.11 (the offering verse for the maitrāvaruṇa) contains the word *madhumattamasya*; RV 6.69.3 (the offering verse for the acchāvāka) has the word *madapati*.

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XVII. 1. This, known as the Śoḷaśī ('Sixteenth'), is indeed the vajra made of anuṣṭubh.[1] Therefore, by reaching the Sixteenth, they annihilate the evil in the yajamāna by the vajra made of anuṣṭubh. It consists of the word *hari* ('carrier'). The vital breath itself is the carrier, because it carries.[2] That is why it consists of the word *hari*. Again, he who glows beyond himself is the Sixteenth. Therefore (the hotā) indeed pleases him by this. Moreover, this consists of sixteen chants and sixteen recitals; therefore it is called the Sixteenth. By reaching the Sixteenth, because the whole (universe) consists of sixteen parts, they attain the the whole (universe). Moreover, the Sixteenth is indeed Indra; therefore it consists of the word *hari*. Indra, it is well known, is praised along with his horses.[3] (He begins with) "O Indra, be pleased; proceed and come over here with the horses." Each of these verses (ŚŚS 9.5.2) consists of twenty-five syllables, by adding nine syllables (of the second part of each quarter, to the first part of sixteen syllables). The body is indeed twenty-five,[4] offspring and cattle are additions. So he adds to himself offspring, cattle, servants, and food. They (the verses) are of thirty-three syllables each. That meter is svarāj. By this he attains whatever abode of the Svarāj, consisting of thirty-three syllables. Those (verses) when recited properly, become five anuṣṭubhs, and a quarter consisting of ten syllables emerges (from them). Each (verse) obtains two syllables (in excess).

XVII. 2. He recites the (supplementary) verse "We are, O wealthy, yours" (RV 8.46.1). (This he does) to complete the syllables mentioned above. With this the strophe becomes six anuṣṭubhs. So for the sake of completion he recites this verse.[5] Some (ritualists) recite a matching triplet to match (the strophe). They say that the Sixteenth is none but he who glows beyond. There is none to match him. So, indicating him who recites the matching triplet, if one should say, "A hateful enemy will vanquish him," it will certainly happen so. So here the (recital of a) matching triplet should not be considered. One transposes the meters recited after this. Meters are indeed the vital airs. Therefore (by transposing them) he intertwines the vital airs in himself in order to make them tight. That is why the vital airs circulating through the body do not pass out. Moreover, the Sixteenth is made of anuṣṭubhs. All these meters, therefore, make up the anuṣṭubh. He transposes the verses in gāyatrī (RV 1.16.1–3) and in paṅkti (RV 1.84.10–12). Paṅkti is the meter belonging to the yajamāna. Gayatrī is brilliance and divine splendor. So, he confers brilliance and divine splendor on the yajamāna. He transposes the

[1] All meters used in this śastra are to be reckoned as anuṣṭubh.
[2] I.e., leads the other senses to activity. Also, the deity of the Ṣoḷaśī is Indra, who is identified with the vital breath.
[3] *Hari* also means 'horse'. Indra is often mentioned in the Ṛgveda along with his horses.
[4] Ten fingers, ten toes, two legs and two arms added to the trunk make twenty-five.
[5] It is said that by reciting the five verses in addition to five gāyatrīs, ten syllables are obtained in excess. RV 8.46.1 has twenty-two syllables. Adding the ten to this, one gāyatrī of thirty-two syllables is obtained.

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verses in uṣṇih (RV 8.98.1–3) and bṛhatī (RV 3.45.1–3). The uṣṇih is the meter belonging to the yajamāna. The bṛhatī is cattle. So he confers cattle, which are related to the bṛhatī, on the yajamāna. He transposes the dvipadā of twenty syllables (RV 7.34.4) and the triṣṭubh (RV 6.47.8). The dvipadā meter indeed belongs to the yajamāna. The triṣṭubh is indeed strength and vigor. So he confers strength and vigor on the yajamāna. He transposes the verses of sixteen syllables in the dvipadā (ŚŚS 9.6.6) and those in the jagatī (RV 10.96.1–3). The dvipadā is the meter belonging to the yajamāna. The jagatī is cattle. So he confers cattle, which belong to the jagatī, on the yajamāna.

He recites the verses in gāyatrī (RV 1.84.13–15). Gâyatrīs are indeed the vital breath. He retains the vital breath in himself. He recites the verse in seven quarters (RV 10.133.1). The meters are indeed seven. By this all the meters are attained. Moreover, with this verse, the gāyatrīs become four anuṣṭubhs.[6] So he recites this to complete (the meters). Then he recites the verses which are really in anuṣṭubh (RV 8.69.1–3; 10.13–15). The Sixteenth is of anuṣṭubh meter. So he enriches it with its own meter. They become eight.[7] By these, of course, the gods attained all their desires. In the same way this yajamāna attains all his desires with these. By a triple recitation of the concluding verse, they become ten. These ten are the Virāj, consisting of ten.[8] Virāj is prosperity and food. It leads to prosperity, the Virāj, which is food. He concludes by reciting "Going to the abode of the Sun" (RV 8.69.7). Above is the abode of the Sun, where he glows. He (the hotā) places the yajamāna there himself. During the recital of the Sixteenth he calls out only thrice; before the beginning verse, the Nivids, and the concluding verse. The Sixteenth is tripartite. So he strikes at the evil in the yajamāna with the Vajra which is tripartite. These mantras which are called śastra-vigor, are the glories and proclamations of the śastras. So one who knows the vigor of the śastra in this way, will become glorious, well-known, vigorous and reputed. When recited properly, they (the verses of this śastra) become forty anuṣṭubhs.[9] The paṅkti meter consists of forty syllables. The paṅkti is indeed XVII. 3.

[6] The three gāyatrīs make seventy-two syllables. This verse of seven quarters consists of fifty-six syllables. Combined they make one hundred and twenty-eight which is the total number of syllables of four anuṣṭubhs.

[7] By adding the concluding verse RV 8.69.7.

[8] The Virāj meter is described as consisting of ten letters (AB 6.20.20).

[9] By the recitation of RV 8.46.1 followed by the triplet given in ŚŚS 9.5.2, six anuṣṭubhs are obtained as has been mentioned above. By transposing the quarters of RV 1.16.1–3 and RV 1.84.10–12, six anuṣṭubhs are again obtained. This makes twelve. By reciting RV 8.98.1–3 along with RV 3.45.1–3 six anuṣṭubhs are obtained. The total is now eighteen. Recital of RV 7.34.4 and RV 6.47.8 gives two anuṣṭubhs. At this point the number of anuṣṭubhs is twenty. By the recitation of three verses given in ŚŚS 9.6.6. with RV 10.96.1–3, six anuṣṭubhs are obtained. Again, from RV 1.84.13–15, when recited with RV 10.133.1, we get four anuṣṭubhs. These transposed verses make, therefore, thirty anuṣṭubhs in all. Without transposition also, there are ten real anuṣṭubhs. They are RV 8.69.1–3; 13–15; and 8.69.7 (recited thrice).

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stability. So he (the hotā) establishes the yajamāna among all the beings. Some say that he shall recite the offering verse in triṣṭubh (RV 10.96.13), by transposition (with TA 1.20.1).

Quick is the horse
O owner of horses, you have drunk what was pressed previously;
Mighty is the horse
But this pressing is exclusively yours.
Carrier is the horse
O Indra, you relish the sweet Soma;
Conquerer is the horse
O pourer, you pour it first, in abundance, into your stomach.

XVII. 4. But the decision is that one should not transpose the triṣṭubh (with other mantras). For offering verses are properly prepared vessels for giving oblations to the gods. Only in the divine vessel which is properly prepared does one give oblations to the gods.

This (śastra) should not be carried over into the night.[10] The Sixteenth is indeed Indra. There is none higher than Indra. In the night (Atirātra) several (deities) are invoked. There are recitations in rotation (by the associates) and hymns addressed to the Aśvins. Therefore this (the Sixteenth) is to be recited only on the fourth day.[11] That is the place for the Sixteenth; for that day ends with the recital of the Sixteenth. But they say[12] that the Sixteenth should be recited (in the Atirātra too). For the Sixteenth (is the symbol) of the whole of day and night. Therefore by reciting the Sixteenth, the day and night are retained as a whole. Then they come to the Atirātra. Day and night are the measurement of the year. So the performance of Atirātra leads them to the attainment of the year. Moreover, the whole of this (world), indeed, consists of two, the oil and the flame.[13] Both of them are attained by day and night. So, in that they perform the Atirātra, they attain the oil and the flame.

XVII. 5. They recite the strophes and antistrophes in gāyatrī.[14] Gāyatrī is light;

[10] In the Atirātra ritual the Ṣoḷaśi śastra has a place. This is a view which is rejected here.
[11] Fourth day of the Pṛṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha ritual.
[12] This is the accepted view of the Kauṣītakins.
[13] According to Udaya, oil stands for what is dull and light for what is bright. The whole universe is a combination of these two, represented by night and day, respectively.
[14] In the first rotation, the strophe for the hotā (H) is RV 8.92.1–3 and the antistrophe RV 8.92.4–6. For the maitrāvaruṇa (M) they are RV 7.31.1–3 and 8.32.1–3, respectively. For the brāhmaṇācchaṃsī (B) they are RV 8.2.16–18 and 8.64.6–8, respectively. For the acchāvāka (A) they are RV 8.92.19–21 and 1.7.1–3, respectively.
In the second rotation, H is RV 8.17.11–13 and 8.64.10–12; M is RV 8.81.1–3 and 4.32.1–3; B is RV 8.45.22–24 and 8.69.4–6; A is RV 8.2.1–3 and RV. 1.9.1–3.
In the third rotation, H is RV 3. 51.10–12 and 8.6.1–3; M is RV. 1.5.1–3 and 8.95.2–4; B is RV 1.30.7–9 and 1.6.1–3; A is RV 8.13.1–3 and 8.13.16–18.

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night is dark and evil. So they cross the dark and evil with the light: they recite (the verses), repeating the quarter; that is how the sāman chanters chant, so the recitation exactly follows the chanting. Some query: "Why is it that after the last chant of the Pratihartā, they call out and combine the recitation with the chant?" (The answer is:) The ritual is (considered to be) a human being. The two oblation receptacles are his head; the āhavanīya fire his mouth; the sadas his abdomen; the śastras his food; the southern fire and northern fire are his arms; the fires in the sadas are the deities inside him; the household fire and the fire for cooking the milk (for vrata) are the feet. (It may be considered) in another way also. The Brahmā is indeed his mind; the udgātā his inhalation; the prastotā exhalation; the pratihartā circulation; the hotā is speech; the adhvaryu the eyes; sadasya the offspring; yajamāna the body; and the assistants his limbs. So, in that the adhvaryu begins the chant, he connects the eye with the vital airs. That the prastotā invites the Brahmā by saying "Let us chant, O Brahman" (is to be understood) as follows: "Because the mind is the leader of all these vital senses, let us chant the strophes after being permitted by the mind." In this way he unites the exhalation with the mind.

In that the Brahmā gives permission to chant, he is indeed connecting the mind with the vital senses. In that the prastotā performs the praises, he is connecting exhalation with the vital senses. In that the pratihartā does his job, he is connecting the circulation (of breath) with the vital senses. In that the udgātā sings aloud, he is placing the vital breath in the circulating breath. All these deities are established in the vital breath alone. Then the hotā connects the recitation with the chant. The hotā is indeed speech; so he connects the speech with the vital senses. Therefore in that the associates combine the sāmans (with their recital) they are uniting the limbs with the vital senses. Then the yajamāna accompanies the chant. Because the udgātās are the vital senses, he retains the vital senses in himself. Therefore the sun shall not set when the yajamāna is outside the vedi; neither shall he (the sun) rise, nor recitals be done nor chants be begun, nor fires be kindled outside the fixed places for them.[15] All this is because he should think, "Let me not screen myself from the vital senses." In that they repeat the first words in the recitation of the first rotation, they are driving the Asuras out of the first part of the night. In that they repeat the middle words in their recitation of the second rotation, they are driving the Asuras out of the middle part of the night. In that they repeat the last words in their recitation of the last rotation, they are driving the Asuras out of the last part of the night. Just as one may drive out evil by shouting at it again and again and by dancing step by step, they (the assistants) drive out the Asuras from day and night, by reciting the strophes and antistrophes. (Moreover) by this (repetition in XVII. 6.

[15] The idea is that the yajamāna should not leave the vedi before sunrise; he should be there when the sun sets and the chants and recitals are begun.

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the recitals) the rule that the recital should conform to the chants is kept intact.

XVII. 7. They recite the Śastra Faces in the meter gāyatrī.[16] Gāyatrī is brilliance and divine splendor. So they confer brilliance and divine splendor on the yajamāna. After reciting the gāyatrīs, they recite verses in jagatī[17]. They call out in between the recitals of gāyatrī and jagatī verses. By doing so, they endow the meters with multiple vigor. After reciting the verses in jagatī, they conclude with verses in triṣṭubh.[18] Triṣṭubh is strength and energy. Jagatī is cattle. So they make themselves established in strength and energy, and in the end, in cattle. The offering verses in triṣṭubh contain the words "food," "intoxicated," and "drink" and are, therefore, enriched by having three forms. This is indeed the form of the night.

They shall wake up the night. Wakefulness is indeed brightness. The night is dark and evil. So they cross the dark and evil with brightness. So long as no chant or no recital is there, they are not capable of containing the Asuras and Rakṣas if they attack. Therefore they should converse (with each other) "Kindle the āhavanīya, the āgnīdhriya, the gārhapatya; light up the fire places." They should light up (the fires), so that there will be brightness alone. They should lie down touching each other. Thus the evil would not attack them thinking, "They are active." Thus they wipe out the evil.

XVIII. 1. The Āśvina (recital) is an excess of Soma (ritual). If there be an excess of the ritual, the enemy becomes aggressive towards the yajamāna. In that he offers oblations to the Aśvins afterwards, since the Aśvins are the physicians of the gods, he effects the remedy. Further, when Savitā gave Sūryā to King Soma in marriage, or maybe to Prājāpati, he apportioned one thousand (as dowry) for the daughter given in marriage. It became the property of the deities. They said: "Let us run a race for this thousand." They ran the race. The Aśvins won it on a donkey. Therefore several deities are praised (in this śastra) but it is called Āśvina. Since then, as it were, the donkey does not run at full speed, thinking, "I have run (enough) and am

[16] In the first rotation the hotā recites RV 8.92.7–23; the acchāvāka RV 1.7.4–10; in the second rotation, the hotā recites RV 8.93; the maitrāvaruṇā RV 1.8; the brāhmaṇācchaṃsī RV 3.41, and the acchāvāka RV 1.9; in the third rotation, the hotā recites RV 8.6.4–48, the maitrāvaruṇa RV 1.5.4–10, the brāhmaṇācchaṃsī 1.6.4–10, and the acchāvāka RV 3.42.

[17] First: H is RV 1.51; M is RV 1.52; B is RV 1.53; A is RV 1.54; Second: H is RV 10.48; M is RV 2.16; B is RV 2.17; A is RV 5.34 omitting the last ṛk. Third: H is RV 2.21; M is 10.49; B is RV 1.102 omitting the last ṛk; A is RV 10.96.

[18] First: H is RV 2.41.1; M is RV 6.44.15; B is RV 6.24.1; A is RV 6.44.16. Second: H is RV 2.19; M is RV 6.44.14; B is RV 10.112.2; A is RV 10.112.6. Third: H is 3.35.1; M is 2.15.1; B is 6.37.2; A is 10.104.3.

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exhausted." He shall recite one thousand (verses); for they won a thousand. (They query:) The basic chants here are in the bṛhatī meter; why does he begin (the recitation) with a triṣṭubh? (RV. 6.15.13.) (The answer is:) When recited thrice this (the triṣṭubh) makes three bṛhatīs and one gāyatrī.[1] The three bṛhatīs make the form of conjunction; the first form is gāyatrī. He converts (all meters) into bṛhatī, because bṛhatī becomes one with the chosen (RV 7.16.1–2; 81.1–2; 74.1–2). In reciting the initials in bṛhatī, by repeating the quarters of the first mingled verse in each case, he is only following the form adopted by the chanters, for the chanters sing by repeating the quarters.

He recites the portion related to Agni, so he attains this world. He recites that related to Uṣas, so he attains the middle world. He recites that related to the Aśvins, so he attains the world beyond. He recites the portion related to Sūrya.[2] There is a fourth divine world which is (described as) Water. He attains that world. He recites the mingled verse (RV 7.32.26–27). Mingled verse is indeed cattle. So it (the recital) leads to the attainment of cattle. Moreover the mingled verse in bṛhatī metre is (the symbol of) inhalation and exhalation. Therefore he retains inhalation and exhalation in himself. Further it makes the śastra relate to Indra.[3] He recites the hymn addressed to Heaven and Earth. Heaven and Earth are the supporters. This leads him to stability. He recites the verse consisting of two quarters (ŚŚS 9.20.26). The meter dvipadā is the symbol of stability. This leads him to stability. He concludes with the verse addressed to Bṛhaspati (RV 2.23.15). Bṛhaspati is Brahman. So he establishes himself in Brahman at the end. Thus the equivalents (of the meters) are as follows: Three hundred gāyatrīs are equal to two hundred bṛhatīs.[4] Seventy anuṣṭubhs and seventy paṅktis make one hundred and forty bṛhatīs.[5] If one hundred gāyatrīs are taken out of three hundred triṣṭubhs, three hundred bṛhatīs will be obtained.[6] The remaining one hundred gāyatrīs, when added to a hundred jagatīs, make two hundred bṛhatīs.[7] Fifty triṣṭubhs and fifty uṣṇihs make one hundred bṛhatīs.[8] Then those fifty-seven (real) bṛhatīs are added to this number of bṛhatīs. The two triṣṭubhs, the fifty-first and the fifty-second (RV 7.68.8–9), together

XVIII. 2.

[1] The śastra begins with RV 6.15.13 which is in triṣṭubh, consisting of forty-four syllables. As the beginning verse is to be recited thrice, one hundred and thirty-two syllables are obtained in the recital. This makes three bṛhatīs (3 × 36 = 108) and one gāyatrī (24).

[2] All these four kratus (viz., Āgneya, Uṣasya, Āśvīna and Saurya) consist of verses in all seven meters. This Āśvina śastra is a vikṛti of Prātaranuvāka.

[3] Because this is a Pragātha in the bṛhatī and addressed to Indra.

[4] The gāyatrī consists of twenty-four syllables and the bṛhatī of thirty-six syllables.

[5] The anuṣṭubh consists of thirty-two syllables and paṅkti consists of forty. Together they make seventy-two syllables equal to the number of syllables in a bṛhatī.

[6] Triṣṭubh consists of 44 syllables while gāyatrī consists of 24. 300 triṣṭubhs have 13,200 syllables; when 2,400 are deducted we get 10,800, equal to 300 bṛhatīs.

[7] The jagatī consists of forty-eight syllables.

[8] Triṣṭubh is of forty-four syllables, uṣṇih of twenty-eight, which make five bṛhatīs.

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with the dvipadā, make three bṛhatīs.[9] Therefore the one thousand (verses) recited in several meters are equal to one thousand bṛhatīs. One should recite neither more nor less than a thousand. This indeed is the (accepted) practice.

XVIII. 3. However, the expansion of the Āśvina (recital) is indeed directed as follows: This is a vedic rite (essentially) related to Agni, so one should never swerve from the rite related to Agni. Therefore, if he completes the recital of the portion related to Agni before time, he shall follow the recital of the portion related to the Aśvins, with any verse addressed to the twin gods. In the portion related to the Sun, he shall include the verses addressed to Pavamāna, according to the meters. (This means) he shall include the verses in gāyatrī (of Pavamāna) among the verses of gāyatrī (of the Sun), the triṣṭubh verses in triṣṭubhs and the jagatī verses in the jagatīs. All verses which indicate the Sun (shall be recited) among the verses (prescribed) for the Sun. All mingled verses addressed to Indra (shall be recited) among the mingled verses. All verses addressed to the Heaven and Earth (shall be included) among the (prescribed) verses addressed to the Heaven and Earth. All the dvipadā verses (shall be included) among the dvipadā verses. All verses addressed to Bṛhaspati (shall be recited), just before the concluding verse. This is how no specific verses are here directed (for recital). Moreover, the Āśvina recital is like a wheeler. The Ālambadhās (?) are the two wheels, and the Akūdhrīcīs (RV 1.120.1–9) are the axle. The verse "O Aśvins, let your chariot, that flies like an eagle, come to us" (RV 1.118.1) is the seat. Then the four hymns of Agastya (RV 1.180, 181, 183, 184) are the horses (harnessed to it). This makes the divine chariot. By this divine chariot he attains the heavenly world safely. Then there will be the Suparṇa hymns.[10] Suparṇa is indeed a bird. So becoming a bird with matching wings, he attains the world of heaven safely. There are only two call-outs during the recitation of the Āśvina, one before the initial verse and one before the concluding verse. This is just like making one run without placing any impediment around.

XVIII. 4. What follows is only a discussion about the conclusion. When the sun rises up to the arch (tied in front of the ritual hall), if the hotā sees him, when he (the sun) sheds his ruddiness, and when all his rays become restored to him, that is the time for concluding (the recital). This is the time when his evil is annihilated and he becomes free of evil. He who concludes at this time annihilates evils and becomes free of evil. If, by chance, there be clouds, the hotā shall conclude (the recitation) thinking, "He is not at all screened from me, for he is one with the vital breath in the body; and this is his real form by which he governs the beings." If the sun is not discernible, he shall offer an oblation for the one who shines forth (probably RV 10.170), if he has

[9] The dvipadā is of twenty syllables.

[10] These are said to be 11 in number—10 addressed to the Aśvins and one to Indra and Varuṇa—and to consist of not less than 103 verses. Cf. Bṛhaddevatā iii. 119 and notes on it by Macdonell; see also the Bhāṣya on ŚŚS 6.20.14.

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not used it earlier.[11] He will reveal himself to them. He shall recite two offering verses (RV 1.46.15; 7.81.1); for its duality the recitation is called by the name Āśvina. Reciting the gāyatrī (RV 1.46.15) without breathing in between (the hemistiches), he breaths out after reciting the half verse in virāj (RV 7.81.1). Virāj is prosperity and food. He therefore establishes himself in prosperity and Virāj, which is food. With the latter half of the verse he utters the vaṣaṭkāra. By doing so he places the yajamāna in the world of heaven. Kauṣītaki says that he shall recite only the Virāj as the offering verse. Virāj consists of thirty-three syllables. The deities are also thirty-three. So he makes the deities share one syllable each. The confirmed practice is to recite the verse in triṣṭubh, "O Aśvins you, extremely smart, along with the Wind" (RV 3.58.7) containing the phrase "where the day is hidden"; for the Soma (creepers) are indeed more than one day old. Further, triṣṭubh is strength and vigor; so he confers strength and vigor on the yajamāna. He utters the subsequent vaṣaṭkāra, for tranquility of the oblations, for stability of the oblations. When the sāman chanters are assembled, he offers the oblations known as Pravṛtāhutī. (The idea is) "This is a great śastra; may you both, speech and mind, be pleased to raise it up."

[11] During the recital of the portion related to Sūrya.

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THE PASSAGES OF THE JAIMINĪYA ŚRAUTASŪTRA DEALING WITH THE AGNICAYANA, TOGETHER WITH BHAVATRĀTA'S COMMENTARY

The Sanskrit Text, An English Translation, and Notes*

Asko Parpola

1. *Introduction*

The Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra (JŚS), which belongs to the Jaiminīya school of the Sāmaveda, is a relatively old text, stylistically still somewhat similar to the Brāhmaṇas.* It is divided into three parts, called Sūtra, Kalpa, and Paryadhyāya. The Sūtra section chiefly explains the ritual actions of the chanter priests in the Agniṣṭoma and its subsidiaries, the Pravargya and the Agnicayana. In the literature of the other main branch of the Sāmaveda, that of the Kauthuma and Rāṇāyanīya schools, it finds a counterpart in the first books of the Śrautasūtras of Lāṭyāyana (LŚS I–II) and Drāhyāyaṇa (DŚS I–VI). This section of the JŚS is the only one which has so far been edited and translated (into Dutch), by Gaastra (1906); the other two sections had been thought lost. However, on the basis of a unique manuscript, discovered only in 1966, which contains the two missing sections, I am now preparing a critical edition of the entire work. The Kalpa corresponds, in general, to the Maśaka-Kalpasūtra of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīyas, while the subject matter dealt with in the Paryadhyāya is often to be found in LŚS III–VII and the corresponding sections of the nearly identical DŚS.

The new edition will also contain the commentary of Bhavatrāta, on all the three parts of the JŚS, which was printed for the first time by Shastri in 1966. Quite apart from the fact that Bhavatrāta's commentary is an unusually good piece of work, it further merits consideration in this connection because Bhavatrāta was a Nambudiri brahmin who lived in Kerala. (In 1971, I visited his native illam and collected legends and reminiscences relating to him.) In the introductory verses, Bhavatrāta mentions his compassionate father Mātṛdatta, who was a trivedin. Daṇḍin, who lived around A.D. 700 (see Kunjan Pillai 1954, 23), speaks in very much the same terms of his friend, the great Vedic scholar Mātṛdatta, whose father and son were both called Bhavarāta (*sic*), the former a Kalpasūtraṭīkākāra from Kerala (*Avantisundarīkathā*, edited by Kunjan Pillai, 1954, p. 13, ll. 21ff.).

For further information concerning the JŚS, the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda,

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and related literature, the reader is referred to two earlier papers (Parpola 1967, 1973), which contain fairly exhaustive references.

Most of the Sūtra portion of the JŚS is relevant to the understanding of the Kerala Agnicayana, which was performed as part of a Soma sacrifice that also included the Pravargya ceremony. Space, however, does not permit inclusion of the passages describing the normal Soma sacrifice, which, especially in the case of Baudhāyana's Śrautasūtra, are very extensive; moreover, they are already accessible elsewhere (Śrautakośa II). It has accordingly been decided that the present work should deal only with passages specifically relating to the Agnicayana, which are to be found in all three sections of the JŚS. In the Sūtra portion, the fourth chapter deals primarily with the solo sāmans sung at the piling of the fire altar: (1) the five vyāhṛti sāmans, or chants of the mystic utterances, which accompany the laying down of five particularly important special "bricks"; and (2) the sāmans sung around the completed fire altar. For this passage compare LŚS 1.5 and DŚS 2.1 and my translation (Parpola 1969, I:2, 76ff.) for extensive notes on the parallel texts (including the JŚS) and the secondary literature. The fourth chapter is followed by a unique apocryphal chapter which has great importance for the interpretation of the Kerala ritual. The Kalpa section contains prescriptions about the lauds (stotra, chanted by the trio of the prastotā, udgātā, and pratihartā priests) that are to be sung on the occasion when the Soma sacrifice is combined with the Agnicayana (only the shortest form, the Agniṣṭoma, is here taken into consideration). As usual in the JŚS, the stoma (the number of verses to be chanted at each laud) is given separately in the Stomakalpa section, while the verses and melodies are settled in the Sāmakalpa, in this case its Prakṛtikalpa or Prākṛta section. Finally, the nineteenth chapter of the Paryadhyāya refers to the solos chanted around the fire altar, while discussing the division of the sāmans into bhaktis for their sacrificial application. Deviating from the order of the JŚS, I have dealt with this chapter immediately after the Sūtra portion.

The principal materials consulted in establishing and interpreting these texts have been listed in the bibliography, which also includes manuscripts. Variant readings and the like are recorded in the notes only when they are significant. The punctuation and division into sūtras (where I have referred to Bhavatrāta's commentary) are mine. Since a definite method of referring to all the parts of the JŚS has not yet been established, I sometimes cite below only the pages and lines in Shastri's Bhavatrāta edition (even though Bhavatrāta does not give the actual sūtra text, but simply quotes the first and last two syllables of each sūtra). References to the JS are made both to Caland's edition and to the Kerala manuscript, which differs slightly. The JGrG is cited in the Kerala fashion. In the transcription of the Sanskrit text quotations from, or references to, specific texts are indicated by capitals.

I should like to extend here my sincere thanks to the Nambudiri Jai-

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minīyas, especially Sri Itti Ravi Nambudiri, for their willing cooperation: it is entirely due to their good offices that we now have access to the Ūha- and Ūhya-Gānas of the Jaiminīyas. I have tried my best to delve into the bulky manuscripts in Malayalam script, but unfortunately time did not permit the verification of all the references to the JŪhaG.

Finally, I should mention here that an important part of the present paper consists of a detailed comparison of the old sources with the prastāva list of the sāmans chanted at the Kerala Agnicayana, a list compiled by Itti Ravi Nambudiri and Malamel Parameśvara Nambudiri.

2. The Fourth Chapter of the Sūtra Portion (*Gaastra edition, pp. 5.13–6.3*; *Shastri edition, pp. 21.8–22.27*)

a. The sūtra text in Sanskrit:
(1) atha yady agniṃ cinvīta pañca svarjyotirnidhanāni sāmāni gāyet: (2) *satyam* iti puṣkaraparṇa upadhīyamāne, (3) *puruṣa* iti puruṣe, (4) *bhūr* iti prathamāyāṃ svayamātṛṇṇāyāṃ, (5) *bhuva* iti madhyamāyāṃ, (6) *svar* ity uttamāyāṃ. (7) saṃcitaṃ agniṃ sāmabhir upatiṣṭhate: (8) *'gna āyūṃṣi pavasa* ity ETĀSU śarīravad gāyatraṃ, tena śiro, (9) rathantareṇa dakṣiṇaṃ pakṣaṃ, (10) bṛhatottaram, (11) ṛtuṣṭhāyajñāyajñīyena pucchaṃ, (12) vāravantīyena dakṣiṇam aṃsaṃ, (13) śyaitenottaraṃ, (14) prajāpater hṛdayena dakṣiṇam apipakṣam, (15) agner vratenottaram, (16) agner arkeṇa śiro, (17) vāmadevyenātmānam. (18) atra śānto 'gnir. (19) atrodgātre varaṃ dadāti.

b. The sūtra text in English:
(1) Now, if (the Sacrificer) should pile up the fire (altar), (the udgātā) should sing the five ritual chants which have (the words) *svar jyotis* 'sun light' as their finale: (2) When the lotus leaf is being laid upon (the altar), (he should sing the chant composed on the mystic utterance) *satyam* 'truth'; (3) when the (golden) man (is being laid down, he should sing the chant composed on the mystic utterance) *puruṣa* 'man'; (4) when the first self-perforated (stone is being laid down, he should sing the chant composed on the mystic utterance) *bhūḥ* '(earthly) world'; (5) when the middlemost (self-perforated stone is being laid down, he should sing the chant composed on the mystic utterance) *bhuvaḥ* '(intermediate) worlds'; (6) when the last (self-perforated stone is being laid down, he should sing the chant composed upon the mystic utterance) *svar* 'sky'. (7) He pays reverence to the fully piled fire (altar) with (the following) ritual chants: (8) (He worships) the head (of the fire altar) with that gāyatra (sāman) which is provided with a body and (is chanted) upon these (verses that begin) "O Fire, thou purifiest the lives . . . " (JS 4.12.6–8); (9) the southern wing (he worships) with the rathantara (sāman), (10) the northern (wing) with the bṛhat (sāman); (11) the tail (he worships) with the yajñāyajñīya 'which rests on the seasons'; (12) the southern armpit

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(he worships) with the vāravantīya (sāman), (13) the northern (armpit) with the śyaita (sāman); (14) the southern shoulder (he worships) with (the sāman called) "the heart of Prajāpati," (15) the northern (shoulder) with "the vow of Fire"; (16) (he again worships) the head, (this time) with (the sāman called) "the flash of Fire"; (17) (he worships finally) the trunk (of the fire altar) with the vāmadevya sāman. (18) At this (moment) the Fire (altar) is pacified. (19) At this (moment) (the Sacrificer) gives a boon to the udgātā.

c. Bhavatrāta's commentary in Sanskrit:

(1) *athe*ty agnicayanam adhikriyate. agniṃ yadi cinvīta yajamānas, tatra pañca sāmāni suvarjyotiḥśabdanidhanāny udgātā gāyet. pañcānāṃ sāmnām anukramiṣyamāṇatvāt *pañce*ty anarthakaṃ. nānarthakam, anyāny api sāmāny agnicaye santi geyānīti jñāpanārthatvād: anyeṣv api vidyamāneṣu suvarjyotirnidhanānāṃ sāmnāṃ saṃkhyayā viśeṣaṇam upapadyate. tāni cāgniparigāṇāni PAREṢĀṂ VIHI⟨TĀNI⟩, *tāni khalv agniparigāṇeṣv* iti PARYADHYĀYE 'SMĀKAM API DṚŚYATE. *yadi cinvīte*ti VACANĀD vaikalpiko 'gnicayaḥ. (2) puṣkaraparṇam adhvaryur upadadhāti. tasminn upadhīyamāne satyam iti vyāhṛtisāma gāyet. atrāvacane 'pi śiṣṭācārataḥ prāṅmukhatā grāhyā, sthānāsane tu vikalpyete iva. na vā vikalpo: tiṣṭhataivānādeśe gātavyaṃ; tad AGNYĀDHEYE PRATIPĀDAYIṢYĀMAḤ. tataś ca paścād agneḥ sthitenaitāni geyāni. (3) hiraṇmaye puruṣa upadhīyamāne puruṣa iti vyāhṛtisāma gāyet. (4) kaś cid upalaviśeṣaḥ svayamātṛṇṇākhyaḥ. tisraḥ svayamātṛṇṇāḥ prathamatṛtīyottamāsu citiṣūpadhīyante, aparāś catasra uttamāyām eva. tatra prathamāyāṃ svayamātṛṇṇāyāṃ bhūr iti sāma gāyet. (5) pūrvoktāsu tisṛṣv eva yā madhyamā, tasyām idam ucyate, netarābhiḥ saha saptasu. na hi tābhir āsāṃ sādharmyam. (7) saṃcitaṃ pariniṣṭhitacayanam agniṃ sāmabhir vakṣyamāṇair upatiṣṭhate. cayanād uparitaneṣu keṣu cit saṃskāreṣu kṛteṣūpastheyaṃ. tasmin hi kāle 'dhvaryavaś codayanti. tadarthaṃ *saṃcitam* ity UKTAṂ, na citam iti. (8) yasya gāyatrasyodgītha ṛgakṣarasaṃsparśo nāsti, tad aśarīram amṛtagāyatraṃ. GĀYATRAPRAKARAṆE HI ŚRŪYATE: *tasyāśarīreṇa sāmnā śarīrāṇy adhūnod* iti. yasya tv ṛgakṣareṣv eva gānaṃ, tac charīravat. *agna āyūṃṣi pavasa* ityādy ṛkṣu yad gāyatraṃ śarīravat, tenāgneḥ śira upatiṣṭhate. atha vā yacchabdam anadhyāhṛtya vākyabhedaṃ kṛtvā vyākhyeyaṃ. tatra *gāyatram* ityantam ekaṃ vākyaṃ bhavati. nanv asminn api pakṣe 'stīty adhyāhāryam eva. naiṣa doṣaḥ, pūrvasminn api pakṣe vidyamānatvāt. (9) agner dakṣiṇaṃ pakṣaṃ rathantareṇopatiṣṭhate. (14) prajāpatiśabdo hṛdayaśabdaś ca yasmin sāmni vidyate, tat prajāpater hṛdayam. (17) bṛhadrathantaravāmadevyeṣu saṃśayaḥ: kim atra tṛcasthāni tāni grāhyāṇy, utaikarcasthānīti. tatrāgnyādheyādau tṛcasthānām iṣṭer grahaṇe *teṣāṃ yāni tṛcasthāni tṛceṣu tāni gāyed* iti VACANĀD atra tadavacanād ekarcasthāny evātra grāhyāṇīti prāpte tṛcasthānām evātrāpi grahaṇaṃ yuktaṃ brūmaḥ. kutaḥ? āmnāyāt. tṛcasthayor bṛhadrathantarayor ŪHARAHASYE samāmnāyo vidyate. nanv agnyādheye tṛcasthānām eṣām upayogāt kṛtārthaḥ samāmnāyaḥ syāt.

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naivaṃ yuktam. kramād ayam āmnāyo 'gnyartha eva. śarīravato hi gāyatrasyānantare tṛcasthe bṛhadrathantare. evam atrāmnāyata eva tṛcasthagrahaṇasiddhes tadartham akṛto yatnaḥ, kṛtārthasya cātra samāmnāyasyāgnyādheyādāv aprayogaprasaṅge tatrāsthito yatnaḥ. bṛhadrathantarayos tāvad evaṃ bhavatu, kathaṃ vāmadevye? tad api tṛcastham eva grāhyaṃ, bṛhadrathantarasahacāritvād. yac cedaṃ śarīravad vāmadevyaṃ tṛce samāmnāyate, tasya sthānaṃ na smaryate. tatrāgnikrama eva. *sa na indrāye*ty asmāt saindhukṣitāt prāktanam idaṃ vāmadevyam anumātavyam. atha vānārabhyādhītam idaṃ vāmadevyam anumātavyaṃ, prakṛtipraveśārhatvāt, prakṛtau jyotiṣṭome maitrāvaruṇapṛṣṭhatāmnānāt. samānaṃ prākaraṇikena vāmadevyena bādhitam anarthakaṃ sad *ānarthakyād tadaṅgeṣv* iti NYĀYĀJ jyotiṣṭomāṅgaṃ pravargyam agnicayanaṃ ca praviśati. (18) atrāsminn upasthāne kṛte śānto 'gnir bhavaty. ayam arthavādaḥ sāmabhir upasthānasya stutyarthaḥ. sarvatra cārthavādānāṃ SŪTRE vacanam arthavādapūrve prayoge phalabhūyastvajñāpanārtham. (19) varo varaṇīyo 'bhilaṣaṇīyaḥ. yad udgātābhilaṣati, tad asmin karmaṇi dadāti yajamānaḥ. atha vā gaur dātavyo varaḥ. PARATANTRE HI PARIBHĀṢITAṂ: *gaur brāhmaṇasya vara* iti.

nyāyataḥ prakṛtāv agner vikṛtāv apy anityatā /
nityatā tv asya vikṛtau ŚRŪYATE tu kva cit kva cit //

iti JAIMINĪYASŪTRAVṚTTĀV AGNICAYANAPAKṢAVIDHIŚ CATURTHAḤ KHAṆḌAḤ.

d. Bhavatrāta's commentary in English:

(1) "Now," the piling of the fire altar is (herewith) taken up as the subject of discussion. If he, (namely) the Sacrificer, should pile up the fire (altar), in that case the udgātā should sing the five ritual chants which have the words *suvar jyotis*[a] as their finale. (Objection:) Since five ritual chants are going to be enumerated one after the other (in the following sūtras), (the word) "five" (in the present sūtra) is useless. (Reply:) It is not useless, because its purpose is to indicate that there are even other ritual chants in the piling of the fire altar which are to be sung: since even others are known, it is appropriate to specify the number the ritual chants having *suvar jyotis* as the finale. And they are those "parigāṇas of the fire (altar)" of the others (i.e., of the followers of the other, Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya school of the Sāmaveda)[b] which they have laid down[c]. They are attested also with us in the Paryadhyāya (19.23, see below §4): "Verily, they should certainly get to the parigāṇas of the fire altar . . . " From the prescription "If he should pile up" (in this sūtra, one can see that) the piling up of the fire altar is optional. (2) The adhvaryu lays the lotus leaf down (upon the fire altar). When it is being laid down, he should sing the ritual chant of the mystic utterance "truth." Even though it has not been expressly prescribed here, it is to be understood from the customary practice that one has to face east, while it is left optional, as it were, whether one has to stand or to sit.[a] Or else there is no option, but one has to sing standing whenever there is no

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specification; this we shall explain in (connection with) the establishment of sacred fires (JŚS 1.23.: Shastri, ed., p. 83.21 ff.). And hence these are to be sung by (the udgātā) who stands behind the fire (altar). (3) When the golden man is being laid down, he should sing the ritual chant of the mystic utterance "man." (4) A certain kind of stone is called "self-perforated." Three self-perforated (stones) are laid down upon the first, third, and last layers, respectively, (and) four others just in the last layer. At the first self-perforated (stone) among these, he should sing the ritual chant (composed on the word) "(this) world." (5) This is said with reference to that (self-perforated stone) which is middlemost among the three mentioned first but not among the seven which they make together with the other (four). For the rules valid for these do not apply to them. (7) He worships the fully piled, i.e., entirely finished, fire (altar) with the ritual chants that will be prescribed. The worshiping is to be done after some consecrations subsequent to the piling have been performed, for it is at that moment that the adhvaryu priests summon (this worshiping with sāmans). Therefore it has been said (in this sūtra) "the fully piled," not (just) "the piled." (8) That gāyatra (chant) in the udgītha of which the syllables of the verse (upon which it is chanted) are not touched at all (*om* or *o* being chanted in their stead), is the bodiless, immortal gāyatra. For the holy writ says in the chapter on the gāyatra: "By means of the bodiless ritual chant he shook off this one's bodies" (JUB 3.38.10). But that gāyatra (chant), which is sung on the verse syllables, is one having a body. He worships the head of the fire (altar) with that gāyatra (chant) which has a body, sung on the verses beginning: "O Fire, thou purifiest the lives . . . ." Or else one has to explain (this sūtra) without supplying the correlative word *yad*, by dividing the sentence; in that case the word *gāyatram* would end one sentence. (Objection:) Is it not so that in this view, too, it is necessary to supply "There is . . . "? (Reply:) There is nothing wrong with this, because it is implied even in the previous view. (9) He worships the southern wing of the fire (altar) with the rathantara (chant). (14) That chant in which the word "Prajāpati" and the word "heart" are found is (the one called) "Prajāpati's heart." (17) There is an uncertainty with regard to the bṛhat, rathantara, and vāmadevya chants: are they to be understood here as based on a tristich or as based on a single verse? On this point, while in the establishment of the (sacred) fires, etc., (the chants) of an iṣṭi sacrifice are understood to be ones which are based on tristichs on account of the express prescription: "Those of them which are based on tristichs, he should sing on tristichs" (JŚS 1.26.11), it seems to follow that here one has to understand them as based on single verses, because there is no such express prescription here; however, we declare that even here it is proper to understand them as based on tristichs. On what grounds? On the basis of the tradition(al collection of the ritual chants). In the Ūharahasya (the secret part of the collection of the modified sacrificial forms of the chants), the bṛhat and rathantara (chants) are handed down as based on tristichs. (Ob-

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jection:) But is it not so that since these are applied as based on tristichs at the establishment of the (sacred) fires, this handing down serves (this) purpose? (Reply:) It is not appropriate (to explain it) thus. From the order (of the chants one can see) that this tradition serves the fire (altar) alone (the sāmans being arranged according to the order of their application). For the bṛhat and rathantara based on tristichs come (there) immediately after the gāyatra which has a body. Thus because it is settled that the chants are already on the basis of the tradition(al collection) here understood to be ones based on tristichs, no (extra) trouble is taken for this purpose (in this sūtra here); and since there is no possibility that they may be used (thus) at the establishment of the (sacred) fires, etc., because the handing down has had its purpose served (already) here, there is no trouble (taken) on that occasion (to settle the matter expressly). It may be so in the case of the bṛhat and the rathantara; but how is it in the case of the vāmadevya? Even that (chant) is to be taken as based on a tristich, since it goes together with the bṛhat and the rathantara. And as to this vāmadevya provided with a body which is handed down on a tristich, its place is not remembered (i.e., it cannot be found in the Smṛti, i.e., the Jaiminīya Uttaragāna). In that case, the very order of the fire (altar ritual here determines it): one has to infer that this vāmadevya precedes this saindhukṣita chant which is sung on the verse "He to Indra . . . " (JĀrS 5.4 = 107.43, JS 3.3.2 = 62.2). Or else it is to be inferred that this vāmadevya is learnt as a detached subject, because it is able to enter the archetype, since it has been handed down (in JŪhaG 1.2.1) as the "dorsal" laud of the maitrāvaruṇa (i.e., as the second pṛṣṭhastotra corresponding to the niṣkevalyaśastra recited by the maitrāvaruṇa). Since it would (otherwise) be useless, being abolished as identical with the vāmadevya belonging to the archetype, it enters the Pravargya and the piling of the fire altar, which are subsidiary parts of the (archetypal) Jyotiṣṭoma, on the basis of this general rule of interpretation (Mīmāṃsāsūtra 3.1.18): "(A seemingly useless rule appertains) on account of its uselessness (at the archetype) to its (subsidiary) parts." (18) At this (moment), i.e., after this worship has been accomplished, the fire altar becomes pacified. This explanatory statement has as its purpose the praise of the worshiping (of the fire altar) with ritual chants. And everywhere does the pronouncement of explanatory statements in the Sūtra aim at making known the abundance of the fruit inherent in the ritual preceding the explanatory statement. (19) A boon is to be chosen, i.e., wished for. What the udgātā wishes for the Sacrificer gives (him) at this rite. Or else, a cow is to be given as the boon. For in a work belonging to another (Vedic school) it is stated as a general rule: "A cow is the boon of the Brāhmaṇa" (Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra 1.8.15). From the general rule it follows that the fire altar is not obligatory at an archetypal sacrifice nor at an ectypal one; yet here and there the holy writ speaks of its obligatory nature in sacrifices of the ectypal type. Thus (ends) the fourth chapter in the commentary of

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the Jaiminīya-Sūtra, (called) the rules concerning the case that the fire altar is piled up.

e. Notes on the text and the commentary:
(1) (a) All the text manuscripts have *svarjyotirnidhanāni*, while the manuscripts of Bhavatrāta's commentary in the first instance read both *svarṇajyotiś°*, and in the other instance both *suvarṇajyotir°*. The five sāmans here intended are 25.2–6 (= 25.21–25 in the Kerala recension) in the Jaiminīya-Āraṇyaka-Gāna (JĀrG); according to the Jaiminīya-Ārṣeya-Brāhmaṇa, the (sixth or) *aupaniṣadaṃ parva* of the JĀrG comprises seventeen (2–18) sāmans of mystical utterances belonging to the (goddess) Voice (*vāco vyāhṛtisāmāni*
ṭya kha
saptadaśa), out of which these five have the finale *svar jyotīḥ*. (On the musical notation of the Jaiminīyas represented by the superscribed syllables, see Parpola 1973, pp. 18 ff. and especially Howard 1977: 12 f. and 141 ff.) In the Kerala manuscripts of the Gānas, this finale is always written *suvar*, while in the Burnell manuscripts *suvar* is also found as a variant. In the Kauthuma school these five vyāhṛtisāmans have been recorded in Ūhya-Gāna 3.2.10 (Sāmaśramī, ed., in *Bibliotheca Indica* 71, vol. V, pp. 486–488),
1 r 31111
and there the finale is *suvar jyotī2345ḥ*. The same finale is found also in the Kauthuma sāman called (according to Ārṣeya-Brāhmaṇa 3.2.25) *ekānugānaṃ puruṣavratam* in Āraṇya-Gāna 5.1.18 (*Bibl. Indica* ed., Vol. II, pp. 495f.) on Sāmaveda-Ārcika 1.169 = 2.32(–34), which Lāṭyāyana (1.5.9) and Drāhyāyaṇa (2.1.12) prescribe to be sung at the laying down of the golden man in lieu of the vyāhṛtisāman of "man," "if (the Sacrificer) himself piles (the fire altar)." In the Kaṭha-Āraṇyaka (fol. 354b), a pravargya sāman, whose otherwise unknown yoni verse is similar to the stobhas of ĀrG 5.1.18, has the finale *svàr jyótī3ḥ*, while its parallel in Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā 4.9.21 has *svar ṇa jyotiḥ*, and Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka 4.40 has *súvar ṇá jyótīḥ*; cf. Witzel 1974, a.1. Cf. also Anupadasūtra 7.12 *samānanidhanāni: svarjyotiṣī nidhanam ity āha*, and Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 8.7.4.6 *svarjyotirnidhanāni* (see Parpola 1968, I:1, p. 120). (b) Instead of the *cāgnipakṣagauṇāni* of Shastri's edition and the Madras manuscript it is necessary to read with the Baroda manuscript °*parigāṇāni*. Bhavatrāta here refers to LŚS 1.5.1 = DŚS 2.1.1, the first part of which is quoted by Bhavatrāta on JŚS 1.9.16 (Shastri, ed., p. 36, 15f.) as follows: *uktaṃ ca taṇḍināṃ sūtre: sarvatrānādeśe parigāṇāni prastotā gāyed iti*. Actually both Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyaṇa have *parisāmāni* instead of *parigāṇāni*, while the latter term is found in JŚS 1.25.1 (= 1.24: p. 30, 11f. in Gaastra's ed.) *atha parigāṇāni*. On these terms, see also my notes 2 and 12 on Dhanvin's commentary on DŚS 2.1.1. As may be noted from the passage from Bhavatrāta cited above, in the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya tradition the prastotā sings these sāmans, not the udgātā as in the Jaiminīya tradition. (c) Since *tāni* belongs to the Paryadhyāya

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passage quoted by Bhavatrāta, another ⟨*tāni*⟩ (which the scribes may have thought to be a dittography and therefore omitted) has been restored before it, to make the syllables *vihi* yield some sense. In the translation, this conjectural *vihitāni* has been connected with the preceding sentence, but perhaps one should rather take it with what follows, and translate "they are seen laid down also in our tradition: . . . " (2) Gaastra in her translation wrongly takes *satyam* etc. to be a nidhana ("slot-stuk"): it is a prastāva. For Bhavatrāta's commentary, cf. JŚS 1.26.10 "He who is involved with the rite concerned should sing them, with his sacrificial thread over the left shoulder, turned towards the east, standing or sitting, in the middlemost pitch"; Bhavatrāta a.1. says of this sūtra (which follows the exposition of the solo sāmans of the animal sacrifices), "This general rule (is meant) for all the parigāṇas in common". LŚS 1.5.1 = DŚS 2.1.1, giving general rules about the singing of the solo sāmans, says simply, "in the manner of the self-study (*svādhyāyavad*)." (4) In the text of the commentary, *catasra uttamāyām* is my emendation. Shastri reads *catasras tv avamāyām* recording as the lectio of his only manuscript *catasras temāyām*, which is found in the Madras manuscript; the Baroda manuscript has *catasrantemāyām* (in the grantha script). For these extra four svayamātṛṇṇā stones placed in the uppermost layer, see e.g., Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra 17.7.3. (7) The verb *upa* + *sthā-* 'to worship, revere' literally means 'to stand near'; the worshiping is done by approaching the object of worship and standing near it. It seems necessary to emend the text of the commentary against the unanimous manuscript tradition in two places: *saṃcitaṃ* (Shastri *saṃcita*) has been substituted for *santiṣṭhataṃ*, and *kṛteṣūpastheyam* (Shastri *kṛteṣu*) for *kṛteṣūpartheyaṃ*. At the end, *na citam iti* follows in the Baroda manuscript (*na citram iti* Madras manuscript; Shastri omits, recording as the reading of his manuscript *na tritram iti*). In Gaastra's translation of *saṃcitam*, strike over "met gezangen." (8) For the aniruktagāna of the "bodiless" gāyatra, see Howard's paper (pages 311–342 in this volume). At the end of the JĀrG is recorded, as the JĀrṣB notes (see Caland 1907, p. 29), the *prājāpatyaṃ gāyatram*. Burnell's Gāna mss. and Sabhāpati's Dhāraṇalakṣaṇam also record thereafter (i.e., after the aupaniṣadam parva) the ritual form (the prayoga form) of the gāyatra sāman, introduced with the words *athāsya gāyatrasyāśarīravartayā prayogaḥ* (for a legend explaining the term *aśarīra* 'bodiless', see JUB 3.29–31, especially 3.30.2). Both forms are recorded also in the Kerala mss. of the Gānas, but without the musical notation characteristic of the Tamil tradition. The plural *etāsu* 'upon these (verses)' was a problem for Gaastra; on DŚS 2.1.14, I suggested JS 4.12.6–8 = 110.1–3 (= JS 4.3.9–10 and the immediately following 4.4.1 = 108.29–31), corresponding to Kauthuma SV 2.868–870 and RV 9.66.19–21 (in the Jaiminīya tradition the last of these verses reads at the end *dadhat poṣaṃ rayiṃ mayi* for RV, KS, SV Kauth., and VS *dadhad rayiṃ mayi poṣam*, agreeing in this respect with MS 1.5.1 and TS 1.5.5.2–3, of which only the latter agrees with

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the JS in also transposing this last verse to be the middle one). There was, however, some doubt left, since Agnisvāmin on LŚS 1.5.11 (where only the initial words of the first stanza are quoted, as the text of the gāyatra to be sung 'explicitly') comments *etasyām ṛci . . . triḥ* "three times on this verse" (cf. also Caland on ĀpŚS 17.12.10 and Eggeling on ŚB 9.1.2.35). All doubts are removed by the Jaiminīya Ūhyagāna (Ūṣāṇi), where in 1.8 the prājāpatyaṃ gāyatram is chanted upon the tristich quoted as follows: *agna āyūṃṣi pavasoṃ / ā suvorjam iṣaṃ cā nā āre bādhāsvā dā hum bhā o vā / / agne pavasva svapoṃ / asme varcas suvīrāyāṃ dādhat poṣāṃ rāyā huṃ bhā o vā / / agnir ṛṣiḥ pavamānoṃ / pāñcajanyaḥ purohāyitās tām imāhāyi māhā huṃ bhā o vā / /*. It is remarkable that a śarīravad gāyatra (or ārcikagāna) has been recorded in the JŪhyaG, which is expected to be reserved for stotras only, and when the gāyatra is chanted at the stotras it appears in the *anirukta* 'unexpressed' form (cf. also Agnisvāmin on LŚS 1.5.11: *āniruktyaṃ stotrāpannasya bhavati*). At the very beginning of the JŪhyaG, however, is also recorded the gāyatra chanted on the viśvarūpā verses (JŪhyaG 1.1 on JS 3.1.1–2 = 60.1–2) and on JS 3.3.1 = 62.1–3 (JŪhyaG 1.2), though no stotra is concerned, but a chant performed by the udgātā alone (cf. JB 1.73–74 and 1.81 respectively; cf. also JŚS 1.8.6–7 and 1.9.16); though it is true that the viśvarūpāgānam is spoken of as equivalent to a stotra (see BŚS 25.21: 252, 12ff. and Bhavatrāta on JŚS 1.8.6). The śarīravad gāyatram chanted on the very verses prescribed for the worshiping of the head of the fire altar is in the JŪhyaG immediately followed by the rathantara sāman (JŪhyaG 1.9 on JS 3.4.1–2 = 63.1–2) and the bṛhat sāman (JŪhyaG 1.10 on JS 3.15.7–8 = 74.7–8) which are both chanted on their yoni verses and moreover in the ārcikagāna way (in contradistinction to JŪhyaG 1.3–4, where they are given in the aniruktagāna on these very same verses, in the form needed for the first pṛṣṭha stotra or "dorsal laud"). Since, moreover, Itti Ravi chanted JŪhyaG 1.8–10 at the agnyupasthāna of the Kerala Agnicayana, there is every reason to believe Bhavatrāta, who also connects them primarily with this ritual context (see his commentary on JŚS 1.4.17). (11) The ṛtuṣṭhāyajñāyajñīyam is JĀrG 8.3 composed on JĀrS 3.3 (JS 2.3.3 = 107.22) and corresponds to Kauthuma ĀrG 5.1.9 (see Caland 1907: 25). Note that just as the head (i.e., the front part) of the fire altar is worshipped with the gāyatra, which is the first sāman of the normal Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, so is its tail (*puccha*) worshipped with (a variety of) the yajñāyajñīya, which is its last sāman (see Caland and Henry 1906–7, 241), thus related to the last part of the sacrifice called "the tail of the sacrifice" (*yajñapuccha*) (*ibid.*, §246 ff.). The sacrifice, like the fire altar, is an image of the primeval being, Prajāpati, here conceived as a bird. See BŚS 10.15: 14.15–18. (12) The vāravantīyam is JGrG 2.7.3 composed on JS 1.1.2.2.7 (= 2.7 in the Kerala tradition), being the third sāman on this verse (cf. JĀrṣB *bhārgave cāgneś ca vāravantīyam*, Burnell 1878, p. 2, with Caland 1907, p. 21). Cf. Kauthuma GrG 1.1.30 on SV 1.17³. (13) The śyaitam is

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JGrG 25.3.3 on JS 1.2.2.1.3 (= 25.3), being the third sāman on this verse; the corresponding Kauthuma sāman is GrG 6.1.32 on SV 1.235[3]. Cf. JĀrṣB *sannate dve, śyaitaṃ tṛtīyam.* (14) Instead of *hṛdayena* in both of the manuscripts collated in B_2, Gaastra has followed manuscript B_1 which reads *gūrdeṇa* (thus also manuscript Baroda 9800). She justifies this decision as follows (1906: XX and 7, n. 16): The name *prajāpater gūrdaḥ* is found in the JĀrṣB (for JGrG 47.2.1,3 on JS 1.2.4.9.2 = 47.2: *prajāpater gūrdaḥ, viśvāmitrasya cātyardaḥ, prajāpateś caiva gūrdaḥ, viśvāmitrasya caivātyardaḥ* and for JGrG 53.2–1 on JS 1.3.5.2 = 53.2: *prajāpater gūrdau dvau*), but not the name *prajāpater hṛdayam*, which is attested in the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya school. Accordingly, says Gaastra, the former can be considered as the genuine Jaiminīya name, while the latter is due to the influence of the Kauthuma school. Prima facie, this seems good reasoning, but there are weighty reasons against it. Gaastra is unable to point out which of these four sāmans called *prajāpater gūrda* would be meant. More serious is the fact that all these four sāmans have the same name in the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya tradition as well (cf. ĀrṣB 4.11.2 *prajāpateś ca gūrdaḥ, kūrdo vā; viśvāmitrasya cātyardaḥ; prajāpateś caiva gūrdo; viśvāmitrasya cātyardaḥ* = GrG 12.1.12, 14 on SV 1.448[1,3]; ĀrṣB 5.5.2 . . . *prajāpater gūrdau dvau* . . . = GrG 14.2.13 on SV 1.512[13]): it is a no more genuine Jaiminīya than Kauthuma name. On the other hand, the absence of the name *prajāpater hṛdayam* from the JĀrṣB can easily explain the intrusion of the name *prajāpater gūrda* into the manuscript of this sūtra. None of the four sāmans with this name, however, corresponds to the sāman prescribed on this occasion not only in the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya tradition (LŚS 1.5.16,18,22, DŚS 2.1.20, 24, 28; Anupadasūtra 7.12), but also in all the Yajurvedic texts (see Parpola 1968, I:1, pp. 120 ff.). Bhavatrāta, who acknowledges only the name *prajāpater hṛdaya* in the text of the JŚS, explains that this name is based on the words *prajāpati* and *hṛdaya* which occur in the text of the sāman. In his commentary on the passage of the Paryadhyāya quoted and translated below, Bhavatrāta explains why this name is not quoted in the JĀrṣB: the sāman forms part of a larger whole, a group of sāmans to be chanted one after the other in a succession, and only the name of this larger whole is given in the JĀrṣB, where JĀrG 10 (= 12 in the Kerala tradition), 1–9 are called *puruṣavratam nava*, and 10.10–11 *kaśyapavrate dve*. The fifth of these sāmans, JĀrG 10.5 = 12.5, chanted by Itti Ravi Nambudiri in the Kerala agnicayana on this occasion, runs as follows:

kū śa kū śa kū śa cya cya cya cya cya cya kī ca śa kī ca śa
hābu hābu hābu / imā imā imāḥ / prājāḥ prājāḥ prājāḥ / prajāpate hoi prajāpate hoi /
kha ya tya taca kī kī ki ti thya kū ni
prajāpate hāu vā / e /hṛdayam e hṛdayam e / hṛdayām āu vā / prājārūpam ajījane / iṭ iḷā//.

Bhavatrāta specifically says that it is this fifth sāman that is meant by the

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name *prajāpater hṛdayam*, and this is confirmed by the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya tradition, where this is also the fifth sāman of a larger whole, though there differently named; cf. ĀrṣB 3.2.27 *kaśyapavrataṃ daśānugānam . . . prajāpater hṛdayaṃ pañcamam. . . .* This sāman, ĀrG 5.2.15 on stobhas, is as follows:

2r 2r 2r 1r 1r 1r 1r 1r 1r 1r2 r 1 1r2 r
hāu hāu hāu / imā imā imāḥ / prajāḥ prajāḥ prajāḥ / prajāpate / hoi / prajāpate / hoi /
1r2 r 2 1 2r 1 2 2r 1 2 2r 1 2 1 2 1rr
/ prajāpate / ha31uvā2̄ / e / hṛdayam / e / hṛdayam / e / hṛdayā31u / vā2̄ / prajārūpam
2r 1 1111
ajījane 3 / *iṭ iḍā*2345 .

The argument about the Kauthuma influence also seems to turn to its opposite: in the original text of Lāṭyāyana, this sāman is in all the three sūtras mentioned called *prajāpatihṛdaya*, while Drāhyāyaṇa, who often seems to have changed the text of the LŚS after the Jaiminīyas (see the evidence quoted in Parpola 1968, I:1, p. 36), systematically has *prajāpater hṛdaya* in the corresponding sūtras, which is most probably due to the influence of JŚS 1.4.14. The Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa text commented upon by Sāyaṇa, which also has this reading, probably represents the Rāṇāyanīya branch of the Kauthuma school, as is suggested by the division of the text (see Parpola 1968, I:1, pp. 51 and 43) and other agreements with the DŚS and the JŚS against the LŚS (*ibid.*, 1969, I:2, p. 100 on DŚS 2.2.25). (15) The "vow of Fire" (*agner vrata*) is JĀrG 5.3 composed upon JS 1.1.3.7 (= 3.7); it was chanted on this occasion in the Kerala Agnicayana. The corresponding Kauthuma sāman is ĀrG 6.1.1 on SV 1.27. (16) The "flame of Fire" (*agner arka*) is JĀrG 13.5 (= 15.5 in Kerala), composed on the same verse as *agner vrata*. The identity of this sāman, which corresponds to Kauthuma ĀrG 1.2.7, is also guaranteed by the Kerala Agnicayana. The mss. of Bhavatrāta's commentary read *śira iti* for *śiro* in the text mss. (17) According to Itti Ravi Nambudiri, the vāmadevya here intended is "the vāmadevya of the puṇyāham," i.e., JGrG 18.5.3, the third sāman (cf. JĀrṣB *vācaḥ sāmanī dve, mahāvāmadevyaṃ tṛtīyam*) on JS 1.2.1.6.5 (= 18.5). A. Raṅgasvāmi Aiyaṅgār's Jaiminīya-Prayogavivaraṇam (Kumbhakonam 1923) mentions *mahāvāmadevyaṃ tṛtīyam* among the puṇyāhasāmāni (p. 232, 1. 4 from the end). The corresponding Kauthuma sāman is GrG 5.1.25 on SV 1. 169[3] (cf. ĀrṣB *vācaḥ sāmanī dve, mahāvāmadevyaṃ tṛtīyam, vāmadevyaṃ vaiva*). This sāman is chanted aniruktam on the corresponding (yoni) tristich JS 3.4.3–5 as the second pṛṣṭha laud of the rāthantara jyotiṣṭoma and is therefore recorded in JŪhaG 1.2.1. Referring to Howard's paper above, I reproduce here the first verse in this form: *kāyā naś cāyitrāyā bhuvat / o ā bu hau ho hā o hā u vā / ṣṭhayau ho huṃ mā / vāk o / hāyi / /*. At the moment I am unable to explain how Bhavatrāta traces the missing ārcikagāna form

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of this tristich to be inferred before the saindhukṣita, because I have not yet been able to analyze the entire JŪha. In the text of the commentary, *'gnyartha eva* is to be read for *gyārtha evaṃ* of the mss. (Shastri *yugyārtha eva*); thus the Trivandrum ms. L310. I read *tatrāsthito* with the Baroda ms. (whose reading is not wholly certain) for *tatrāsti no* in Shastri's ed. and *tatrāstito* in the Madras ms. Another emendation is *pṛṣṭhatāmnānāt* for *praṣṭhatānmāt* in the Baroda ms., *pratiṣṭhātānmāt* in the Madras ms., and *pratiṣṭhānāt* in Shastri's edition (emendation for the ms. reading quoted as *pratiṣṭhānānmāt*). *Ānarthakyād* in the MīmS quotation is in accordance with the source and the Baroda ms. (Shastri *anarthaṃ syād*; cf. the Madras ms. *ānarthaṃ syād*). The LŚS and DŚŚ prescribe also the route to be followed by the chanter of these parisāmans, several alternatives being mentioned. As an eyewitness to the Kerala Agnicayana, I was specifically interested in observing how the udgātā, Itti Ravi Nambudiri, proceeded in chanting these sāmans. He performed them in the very order laid down in the JŚS, but passing to and fro always on the eastern side of the agniciti, never passing the tail on the western side as expressly prescribed in LŚS 1.5.13 (DŚS 2.1.16). However, when immediately thereafter the udgātā together with the sacrificer and the adhvaryu priest worshiped the fire altar muttering the words of the chants, they walked around it making one complete circuit, passing the tail, and returning to the "body". The upasthāna of the yajamāna has not been prescribed in any Sāmavedic text, but the rule laid down in BŚS 10.49:50.15–51.1 (*athāvadrutyāgniṁ sāmabhir upasthāpayati*) can be understood thus, although it obviously originally referred to making the chanter priest sing the the parisāmans. Baudhāyana's text was rigorously followed at the Kerala Agnicayana; the sāman called "Fire's heart" (*agner hṛdaya*) muttered at the southern shoulder was JĀrG 25.9 (= 25.28 in Kerala): *agner hṛdayom / agner hṛdaya ho agner hṛdaya ho agner hṛdaya hā ā u vā / e suvar jyotiḥ / /*. This saman has no counterpart in the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya tradition, and I suppose that Baudhāyana has preserved for us an older version of the Jaiminīya ritual. For a comprehensive comparison and analysis of all the Vedic sources relating to this agnyupasthāna, see Parpola 1968, I:1, pp. 120–125. (18) In the sūtra text, I read *atra śānto 'gnir* without the word *bhavaty* that follows in Gaastra's text and her ms. B_1, as well as in the following spurious khaṇḍa (sūtra 18); *bhavaty* is omitted in Gaastra's ms. B_2 and in the two Trivandrum mss. T_1 and T_2, and also in Bhavatrāta's pratīka. (Bhavatrāta systematically quotes the first two and the last two syllables of each sūtra, and here both the Baroda and the Madras manuscripts read *atra to gniḥ*; Shastri, pp. 22, 20, clearly has misrepresented the reading of his manuscript). Cf. also the probable source of this sūtra, BŚS 10.49:50,7f. *atha śānto 'gnir iti*. Explanatory statements (*arthavāda*) are characteristic of the Brāhmaṇa texts, but not of the Sūtras, which strive for brevity of expression and mere description of the ritual. In the

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JŚS they are a reminiscence of the Brāhmaṇa style, but the commentators try to find a practical explanation for them.

3. The spurious chapter on the solo songs of the Agnicayana (Gaastra, ed., p. 34–35)

In manuscript no. 506 of the Burnell collection in the India Office Library, designated as B^2 by Gaastra, there follows a fifth chapter immediately after the fourth chapter edited and translated above. This chapter, which also deals with the solo songs of the Agnicayana, is missing in the other manuscript of the JŚS in the Burnell collection (no. 231, Gaastra's B_1); Gaastra has published it as an appendix, adding a list of the sāman names with some comments on them (pp. 52 f.), but no translation. Bhavatrāta has not commented upon this chapter or referred to it in any way. The spurious origin of this khaṇḍa is clear also from the fact that no other Vedic text is known to refer to the practice of singing sāmans for other bricks or occasions in the Agnicayana except those mentioned in the fourth chapter. Nevertheless this chapter is clearly relatively old—at the end it quotes an otherwise unknown passage of a lost Brāhmaṇa—and shows that the Kerala Agnicayana here too follows Jaiminīya traditions, albeit of a more recent origin. It must be noted here that the manuscript containing this khaṇḍa does not come from Kerala, but from Tamilnadu, according to Keith (1935, II, p. 105, no. 4565). Gaastra, while describing this manuscript (which I have consulted), failed to mention that on the first folio and on the flyleaf it is said to be a copy of a "MS. at Uttonçri" made in 1878, with collations, in red ink, from "an old Tinnevelly MS." Uttonçri seems to be the village Uttamaśīli near Śrīraṅgam, where I traced Jaiminīya traditions as still extant in 1971. In 1977 I received transcripts of two manuscripts of the JŚS from Trivandrum (see the bibliography). Both of these mss. contain this spurious khaṇḍa: T_1 has it at the very end of the sūtra text after 1.4, which has also been transferred to the end to accord with the chronological sequence of the rites; in T_2 these two chapters on the Agnicayana (1.4 and the spurious khaṇḍa) form chapters 23 and 24, preceding *atha parigāṇāni* . . . .

a. The text in Sanskrit:

(1) agniṃ ced upasatsu cinvīta gānakālam upadekṣyāmaḥ. (2) puṣkarapalāśa upadhīyamāne brahma jajñānam ity uttaraṃ sāma gāyet, satyam iti ⟨ca⟩ vyāhṛtisāma. (3) hiraṇyapuruṣe navānugānaṃ puruṣavrataṃ puruṣavrato vā, puruṣa iti ca vyāhṛtisāma. (4) trīṇy ādyāny ekaikam ekaikasyāṃ ⟨svayamātṛṇṇāyāṃ⟩ bhūr bhuvaḥ svar iti vyāhṛtisāmāni. (5) saṃyānīṣv aprāvṛtsu yauktāśve plavam ākūpāraṃ śrudhīyaṃ vāravantīyam iti. (6) virāṭsv indrasya ca vairāje vasiṣṭhasya ca vairāje. (7) prathama⟨ṃ⟩ maṇḍaleṣṭakāyām indrasya saṃjayaṃ. (8) dūrveṣṭakāyāṃ svāśirām arko. (9) hiraṇyeṣṭakāyāṃ candra iti ca. (10) yat prathamaṃ kūrma upadhīyamāne varuṇasāmābhigāyati. (11) patny āṣāḍhāṃ samalaṃkaroti; (12) tasyāṃ samalaṃkriya-

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māṇāyāṃ yoṣitāṃ priyaṃ śrāvantīyaṃ (?) hariśrīnidhanaṃ hārivarṇāni śauktāni. (13) lokaṃpṛṇāsu draviṇaspardhasī śaukrāṇi (?) ca vyāhṛtisāmāni. (14) śarkarāsu śārkare. (15) 'gnau pāñcajanye 'gner vrataṃ. (16) cityāṃ saṃcitāyāṃ dadhnā madhumiśreṇābhyukṣanti; (16) tad agner vrataṃ dadhikraṃ madhuścyunnidhanam iti gāyed. (17) aṅgaśas cainam āgneyeṣu gāyatrarathantarabṛhadvāmadevyayajñāyajñīyair upatiṣṭhetātmānam. (18) atra śānto 'gnir bhavati, varaṃ codgātre deyam upadiśanti. (19) tad yad imam agnicitaṃ viruddham āhur: amaṅgalyo vā asyāgnir abhūd iti, tad yasyaitaiḥ sāmabhir agniṃ cīyamānaṃ ca saṃcitaṃ cābhigāyati, samṛddhir evāsya bhavati, nāvṛddhir iti raurukiṇām iti.

b. English translation:

(1) We shall explain the time of singing in case he (the Sacrificer) should pile the fire altar during the upasad days. (2) When the lotus leaf is being deposited (upon the altar), he should sing the latter sāman (of those composed upon the verse) "The brahman that was first born . . .," and the sāman of the sacred utterance "truth." (3) The "vow of man" with nine chants sung one after the other, or the "vow of man" [taking 'vow' in the masc.], and the sāman of the mystic utterance "man" (are to be chanted) at the (laying down of the) golden man. (4) The first three sāmans of the sacred utterance, (i e., those sung upon the words) "(this) world, (the intermediate) worlds, the sky," (are to be sung) one by one for each (of the three self-perforated stones laid in the first, third, and fifth layers) respectively. (5) The two yauktāśva (sāmans "relating to one with yoked horses"), the plava ('boat'), the ākūpāra ('related to the sea or the tortoise'), the śrudhīya, and the vāravantīya (sāmans are to be sung) at the saṃyānī ("going" bricks, the lines of) which are not turned eastwards. (6) The two vairāja (sāmans "related to virāj") of Indra and the two vairāja (sāmans) of Vasiṣṭha (are to be sung) at the virāj (bricks). (7) The first "victory" of Indra (is to be sung) at the Circle brick. (8) The svāśirām arka (is to be sung) at the brick consisting of the dūrvā grass. (9) The "moon" (is to be sung) at the Golden brick. (10) That Varuṇa sāman which is the first, (the udgātā) sings when the tortoise is being laid down. (11) The wife (of the Sacrificer) adorns the "invincible" (brick); (12) when it is being adorned (are sung) the "pleasure of maidens," the śrāvantīya (?), the (sāman) with (the words) *hari* and *śrī* as the finale, the hārivarṇa ('related to yellow color') and the śaukta (sāmans). (13) The two (sāmans) "rivalling for riches" and the sāmans of the mystical words which relate to the brilliances (are to be sung) at the "Space-filling" (bricks). (14) At the gravels (are sung) the two (sāmans) "relating to gravel." (15) The "vow of Fire" (is sung) at the fire of the five peoples. (16) When the altar has been piled up completely, they sprinkle (it) with sour milk mixed with honey; (16) then he should sing the "vow of Fire," the dadhikra (cf. *dadhi* 'sour milk'), and the sāman with (the word) *madhuścyut* ('overflowing with honey') as the finale. (17) Limb by

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limb should he revere the body (of the fire altar) with the (sāmans) gāyatra, rathantara, bṛhad, vāmadevya, and yajñāyajñīya (sung) upon (verses) which are related to the Fire (god). (18) At this (moment) the fire (altar) becomes pacified, and (the authorities) prescribe a boon to be given to the udgātā, (19) For it is said in the (Brāhmaṇa) of the Raurukins: "As to that, they call this man who has piled up the fire altar restrained, saying: 'Verily, the fire (altar) has become inauspicious to him'; with regard to that (it is to be noted that) there will be great prosperity, not decrease, for him whose fire altar they address with these sāmans while it is being piled and when its piling has been completed."

c. Notes:

(1) At an Agnicayana, there are six upasad days instead of the three of the paradigm, one for each layer and an extra one for the fifth; see ĀpŚS 16.35.6–9. For the diction of the sūtra, cf. JŚS 1.4.1 *atha yady agniṃ cinvīta* . . . and JŚS 1.24.1 *pravargye sāmnāṃ gānakālam upadekṣyamo*. T_1 reads *sunveta* for *cinvīta*. (2) Note *puṣkarapalāśa* instead of *puṣkaraparṇa* as in JŚS 1.4.2. The latter term is the only one found in the older Vedic literature (AS, KS, KapS, MS, TS, TB, TĀ, ŚB, BŚS), while the former is the term used in the corresponding sūtra of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīyas (DŚS 2.1.11; LŚS 1.5.8). Both words are attested in the MŚS, ĀpŚS, and HirŚS. The verse quoted is JS 1.2.3.1.9 = 33.9(= SV 1.321) on which two ṛtusāmanī have been composed. According to BŚS 10.30: 28.7f. the rukma plate is laid down with this verse immediately after the puṣkaraparṇa; according to Itti Ravi, this sāman (JGrG 33.9.2) is sung at "kuzhipata." The sāman on *satyam* is JĀrG 25.5 (25.24 in Kerala). The additions in angled brackets throughout are mine; they have no confirmation in the manuscripts consulted. (3) Note *hiraṇyapuruṣa* for *puruṣa* in JŚS 1.4.3. The *navānugānaṃ puruṣavratam* is JĀrG 10.1–9 (12.1–9 in Kerala), and the vyāhṛtisāman on *puruṣa* is JĀrG 25.6 (25.25). Itti Ravi sang in addition, on the occasion of the Kerala Agnicayana, JĀrG 8.10–16 (9.1–7), which the JĀrṣB calls *puruṣavrataṃ sapta*, and JĀrG 23.10, the first of *agneḥ svarāṇi* or *vāyoḥ svaryāni* (v.l. °*āṃsi*) i.e., *vāyor navānugānam* according to the JĀrṣB (25.7, the first of the three mahāsāmans, according to the Kerala tradition). For the order see the list below. (4) *Trīṇy ādyānn* B_2 (suspected by Gaastra to be corrupt, see her note 1); *tṛtīyādyāny* T_1 and T_2. These are the first three vyāhṛtisāmans: JĀrG 25.2–4 (25.21–23). (5) *Aprāvṛtsu* B_2, *aprāvṛssu* T_1: *apāvṛtsu* T_2 and the variant reading of the old Tinnevelly ms. recorded in B_2. The other sources have the terms *ṛjulekha, dakṣiṇāvṛt, savyāvṛt*, and *tryālikhita* (ŚB for *da*° and *sa*° *ityālikhita*); cf. ĀpŚS 16.13.6, 16.34.2, and the references given by Caland a.1. Two Saṃyānī bricks are laid down in the first third, and fifth layers (BŚS 10.32: 30.2; 10.40: 38.14; and 10.44: 42.13), one in the second and fourth layers (BaudhŚS 10.38:15.18; 10.41:40.4). The Kerala tradition is in perfect accord with this prescription concerning

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the sāmans (all six of them being sung for the Saṃyānī bricks of each layer) and helps in their identification. According to Itti Ravi, the six sāmans are JGrG 49.3.8–9; 53.1.16; 36.4.1; 11.3.1; and 2.7.3. The JĀrṣB records as the names of the sāmans composed on the respective verses *yauktāśve dve*; *vasiṣṭhasya ca plavam*; *vasiṣṭhasya vīṅkāni catvāri, indrasya vā priyāṇi, ākūpārāṇi vā* (it would have been impossible to know that it is the first of these that is meant, and not any other, or JGrG 56.4.1 = *ākūpāram*); *prajāpateḥ śrudhīye dve*; *agneś ca vāravantīyam*. I have accordingly been able to emend the corrupt (cf. Gaastra 1906, pp. 52f., where *śraddham* is suggested) *śraddhām* into *śrudhīyam*. This emendation is confirmed by the readings of the Trivandrum mss.: *śrūnyaṃ* T_1, *śrunya* or *śrutya* T_2. (6) Although a Virāj brick is laid down also in the first layer (BŚS 10.32: 29.21), these four sāmans are in the Kerala practice sung only at the laying of the Virāj bricks of the fifth layer (for which see BŚS 10.45: 42.20). Itti Ravi Nambudiri sang JGrG 47.10.1–2 and 44.8.1–2, which accords with the present prescription, for these sāmans are in the JĀrṣB called *indrasyaca vairāje* and *vasiṣṭhasya ca vairāje* respectively. (7) There are two sāmans called "Indra's victory" (*indrasya saṃjaye dve*, JĀrṣB) chanted on JS 1.2.4.3.1 = 41.1, and according to the Kerala Agnicayana it is the first of these, JGrG 41.1.1, which is sung, and at the Maṇḍaleṣṭakā of not only the first, but also of the third and the fifth layer (for which see BŚS 10.31: 29.11; 10.39: 38.4; and 10.46: 46.17f. respectively). It is therefore necessary to read *prathamaṃ ma*° for *prathamama*° (thus Gaastra and all the mss.); cf. sūtra 10. (8) A Dūrveṣṭakā is laid into the first layer only (see BŚS 10.32: 29.19). The *svāśirām arka* is JĀrG 13.7 (15.7 in Kerala). In the JĀrṣB this sāman is called *svaśirasām arka*, while the name *svāśirām arka* is found in the ĀrṣB of the Kauthumas. This has led Gaastra to suppose a Kauthuma influence upon the composer or copier of this khaṇḍa (1906, p. 53). However, the name *svāśirām arka* is also found in the Kalpa of the Jaiminīyas (see, e.g., the āgnicitika chapter of the Prākṛta published below). (9) In the list of the solo sāmans sung at the Kerala Agnicayana, the sāman JĀrG 22.10 (24.10) = *candra* (JĀrṣB) was sung for the Hiraṇyeṣṭakā figures only once, between the Dūrveṣṭakā and the Saṃyānīs in the first layer. It thus corresponds to the "gold-headed" (*hiraṇyamūrdhnī*) brick in BŚS 10.32: 29.19, which is the only one of its kind, and is laid down immediately after the Dūrveṣṭakā (*ibid.*), before the Saṃyānī bricks (ibid. 30.2). On the other hand, there are several Hiraṇyeṣṭakās mentioned in the BŚS: in the first, third and fifth layers such a brick is laid down after the Svayamātṛṇṇā and before the Maṇḍaleṣṭakā (10.31: 29.9; 10.39: 38.2; and 10.46: 46.16), and in the first layer upon the heads of the five victims (10.34: 31.12 etc.). The word *ca* is found in T_1 only. (10) *Prathama* B_2 and Gaastra, °*maṃ* T_1, °*mam* {*a*} T_2. In the Kerala Agnicayana, JGrG 27.3.1 was chanted when the tortoise was laid down (for the tortoise, see BŚS 10.33: 30.7). This is, as stipulated here (*yat prathamaṃ*), the first of the three varuṇasāmans that the JĀrṣB

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records on this yoni (*varuṇasāmāni trīṇi*). (11) I have emended *aṣāḍhāṃ* for *a°* in all manuscripts. The verb *samalaṃkṛ-* is otherwise known from Vedic texts only from ĀSPaipp. 20.52.12 (*parṇe te samalaṃkṛte*) and the Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭas (5.2.2; 33.6.8). ŚB 6.5.3.1–2 prescribes that the Sacrificer's (first) wife makes the Aṣāḍhā brick, but the verb here used seems to imply that the wife only draws the lines upon the Aṣāḍhā (BŚS 10.32: 30.1 speaks of it as *tryālikhitā* and *uttaralakṣman*). (12) The *yoṣitāṃ priyam* is JĀrG 16.13 (18.13) on JS 1.1 (SV 1.1). The emendation *śrāvantīyaṃ* (= JĀrG 28.5.1) is quite uncertain: B_2 (and Gaastra) as well as T_1 have *śriyām*, which is undoubtedly corrupt; T_2 *śrām*. The *hariśrīnidhana* is JGrG 21.2.2. B_2 and Gaastra read *hārivarṇaṃ*; the anusvāra is missing in T_1, while T_2 has *hārivarṇā(ni?)*. The last reading may be identical to that of B_2, for it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the markers of long *ā* and *ṃ* in the grantha script, and (*ni?*) might be just the guess of the copyist. In any case there are four sāmans with the name *hārivarṇa* composed on JS 1.2.4.5.3 = 43.3 (cf. JĀrṣB 4.7.3). For the *śauktāni* there are the following possibilities, which may even all be meant: JGrG 18.2.1–3 (*praiyamedhāni trīṇi, śauktasāmāni vā; udgātṛdamanaṃ vā tṛtīyam*); 58.3.1–5 (*śauktāni pañca*); and 59.3.1–3 (*śauktāni trīṇi*). This occasion and these sāmans do not figure in the Kerala Agnicayana. (13) For each of the five layers, eight sāmans were chanted at the Kerala Agnicayana when the Lokaṃpṛṇā bricks were laid down. These were JĀrG 22.5–6 (24.5–6), called *draviṇaspardhinī* in the JĀrṣB (*draviṇaspardhasī* in the text, if this emendation is right, agrees with the ĀrṣB of the Kauthumas, as noted by Gaastra 1906: 53; B_2 reads *°dhasi*, with a v.l. *°dhasu* adopted into the text by Gaastra: T_1 has *°dhasi*, T_2 *°dhani*) and JĀrG 25.13–18 (25.32–37) the last six of the *vāco vyāhṛtisāmāni saptadaśa*. Gaastra suggested that the reading *śriṃgāṇi* of B_2 (*śṛṅgāṇi* in T_1) should be changed into *śārṅgāni*, which the JĀrṣB (5.9.10) mentions as the name of the three sāmans JGrG 57.10.1–3. It is however clear that these sāmans cannot be meant, and that the word qualifies the six vyāhṛtisāmans just mentioned. The reading of T_2 is *śrugāṇi*, which to some extent justifies my emendation into *śaukrāṇi* that at least preserves the retroflex *ṇ*. The meaning 'connected with brightnesses' agrees well with the key words of the sāmans concerned: *agni, vāyu, sūrya, candra, nāga*, and *śukra*. Another possibility would be *śukrāntāni*. (14) Since the two śārkara sāmans JGrG 45.2.1–2 (*śārkare dve*) were at the Kerala agnicayana sung at śarkarās belonging to the fifth layer, they are probably the four svayamātṛṇṇās laid down in the cardinal directions (cf. BŚS 10.46: 46.5); in LŚS 1.5.8 (DŚS 2.1.11), the word *śarkarā* 'gravel' is added to qualify the svayamātṛṇṇās. (15) Does "the fire of five peoples" (*agni pāñcajanya*) refer to the verse *ye agnayaḥ pāñcajanyāḥ . . .* (VS 18.67) used at the Agnicayana according to ŚB 9.5.1.53? In the Kerala Agnicayana JĀrG 5.3 (*agneś ca vratam*, JĀrṣB) was sung at the laying of the Pāñcajanya of the fifth layer. (16) Cf. BŚS 10.50: 52.15. The sāmans sung at this occasion on the agnīsoma day of the Kerala Agnicayana were

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JĀrG 5.3 (*agneś ca vratam*), JGrG 37.7.1 (*agneś ca dadhikram*), and JGrG 37.4.1 (*madhuścyunnidhanaṃ ca prājāpatyam*). T_2 reads *madhuścun*°. The correction °*ukṣanti* for °*ukṣyanti* is Gaastra's. The mss. and Gaastra read *cityāṃ cityāṃ*, but the sprinkling with sour milk mixed with honey does not appear to take place at the completion of every layer, but only after the last has been completed (see TS 5.4.5.2–3; BŚS 10.50; ĀpŚS 17.13.6), as is already suggested by the context of this sūtra. (17) *Aṅgaśaś* T_1 and T_2: *aṃśaś* B_2 and Gaastra. *Āgneyeṣu* T_1: *āgneyiṣṭha* T_2, *āgna iṣṭha* B_2 and Gaastra. *Upatiṣṭhetātmānam* all mss.: *upatiṣṭhetām* B_2 pr.m. The intimate connection of the limbs with the body is emphasized in connection with the agnicityā; see, e.g., ŚB 9.5.2.16, where the body is equated with the Sacrificer (yajamāna) and the limbs with the officiating priests. The list of sāmans given here, which agrees with the scheme of the (mahā)vrata bricks of the fifth layer (cf. ĀpŚS 17.7.5–17.9.2), is indeed minimal, for the sāman called "Prajāpati's heart" figures, practically speaking, in all the other sources (Parpola 1968, I:1, pp. 120ff.). Cf. JŚS 1.4.7–17. (18) Cf. JŚS 1.4.18–19. *Upadiśanti* is connected with this sūtra in T_1, where it is followed by a daṇḍa; this seems indeed most natural. (19) *tad yad idam agnicitā* [.] *viruddhyām* T_2; *tad yadi citam agnicitaṃ haridhyām* T_1; *tad yad imam agniṃ citaṃ* (*citikarma* pr.m. for *citaṃ* the reading of the Tinnevelly ms.) *viruddhyām* (Gaastra emends into *viruddhyainam*) B_2. For *viruddham*, which is an uncertain emendation, cf. JB 3.189. *Amaṅgalye* is the reading of the Tinnevelly ms., recorded in B_2; the word *amaṅgalya* is otherwise known only lexically. Gaastra has provided the emendation *vā asyā*° for *vāsyā*° in the mss.; likewise *yusyai*° into *yasyai*° (T_1; T_2 has *taprasyai*° for *tad yasyai*°: *y* and *r* after a consonant may be confused in grantha) and *nāvṛddhim*, which is the reading of all the mss., into °*ddhir*. Ghosh (1935, pp. 112f.) records three quotations from a Sāmavedic Rauruki-Brāhmaṇa (LŚS 2.3.1 = DŚS 4.3.1 *raurukīṇi*, cf. Dhanvin a.l. *raurukiṇo nāma kecic chākhinaḥ, tair adhītāni yajūṃṣi raurukīṇi*; Dhanvin on DŚS 4.3.9 *raurukiṇām*; GGS 3.2.7–9 *athāpi raurukibrāhmaṇaṃ bhavati* . . .). I have accordingly emended the hapax reading of the mss. *rauraviṇām* (thus also Gaastra) into *raurukiṇām*. While the sāmans sung when the wife of the Sacrificer adorns the Aṣāḍhā brick are missing in the Kerala tradition, the latter contains also a group of sāmans chanted at the kṣīradhārā (cf. BŚS 10,48: 48.11–49.4), for which no earlier tradition can be traced. They are, in the order of performance, JGrG 19.8.1 (first of the two, *vaiśvāmitre*); 47.10.1–2 (*indrasya ca vairāje*); 49.2.7 (*vasiṣṭhasya ca śakulaḥ*); 50.5.3 (the last of the three, *babhroḥ kaumbhyasya sāmāni trīṇi*); JĀrG 1. 1–2 (*vāco vrate dve*); 1.4–6 (*prajāpateś ca pratiṣṭhā*; *sattrasya carddhiḥ*; *kṛṣṇasya cāṅgirasasya vratam*); 2.4 (*vāyoś caturtham* sc. *vratam*); 6.4 (the first of *ilāndaṃ pañcānugānaṃ pañca*); 8.1–2 (*nihnavābhinihnavau*); 9.1–3 (10.1–3) (*trīṇi devasya vratāni*); 9.5–14 (11.1–10) (*diśāṃ ca daśānugānaṃ daśa*); 10.3–6 (12.3–6) (the third to sixth of the *puruṣavrataṃ nava*); 10.10–11 (12. 10–11) (*kaśyapavrate dve*); 13.10 (15.10) (*arkaśiraś ca*); 17.3–6 (19.3–6)

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(*indrasyainī; ahorātrayor vratapakṣau*); 23.18 (25.15) (*ādityavratam*); 25.1–18 (25.20–37) (*tavaśśāvyam; vāco vyāhṛtisāmāni saptadaśa*).

I cannot close this chapter on the apocryphal sāmans without noting that although the Jaiminīya practice is represented by obviously younger sources than the earliest codified ritual, which acknowledges only the five vyāhṛtisāmans and the agnyupasthānam as solos to be chanted at the fire altar, it may nevertheless have preserved genuine reminiscences of the older, proto-Vedic ritual. It is an acknowledged fact that the "classical" Vedic ritual gives the ritual application only for a selection of the sāmans recorded in our sources, thus attesting to a richer more ancient ritual (Oldenberg 1908; Caland 1908b). The names of several sāmans do point to an application at the Agnicayana (e.g., *śarkarāsu śārkare*). On the other hand, it must be noted that the medieval Jaiminīyas were conscious of the issue (see Bhavatrāta at the end of the next section).

4. The Paryadhyāya, khaṇḍa 19 (cf. Shastri's Bhavatrāta ed., pp. 260.18–262.8)

The nineteenth khaṇḍa of the Paryadhyāya deals with the different ways in which the sāmans based on different meters are divided among the three chanters who sing the lauds at Soma sacrifices. At the end of this chapter various cases are mentioned where a division for one reason or another is impossible. The last sūtras relate to the solos of the Agnicayana, and are presented here with Bhavatrāta's commentary. The sūtra numbers are provisional.

a. The sūtra text in Sanskrit:
(20) atha yāni devatāsu dṛṣṭāni yāni ca gaṇānugānāni teṣām ūho na sidhyati, yathādityavrataṃ tavaśśāvyaṃ diśāṃ vrataṃ kaśyapavratam iti. (21) yadi hi sadevatāni kuryād, vyāpādayet paraṃ devatāsthānam. (22) yady u vā uddhared devatāṃ, vilumpyāt sāma. (23) tāni khalv agniparigāṇeṣu vā parimātsu vā nūnam āpadyeran. (24) na nvā eṣām anyasmin kratau yajñe karma sidhyet.

b. Bhavatrāta's commentary in Sanskrit:
(20) atha yāni sāmāni ⟨devatā⟩su dṛṣṭāny ṛgrahitāni yathā vāco vratādīni ca, yāni ca gaṇānugānāni yathādityavratādīni, teṣām ubhayeṣām ūha eva tāvan na sidhyati. devatāsu dṛṣṭāni sujñānatv[ād anudāhṛtā]ni, gaṇānugānāni durbodharūpatvād udāhṛtāni. ādityavrataṃ catasṛṣv ṛkṣu bahurūpaiḥ stobhaiḥ gītatvād gaṇānugānam; tasya viniveśasya durjñeyasthānatvād ūhāmnāyo na sidhyati. tavaśśāvyaṃ dva[yor apy ṛcor gīyate]; tasyāpi tathaiva. diśāṃ vrataṃ daśavidhaiḥ stobhair daśakṛtva āvartate; tasyāpi tathaiva. kaśyapavrataṃ vaiśvānaravratam iva vibhāgyaṃ kalpayituṃ śakyam: gaṇānugānatvam ayuktam iva pratibhāti. tathāpi gaṇānugānam ity AVADAD ĀCĀRYAḤ. tasmād anyathā kaśyapavrataṃ kalpayāmaḥ.

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CHANDORAHASYE DAŚAMO 'DHYĀYAḤ chātravyavahāreṇaikādaśasāmātmaka ĀRṢEYE. dvisāmātmakaṃ tatra prathamaṃ virāṭsvarājanāmnā bhinnam, UHĀMNĀYE dṛṣṭatvāt. evaṃ cet, paraṃ kaśyapavratam bhavati. pañcamam api prajāpater hṛdayākhyayā bhinnam evāsti. kim ĀRṢEYE prajāpater hṛdayākhyam asti? ĀRṢEYE nāsti; agnyupasthāne *prajāpater hṛdayena dakṣiṇam apipakṣam* ity asti. tasmāt prajāpatiśabdavatvāc ca prajāpater hṛdaya[m iti bhinnam eva jñā]yate, virāṭsvarājavat. tathāpi virāṭsvarāja {vat} parasya daśasāmātmakasya saṃjñāntaraṃ prajāpater hṛdayam iti kalpayituṃ śakyam; puruṣavratasya virāṭsvarājasaṃjñaiva. satyam etat. pañcamam eva prajāpater hṛdayam iti gurupa[raṃparayā prāp]noti. kaśyapavratasya saṃjñāntaraṃ prajāpater hṛdayam iti kena cid api na smaryate. kiṃ bahunā: āditaḥ ṣaṭ sāmāni puruṣavratāni, paraṃ pañcānugānaṃ kaśyapavratam iti manyāmahe. evaṃ vyākhyāyamāne navānugānādīnā[m . . . kaśyapavrata]sya ca gaṇānugānatvād ūho na prāpnoti. anekāṣv ṛkṣu gītāni gaṇānugānānīti ced, atīṣaṅgayaṇvasantaniśākvaravarṇamahānāmnīnāṃ doṣaḥ prasajati. tasmād idaṃ vākyam anyathā varṇayāmaḥ. yāni devatāsu dṛ[ṣṭāni yāni cādityavra]tādīni catvāri gaṇānugānāni teṣām ūho na sidhyati. ⟨a⟩bhinnānugānatvād etāni durūhāṇīti vā yojyam, *tṛca ekarca iti sāma gāyed* iti ca VACANĀT: tṛce vaikarce vaitāni sāmāni na kalpayituṃ śakyāni. nanv atīṣaṅgo dve [. . . . . .] tathā † cūḍhaś ca. naiṣa doṣaḥ. ekasyām asyotpattiḥ; itarāḥ stomava⟨ntaḥ⟩ mantavyāḥ. ĀCĀRYO 'pi mamābhiprāyam *atīṣaṅga ekasyām* iti VADAN dvitīyasyām ekaikasyām atīṣaṅgam avidhāya stomaṃ pūrayan vyañjayati. atha vā svaya[mbhu . . . . . .]d atīṣaṅgasyoho na cāsmābhiḥ paryanuyojyaḥ; pauruṣeyānām ūhānāṃ hi lakṣaṇaṃ vaktavyaṃ, na svayambhuvām. evaṃ ced, atīṣaṅgānusāreṇa tavaśśāvyam api tyūham iva pratibhāti. tasyohe ŚRUTIR eva pratyācaṣṭa: *tad u vā āhuḥ: duṣprajñātā vai tavaśśāvyasya stobhā⟨ḥ⟩ padavṛttīḥ prastāvāḥ pratihārā⟨ḥ⟩ devatānidhanānī*ti. (21) ādityavratādīnāṃ gaṇānugānatvāt tṛcaikarcatvasya duḥsaṃpādatvād eva durūhatvaṃ siddham iti kṛtvā devatādṛṣṭānāṃ sāmnāṃ durūhatve hetuṃ pradarśayati. saha devatābhir vartanta iti sadevatāni sāmāni. sadevatāni sāmāni yadi kasyāṃ cid ṛci kuryāt, paraṃ devatāsthānaṃ vyāpādayed, vyāpattiṃ kuryād. ṛkpādair āgantubhir vyavahitatvāt paraṃ dvitīyādidevatāpadam ṛkpādair gṛhītaṃ bhavati. (22) yadi devatām uddharen nirasyed, devatām apohya tasyāḥ sthāne yadi tādṛśī gītir ṛci nihitā bhavati, tadā sāmaikadeśatyāgaḥ kuto bhavati sadoṣaḥ. vāco vrataṃ kasyāṃ cid ṛci prayuyukṣur yadi devatānāṃ prathamaṃ prastāvakhaṇḍam uktvā prastāvayoginam ṛkpādaṃ nyasyed, dvitīyasya devatākhaṇḍasya sthānam ṛkpādena gṛhītaṃ bhavati. ubhayathāpi doṣa eva. tasmād ūho na sidhyati. (23) tāni khalu sāmāny agnicayaparigāṇeṣu vā mahāvrataparimātsu vā kadā cid āpadyerann iti manyāmahe. agnau vā parigāṇeṣu veti ⟨vā⟩ vyākhyeyam. *nūnam* iti VACANĀD uktaviṣaye 'pi saṃśitam. (24) *nvai* iti nipāto paśyārthe. teṣāṃ devatādṛṣṭānāṃ karma kriyā saṃstute yajñe 'gniparigāṇaparimādbhyo 'nyasmin viṣaye na sidhyet. ūhasya duṣkaratvāt stotrārthatā na

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sidhyatīty arthaḥ. kratuyajñayor ekārthatvād eko 'narthakaḥ. nānarthakaḥ. kratuśabdaḥ stutaśastravati viśiṣṭaviṣaye vartate; yajñaśabdas tu pañcayajñādiṣv api vartate. viśiṣṭaviṣaya eva pratiṣedho brahmayajñādiṣu prayojayitum: ayaṃ brahmayajño yatnavihito mantavyaḥ.

sāmajātasya sarvasya viniyogo na cet kratau /
āmnāyasya kriyārthatvād ānarthakyaṃ prasajyate //
tasmāt sarvāṇi sāmāni samyag adhvaravartmani /
yathāyogaṃ prayojyānīty ĀCĀRYĀṆĀṂ viniścayaḥ / /
tatra stotreṣu mukhyatvād viniyogo viśiṣyate /
yeṣām asaṃbhavasūtraṃ teṣāṃ syāt parigāṇatā /
akarmaṇyāni saṃrodhād iti yeṣāṃ VACAḤ ŚRUTAM /
dṛṣṭo 'pi stotrasaṃyogas teṣāṃ nātyantadoṣakṛt / /
gaṇagītāni catvāri devatāprabhavāṇi ca /
stotravartma durūhatvān nāsevante kadā cana / /
ānarthakyabhayāt tāni prayoktavyāni cet kratau /
parimātparigāṇeṣu prayoktuṃ prayateta ca //
yeṣāṃ tu parigāṇe 'pi viniyogo na śakyate /
sārthakīkaraṇaṃ teṣāṃ brahmayajña iti sthitam / /
JÑĀTUṂ JAIMINIŚ CAKRE yajñaśabdena
kratau sati /
phalato brahmayajñasya śrautatantrasamānatā / /
sarvathā santi yad yajñe duṣprayojyāni kāni cit /
tad eva nūnam utpatter brahmayajñasya kāraṇam / /
SVĀDHYĀYABRĀHMAṆOKTĀ yā brahmayajñasya
nityatā /
sāmabhiś ca parigrāhyā kālayogāc CHRUTER iha / /

c. The sūtra text in English:
(20) Now, the ūha (sacrificial modification of the sāman) is not performed (in the case) of those (sāmans) which have been seen (i.e., composed) (not as usual upon ṛk verses but) upon (stobhas consisting of names of) deities, and of those which are gaṇānugānas ("songs to be sung one after another in a group"), like the ādityavrata, the tavaśśāvya, the diśāṃ vrata, and the kaśyapavrata. (21) For if he should provide them with deities, then he would destroy the following place of the deity. (22) On the other hand, if he should remove the deity, he would ruin the sāman. (23) Verily, they should certainly get to the parigāṇas of the fire (altar) and to the parimāds ("songs of joy chanted around" the vedi at the mahāvrata). (24) Indeed, their performance at a sacrifice would not succeed in any other ritual.

d. The commentary of Bhavatrāta in English:
(20) Now, as to those sāmans which have been seen (i.e., composed) upon deities, i.e., which are without ṛk verses, like the *vāco vrata* ('vow of the (goddess) Voice', JĀrG 25.2–18 = 25.21–37 in the Kerala version), etc., and those which are gaṇānugānas like the *ādityavrata* ('vow of Aditi's

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son', JArG 23.18 = 25.15), etc., the (sacrificial) modification of neither of them is accomplished. Because they are easy to recognize, no examples have been cited for those (sāmans) which have been composed upon deities, while examples of the gaṇānugānas have been quoted because their form is difficult to understand. The ādityavrata is a gaṇānugāna because it is sung upon four ṛk verses (JĀrS 4.6 = 107.35 and 6.3–5 = 107. 52–54) (a) with numerous stobhas; its modification (in the JŪhyaG) is not transmitted, because its suitable placement is difficult to recognize. (b) The tavaśśāvyam (JĀrG 25.1 = 25.20) is (sung on) two (verses, JS 1.1.3.1 = 3.1 and JĀrS 4.6 = 107.35, with stobhas); it is likewise with this. The diśāṃ vrata ("the vow of the directions of space," JĀrG 9.5–14 = 11.1–10) is repeated ten times with ten kinds of stobhas; it is likewise with this. It is possible to consider the kaśyapavrata as a (sāman) that can be divided (between the three chanter priests) like the vaiśvānaravrata (JĀrG 7.3/4); hence it appears as if it were incorrect to declare it to be a gaṇānugāna. Nevertheless the teacher (Jaimini) has said (in this sūtra) that it is a gaṇānugāna. Therefore we must fix the kaśyapavrata otherwise. In the (Jaiminīya-)Ārṣeya (Brāhmaṇa), the tenth chapter of the "Secret (part) of the (collection of sāmans arranged according to their) meters" (*chandorahasya* = JĀrG) consists of eleven sāmans according to the practice (used in the teaching) of the pupils. The first (sāman) there is a separate (complex) which (actually) consists of two sāmans called "virāj-and-svarāj," since it is attested as such in the traditional collection of modifications (of sāmans, namely in JŪhyaG = Ūṣāṇi 8.5). (c) If this is so, then the kaśyapavrata is posterior (to this first sāman). Also the fifth (sāman) is a separate (entity) called "Prajāpati's heart." Is there a sāman by the name of "Prajāpati's heart" in the Ārṣeya (Brāhmaṇa of the Jaiminīyas)? There is none in the Ārṣeya. At the worshiping of the fire (altar, however,) there is: "He (worships) the southern shoulder with 'Prajāpati's heart' " (JŚS 1.4.14). On the basis of this, and because (the sāman JĀrG 10.5 = 12.5) contains the word(s) "Prajāpati" (and "heart") it is recognized to be a separate one called "Prajāpati's heart," like (the sāman called) "virāj-and-svarāj." Nevertheless it is possible to consider "Prajāpati's heart" as another technical name of the (remaining) ten sāmans which follow the virāj-and-svarāj; it is just this technical name virāj-and-svarāj that belongs to the puruṣavrata. (d) This is true. From the (oral tradition) of the teachers (however, it follows) (e) that (only) the fifth (sāman and not the whole complex of the second to eleventh sāmans) is "Prajāpati's heart," while nobody has in the traditional literature recorded that "Prajāpati's heart" is another technical name of the kaśyapavrata. What (is the use) of further (discussion): our opinion is that the (first) six sāmans from the beginning (of the tenth chapter of the JĀrG) are puruṣavratas, while the latter sequence of five songs to be sung one after the other (*pañcānugāna*) is the kaśyapavrata. (f) If one explains it so, then no (sacrificial) modification follows (from the . . .) of the navānugāna (JĀrG 23.10

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= 25.7), etc., and from the (kaśyapavra)ta's being a gaṇānugāna. If it is said that those (sāmans) which are sung on more than one ṛk verse are gaṇānugānas, then this defect (obstructing the sacrificial modification also) pertains to the (sāmans called) atīṣaṅga (JĀrG 14.7 = 16.7, composed on JS 1.3.8.1 = 56.1 and JS 1.3.2.1 = 50.1) (g), yaṇva (JĀrG 20.9 = 22.9 composed on JS 1.3.4.2 = 52.2 and JĀrS 5.8–9) (h), santani (JGrG 59.8.1)(i), śākvaravarṇa (JĀrG 16.8 = 18.8 composed on JS 1.3.1.1 = 49.1 and JĀrS 5.4–5), and mahānāmnyaḥ (JĀrG 24.1–3 = 25.16–19 on the mahānāmnī verses 1–3) (and yet a sacrificial modification has been handed down for them) (j). Therefore we explain this sentence otherwise. As to those (sāmans) which have been composed upon deities, and those four (sāmans), the ādityavrata, etc., which are gaṇānugānas (i.e., not all the gaṇānugānas but only these four), their (sacrificial) modification is not accomplished. Or else one has to interpret this in this way: that they are incapable of being modified because their anugānas are not separate, and because of this prescription (in JŚS Saṃjñākalpa 6 at Bhavatrāta p. 163.15): "He should sing the sāman upon a tristich or upon a single verse"; (for) it is not possible to sing these sāmans upon either a tristich or a single verse. But is it not so that the atīṣaṅga, [which has been composed upon] two [verses nevertheless appears in the collection of modifications at JŪhyaG 3.1] and thus has been modified (to be sung at a laud) (k)? This is not a valid objection: This (sāman) is quoted (as applied) in one (stotriyā verse only), other (stotriyā verses) are to be considered as completing the stoma. (l) The teacher (Jaimini), too, makes my opinion manifest when he fills the stoma (i.e., the required number of stotriyā verses) without ever prescribing the atīṣaṅga on any second (stotriyā verse), saying (just) "the atīṣaṅga (is sung) upon one (stotriyā verse)" (Prakṛtikalpa at Bhavatrāta p. 148.2 and 148.20). Or else, the modification of the atīṣaṅga (attested as it is in the JŪhyaG) [has been accomplished by the] Self-Born ones (i.e., gods), and is not to be questioned (with the object of refuting) by us; for it is the definition of the man-made modifications that is to be prescribed, not those of the Self-Born ones. If (this is) so, the example of the atīṣaṅga makes the tavaśśāvya look as if it were capable of being modified. As to its modification, it is the holy writ itself that refutes this (in Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 2.411): "With regard to this they say: Difficult to recognize, indeed, are the stobhas, the hiatuses between the words, the prastāvas, the pratihāras, and the deity finales of the tavaśśāvya (sāman)." (21) After having taken it as granted that the impossibility of modifying the ādityavrata, etc. is founded on their being gaṇānugānas, since they (as such) have difficulty in attaining the condition of being sung on a tristich or on a single verse, (the teacher Jaimini) explains the reason for the impossibility of modifying those sāmans which have been composed upon deities. Those sāmans are "provided with deities" which exist together with deities. If one should apply sāmans provided with deities upon some verse (as is done in the sacrificial modification at the lauds),

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then he would destroy the following place of the deity, i.e., he would cause its destruction, because it would be superseded by the interpolated feet of the ṛk verse: the following, i.e., the second, etc., place of the deity becomes occupied by the feet of the ṛk verse. (22) If he should remove the deity, i.e., throw it away, then if after the deity has been taken away a similar looking song (as that sung upon the removed deity) becomes based upon a ṛk verse in its stead, then in what way does the abandonment of one part of the sāman become objectionable? If one who wants to use the "vow of the (goddess) Voice" (JĀrG 25.2–18 = 25.21–37) upon some ṛk verse while pronouncing the first prelude bit of the deities should throw away the ṛk verse foot that is connected with the prelude, then the place of the second deity bit becomes occupied by the ṛk verse foot. (m) Either way there is an (unacceptable) defect. Therefore the (sacrificial) modification is not accomplished. (23) Verily, those sāmans should certainly sometimes get to the parigāṇas of the piling of the fire altar or to the parimāds of the mahāvrata (i.e., they should have at least such a use in the śrauta ritual), so do we opine. ⟨Or alternatively⟩ one has to interpret this thus: either to (the ritual of) the fire (altar) or to the parigāṇas (solo songs including those of the pravargya, etc.) (or to the parimāds). On account of the expression "certainly" there is also uncertainty with regard to what has been said. (24) The particle *nvai* 'indeed' (is used) in the meaning of 'look!' The performance, i.e., actual practice, of these (sāmans) composed upon deities at a sacrifice where lauds are sung in chorus would not succeed at any context other than the parigāṇas of the fire altar and the parimāds. Because the (sacrificial) modification (required for a laud) is impossible to effect, their use for a laud does not succeed, this is the meaning. (Objection:) Because the words *kratu* 'rite' and *yajña* 'sacrifice' mean one and the same thing, one of them is useless (in the sūtra). (Reply:) It is not useless. The word *kratu* denotes (only) a specific (śrauta) context with lauds sung and praises recited, but the word *yajña* denotes also the five (great daily) sacrifices (including the sacrifice to Brahma or self-study), etc. The prohibition (of their use) at a specific (śrauta) context (enjoins) their use at the sacrifice to Brahma, etc. This sacrifice to Brahma is to be considered as laid down by this trouble (caused to the learner by the author when he added this word in the present sūtra). (There follow verses summing up the conclusions reached in the commentary on the latter part of the nineteenth chapter:) If the entire aggregate of sāmans be not used at the ritual, their transmission would be useless, since its aim is the (sacrificial) performance. Therefore all the sāmans are to be properly used in the path of offerings according to the circumstances, this is the settled opinion of the teachers. In this regard, the application at the lauds is pre-eminent on account of its importance. As to those (sāmans) to which the sūtra of their impossibility (of being used at the lauds) applies, they should be (used as) parigāṇas. As to those (sāmans) for which the (following) prescription is heard (JŚS Paryadhyāya 19.19 at Bhavatrāta p. 260.12–18): "they are unfit

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for sacrifices on account of the complete obstruction," for them is (nevertheless) attested a use in connection with the lauds which (therefore) cannot cause an endlessly great defect. Those four which are sung in a group and those that have come into being (as composed) upon deities are never employed (at lauds) because of the impossibility of modifying them to the path of the lauds. If they are to be used because of the fear of their uselessness, one should strive to employing them in the (śrauta) ritual at the parigāṇas and the parimāds. But as to those which cannot be used even at a parigāṇa, the sacrifice to Brahma is established as providing them with a meaning; Jaimini has made (this) known by (using) the word *yajña* (n) in addition to *kratu*. With regard to its fruit the sacrifice to Brahma is equal to the śrauta system. That some (sāmans) are in every way unusable at a Vedic sacrifice is certainly the reason for mentioning the sacrifice to Brahma. And the obligatoriness of the sacrifice to Brahma enjoined in the Brāhmaṇa concerning the self-study is to be supported also with sāmans on account of the time of their application (prescribed) here by (this text based on) holy writ.

e. Notes:

Apart from some trivial cases of sandhi and the words specified below, I have manuscript authority for all the deviations from Shastri's edition in the constitution of Bhavatrāta's text. The punctuation and restorations within angled and square brackets (the latter indicating lacunae in the mss.) are mine. (a) Caland (1907: 28) mentions only the first one of these verses. (b) Cf. Caland (1907: 28 n. 3): "Die Abteilung dieser Sāmans ist in den Hss. nicht ganz deutlich ersichtbar." (c) I read *dvisāmātmakaṃ* for °*kaḥ* in the mss. and the Shastri edition. As pointed out by Jayanta in his commentary on the JĀrṣB (Shastri's Bhavatrāta ed., p. 345.16–17), the virāj-and-svarāj has got its name from its first application (prescribed in the thirteenth chapter of the Vikṛtikalpa in the JŚS) at the rite called virāṭsvarāja. (d) I have emended °*saṃjñaiva* and translated accordingly. The mss. have *saṃjñe vā* or possibly (the Baroda ms.) *saṃjñe va* /. One could also read °*saṃjñeva* or °*saṃjñe eva* without an essential change in the general meaning. (e) The restoration has been adapted from Shastri who has *gurupa*[*raṃpayyā prāp*] *noti*. Cf. the ĀrṣB of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīyas (3.2.27): *prajāpater hṛdayaṃ pañcamam*. Here this is part of *kaśyapavrataṃ daśānugānam*. (f) Jayanta, who in his commentary on the JĀrṣB (Bhavatrāta ed., p. 344.24ff.) discusses this same issue arrives first at this same conclusion, but then points out that also the sixth sāman must belong to the puruṣavrata, and because the Śāṭyāyanins use the ninth sāman at the pravargya, the kaśyapavrata, which on the grounds of its being a gaṇānugāna must comprise more than one sāman, cannot be but JĀrG 10.10–11 (DAŚAME 'DHYĀYE 'dhyetāra ekādaśa sāmānīti vyavaharanti. tatra *puruṣavrataṃ kaśyapavrataṃ cety* ĀCĀRYO VADATI. tatra prathamaṃ sāma virāṭsvarāja ity ūḍham ŪHĀMNĀYE, pañcamaṃ prajāpater hṛdayam iti viniyuktam agnyupasthāne. gaṇānu-

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gānatvāt kaśyapavratenānekagītena bhavitavyam. tasmāt prajāpater hṛdayāt parataḥ sāmāni ṣaḍ vā pañca vā kaśyapavratāya parikalpyāni. tatr*odyann* ity asyānuktasya pūrveṣām anuktānāṃ samāsakartatvāt puruṣavratatvam eva yujyate. atha vā *bhaṃ bhaṃ bhaṃ bham* ity asya ŚĀṬYĀNIBHIḤ pravargye 'pi viniyuktatvāt pṛthag eva tasyāpi kaśyapavratāntarbhāvo na ghaṭate. tasmād ataḥ paraṃ kaśyapavrataṃ bhavitum arhati). (g) Two other sāmans also called atīṣaṅga and likewise composed on two verses follow immediately, but only the first one can be meant here since it alone is also found in the JŪhyaG. (h) The mss. and the Shastri ed. have *yanva* and *mahāgnīnām* (Baroda ms. *mahānagnīnām*). (i) Special rules (LŚS 6.1) apply to the santani composed on JS 1.3.11.8 = 59.8. (j) JŪhyaG (Ūṣāṇi) 3.1 = atīṣaṅga; JŪhyaG 3.9 and 15.7 = yaṇva; JŪhyaG 8.8 = śākvaravarṇa; and JŪhyaG 4.1 = mahānāmnyaḥ. The santani must be found in the JŪhaG, but I have not yet had the time to locate it. (k) The Madras ms. has *cūḍhaś* with a dotted underlining denoting the uncertainty of the reading. In the grantha ms. of Baroda one could also propose an alternative reading *trūḍhaś*. A little later both mss. quite distinctly have *tyūham* for [ ] *ūham* in the Shastri edition. Although the general sense is clear, I am undecided about the precise meaning. In the latter case, for example, one could accept *tyūham* (= *atyūham*) which would be a hapax, ⟨*pra*⟩*tyūham*, *nyūham*, *vyūham*, etc. (l) I emend *stomava*⟨*ntaḥ*⟩ for *stobhava* in the mss. Though this is somewhat uncertain, there is no other alternative in the next sentence, where I have changed *stobhaṃ* (*pūrayan*) to *stomaṃ*. (m) Shastri emends *prayuyukṣu* (sic) for *prayayakṣur* in the mss. (n) The mss. do not have any break at Shastri's [*ca*] which apparently stands for ⟨*ca*⟩ added metri causa. I read °*śabdena* for °*śabdaṃ* in the mss.

5. The Stomakalpa (*cf. Shastri's ed., p. 118.7–14*)

a. The sūtra text in Sanskrit:

(1) trivṛd bahiṣpavamānaṃ, (2) pañcadaśāny ājyāni, (3) saptadaśo mādhyandinaḥ, (4) pañcadaśaṃ hotuḥ pṛṣṭhaṃ, (5) saptadaśānītarāṇi, (6) saptadaśa ārbhava, (7) ekaviṃśam agniṣṭomasāma- (8) -ity āgnicitikaḥ.

b. The sūtra text in English:

(1) The outdoor laud of the purifying (Soma) is threefold (i.e., nine-versed, consisting of three tristichs), (2) the ājya lauds are fifteen-versed, (3) the midday (laud of the purifying Soma) is seventeen-versed, (4) the dorsal laud of the hotā (i.e., the first pṛṣṭhastotra corresponding to the first niṣkevalyaśastra recited by the hotā) is fifteen-versed, (5) the other (dorsal laud)s are seventeen-versed, (6) the (laud of the purifying Soma) addressed to the Ṛbhus is seventeen-versed, (7) the chant of praise for (the god of) Fire is twenty-one-versed; (8) thus (is the arrangement of the stomas at) a (jyotiṣṭoma Agniṣṭoma) combined with the piling of the fire altar.(a)

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c. Bhavatrāta's commentary in Sanskrit:
itthaṃstomo 'yam āgnicitiko jyotiṣṭomaḥ. agnicitisaṃbandhād āgnicitikaḥ. prakṛtibheda evāyam ekaḥ sahāgnicayanena vartate. atirātre ced agnir, nānadaṃ madhuścunnidhanaṃ śyāvāśvam iti sāmatṛcaḥ syāt. IHA KE CIT PRALAPANTI: asti PARATANTRE VIHITAḤ pṛṣṭhaśamanīyo nāmāgniṣṭomaḥ sattrāṅgabhūtaḥ yena sattribhir utthitaiḥ sattrāt pṛthak pṛthag yaṣṭavyaṃ; so 'yam iti. na tv etad yuktaṃ, tatra hy etāvad upalabhyate. jyotiṣṭomādhikārāj jyotiṣṭomo 'yam āgnicitika iti, samākhyānāc cāgnir asmin nitya iti. na tv asya pṛṣṭhaśamanīyatve kāraṇam ihānyatra vāsmākam asti. yeṣāṃ ca vihitaḥ pṛṣṭhaśamanīyaḥ so 'gnicayanena vinā vihitaḥ; ayaṃ tu samākhyānenāgnicayanam uktvā vartate; tato 'pi teṣāṃ nādartavyaḥ. kaḥ punar asmākaṃ pṛṣṭhaśamanīyaḥ syād: yaḥ kaś cit prakṛtibhedeṣu, yo vā PARATANTRE vihitaḥ?

d. Bhavatrāta's commentary in English:
Of such stomas is this jyotiṣṭoma combined with the piling of the fire altar. (It is called) "combined with the piling of the fire altar" (*āgnicitika*) because of its connexion with the fire altar (*agniciti*): this is one variety of the archetype which exists together with the piling of the fire altar. If the fire (altar is piled) at an overnight rite (a form of the jyotiṣṭoma, instead of the Agniṣṭoma form described in the Sūtra), (then) there should be the chant tristich (*sāmatṛca*) (b) consisting of the nānada, madhuścunnidhana, and śyāvāśva (chants). (c) Here some (commentators of the JŚS) say inconsiderately: "In a work of another (Vedic school) (d) there is an Agniṣṭoma prescribed, *pṛṣṭhaśamanīya* ('whose back is to be pacified') by name, which is a subsidiary part of a sacrificial session: the participants of a session must each of them, after they have risen up from their session (i.e., concluded it), separately sacrifice with this; this (āgnicitika sacrifice) is that (pṛṣṭhaśamanīya)." This is, however, not appropriate, for it is (only) there (in that work of others) that one finds all this. Because the jyotiṣṭoma is the subject matter (here in the beginning of the Jaiminīya Stomakalpa, cf. Bhavatrāta, Shastri, ed., p. 117.10ff.), this āgnicitika is a jyotiṣṭoma, and from its name (it can be seen that) the fire (altar) is obligatory in it. On the other hand, we (Jaiminīyas) have no evidence here or in any other place (of our tradition) for its being the pṛṣṭhaśamanīya. And in that tradition where the pṛṣṭhaśamanīya has been established, it has been established without (prescribing) the piling of the fire altar. This (our teacher), however, has by means of the name (of the sacrifice expressly) prescribed the piling of the fire altar. Even for this reason their (tradition) is not to be heeded. Moreover, which (sacrifice) should be our pṛṣṭhasamanīya, one among the varieties of the archetype, or the one laid down in the work of the other (Vedic school)?

e. Notes:
(a) *Stoma* is the number of chanted stotra verses (*stotriyā*) in a laud sung by the trio of chanter priests. (See Parpola 1969, I:2, p. 12, with further refer-

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ences.) The stomas prescribed here are indicated by the numbers (in parentheses) preceding the names of the sāmans in the table of the liturgical arrangement in the next section, following the example of Caland in his edition of the Maśaka-Kalpasūtra. In the sūtra text, the last word in all sources, including the pratīka of the commentator, is *āgniciti, kam*, but it is quite clear from Bhavatrāta's commentary that he has read °*kaḥ*. (b) *Sāmatṛca* is a technical term peculiar to the JŚS, where it is used for the sake of abbreviated exposition; see also for its definition, Bhavatrāta on Saṃjñākalpa 5, Shastri ed., p. 160, 27–29 and 161, 6–8. (c) These three sāmans are used instead of the śyāvāśva and the āndhīgava sāmans in the ārbhava pavamāna laud: see the note on the next section. (d) The work here intended is the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa of the Atharvaveda, which in 1.5.8 (Gaastra ed., 1919, p. 123, 3–11) contains the only Vedic passage that knows the term *pṛṣṭhaśamanīya*. Shastri's *anvitaiḥ* has been corrected to *utthitaiḥ* after the Madras manuscript.

6. The Prākṛta section of the Sāmakalpa (cf. Shastri's Bhavatrāta edition, p. 146. 22–23)

The Sanskrit text of this kalpa has been arranged in the same way as Maśaka's Kalpasūtra in Caland's edition (1908). After the technical terms which are used at the ājya and pṛṣṭha lauds in the JŚS for the sake of brevity I have added within frames the full text implied by these terms, supplied from other parts of the JŚS (at Bhavatrāta, Shastri ed., p. 146. 21, 146. 12f. and 156. 11–13). The numbers in parentheses refer to the stotriyā verses and at the same time indicate the stoma established in the Stomakalpa.

a. The sūtra text in Sanskrit:

(1–3) pavasva vāco agriya (JS 3.13.1–3 = 72.1–3)
(4–6) upāsmai gāyatā naraḥ (JS 3.1.3–5 = 60.3–5)
(7–9) pavamānasya te kava (JS 3.1.9–11 = 60.9–11)
iti bahiṣpavamānaṃ

vyatiṣaktāny ājyāni (i.e.:)

(1–15) agniṃ dūtaṃ vṛṇīmaha (JS 3.14.1–3 = 73.1–3)
(1–15) ā no mitrāvaruṇā (JS 3.2.4–6 = 61.4–6)
(1–15) indram id gāthino bṛhad (JS 3.14.7–9 = 73.7–9)
(1–15) indrāgnī ā gataṃ sutam (JS 3.2.10–12 = 61.10–12)

uccā ta iti (JS 3.3.1–3 = 62.1–3)

(1–3)	gāyatraṃ tisṛṣv	
(4)	āmahīyavam ekasyām	(JŪhaG 1.1.1)
(5)	aiḷaṃ saindhukṣitam ekasyām	(JŪhaG)
(6)	agner arka ekasyāṃ	(JŪhyaG 2.1)

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punānas soma dhārayeti (JS 3.3.4–5 = 62.4–5)

(7)	rauravam ekasyāṃ	(JŪhaG 1.1.2)
(8–10)	rathantaraṃ tisṛṣu	(JŪhyaG 1.6?)
(11)	dairghaśravasam ekasyāṃ	(JŪhaG)
(12)	naudhasam ekasyāṃ	(JŪhaG)
(13)	samantam ekasyāṃ	(JŪhaG)
(14)	yaudhājayam ekasyām	(JŪhaG 1.1.3)
(15–17)	auśanam antyaṃ	(JŪhaG 1.1.4)

(iti mādhyandinaḥ pavamānaḥ)

bārhatāni pṛṣṭhāni (i.e.:)

	tvām id dhi havāmahe (JS 3.15.7–8 = 74.7–8)	
	kayā naś citra ā bhuvad (JS 3.4.3–5 = 63.3–5)	
	abhi pra vas surādhasaṃ (JS 3.15.9–10 = 74.9–10)	
	tarobh ir vo vidadvasum iti	(JS 3.4.8–9 = 63.8–9)
(1–15)	bṛhac ca	(JŪhyaG 1.4)
(1–17)	vāmadevyaṃ ca	(JŪhaG 1.2.1)
(1–17)	śyaitaṃ ca	(JŪhaG 1.9.6)
(1–17)	kāleyaṃ ca	(JŪhaG 1.2.3)

svādiṣṭhayeti (JS 3.5.1–3 = 64.1–3)

(1–3)	gāyatraṃ tisṛṣu	
(4)	saṃhitam ekasyāṃ	(JŪhaG 1.3.1)
(5)	svarūpam auhokāravad ekasyāṃ	(JŪhaG)
(6)	svāśirām arka ekasyāṃ	(JŪhyaG 2.2)
(7)	sabha-	(JŪhaG 1.3.2)
(8)	pauṣkale ekarcayoḥ	(JŪhaG 1.3.3)
	purojitī vo andhasa iti (JS 3.5.6–8 = 64.6–8)	
(9–11)	śyāvāśva-	(JŪhaG 1.3.4)
(12–14)	-āndhīgave tṛcayoḥ	(JŪhaG 1.3.5)
(15–17)	kāvam antyam	(JŪhaG 1.3.6)

(ity ārbhavaḥ pavamānaḥ)

(1–21)	yajñāyajñiyam agniṣṭomasāma	(JŪhaG 1.3.7)
		(JŪhyaG 1.7) // 6 //

b. Bhavatrāta's commentary in Sanskrit:
āgnicitikaḥ ṣaṣṭhaḥ. agnicayananimittaḥ prakṛtibheda eva.

c. The sūtra text in English:
The outdoor pavamāna laud consists of (the gāyatra sāman chanted on) the verses JS 3.13.1–3, 3.1.3–5, and 3.1.9–11 (which are not repeated but sung just once, which makes altogether nine stotra verses). The ājya lauds are the intertwined ones (i.e., the gāyatra sāman is sung on the verses JS 3.14.1–3 at the first ājya laud, repeating each of the three verses five times, so that there are altogether fifteen stotra verses; at the second, third, and fourth ājya lauds, the gāyatra sāman is similarly sung on the verses JS 3.2.4–6,

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3.14.7–9, and 3.2.10–12 respectively). (At the midday pavamāna laud, six stotra verses are made of the gāyatrī verses) JS 3.3.1–3 (so that) the gāyatra sāman is chanted on three stotra verses, then the āmahīyava sāman on one stotra verse, then that saindhukṣita sāman which has *iḷā* (as its finale) on one stotra verse, then the sāman called agner arka on one stotra verse; (thereafter, eight stotra verses are made of the bṛhatī stanzas) JS 3.3.4–5 (so that) the raurava sāman is chanted on one stotra verse, then the rathantara on three stotra verses, then the dairghaśravasa sāman on one stotra verse, then the naudhasa sāman on one stotra verse, then the samanta sāman on one stotra verse, and then the yaudhājaya sāman on one stotra verse; the last (sāman of the midday pavamāna laud with its altogether seventeen stotra verses) is the auśana (chanted on the three triṣṭubh verses JS 3.3.6–9). The "dorsal lauds" are those of the archetypal jyotiṣṭoma with the bṛhat sāman chanted as its first dorsal laud (i.e., the bṛhat chanted on JS 3.15.7–8 as the first dorsal laud, here with fifteen stotra verses; the vāmadevya sāman chanted on JS 3.4.3–5 as the second dorsal laud, here with seventeen stotra verses, like the following two also; the śyaita sāman chanted on JS 3.15.9–10 as the third dorsal laud; and the kāleya sāman chanted on JS 3.4.8–9 as the fourth dorsal laud). (The ārbhava pavamāna laud, which here has altogether seventeen stotra verses, begins with six stotra verses, which are formed out of the gāyatrī verses) JS 3.5.1–3 (so that) the gāyatra sāman is chanted on three stotra verses, the saṃhita sāman on one stotra verse, the svarūpa sāman provided with the word *auho* on one stotra verse, and the sāman called svāśirām arka on one stotra verse; (then follow) the sabha and pauṣkala sāmans each chanted on one stotra verse (formed by the kakubh verse JS 3.5.4 and the uṣṇih verse JS 3.5.5 respectively); (then follow six stotra verses made out of the anuṣṭubh verses) JS 3.5.6–8 (so that) the śyāvāśva and the āndhīgava sāman are both chanted on this tristich; the last (sāman of the ārbhava pavamāna laud) is the kāva (chanted on the three jagatī verses JS 3.5.9–11). The agniṣṭoma sāman is the yajñāyajñīya (chanted on JS 3.5.12–13, out of which twenty-one stotra verses are formed).

d. Bhavatrāta's commentary in English:
The sixth (rite described) is that combined with the piling of the fire altar, i.e., the variety of the archetype occasioned by the fire altar.

e. Notes:

The kalpa followed at the Kerala Agnicayana is, however, not this one which in the JŚS is prescribed for an āgnicitika Agniṣṭoma but comes closest to the scheme laid down in the second chapter of the Prakṛtikalpa for a bārhata Agniṣṭoma as follows:

(1–3) pavasva vāco agriyaḥ (JS 3.13.1–3 = 72.1–3)
(4–6) pavasvendo vṛṣā sutaḥ (JS 3.13.4–6 = 72.4–6)
(7–9) pavamānasya te kava (JS 3.1.9–11 = 60.9–11)

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iti bahiṣpavamānam

(1–15) agniṃ dūtaṃ vṛṇīmahe (JS 3.14.1–3 = 73.1–3)
(1–15) mitraṃ vayaṃ havāmaha (JS 3.14.4–6 = 73.4–6)
(1–15) indram id gāthino bṛhad (JS 3.14.7–9 = 73.7–9)
(1–15) indro agnā namo bṛhad (JS 3.14.10–12 = 73.10–12) ity ājyāny uccā ta iti (JS 3.3.1–3 = 62.1–3)
(1–3) gāyatrā-
(4–6) (ā)mahīyave tṛcayor (JŪhaG 1.1.1)
punānaḥ soma dhārayeti (JS 3.3.4–5 = 62.4–5)
(7) rauravam ekasyāṃ (JŪhaG 1.1.2)
(8) dairghaśravasam ekasyām (JŪhaG)
(9) ūrdhveḷaṃ somasāmaikasyām (JŪhaG)
(10–12) yaudhājayaṃ tisṛṣv (JŪhaG 1.1.3)
(13–15) auśanam antyam (JŪhaG 1.1.4)
(iti mādhyandinaṃ pavamānam)
[the pṛṣṭhas are those given above]
svādiṣṭhayeti (JS 3.5.1–3 = 64.1–3)
(1–3) gāyatra-
(4–6) saṃhite tṛcayoḥ (JŪhaG 1.3.1)
(7) sabha- (JŪhaG 1.3.2)
(8) pauṣkale ekarcayoḥ (JŪhaG 1.3.3)
purojitī vo andhasa iti (JS 3.5.6–8 = 64.6–8)
(9) śyāvāśvam ekasyām (JŪhaG)
(10) ūrdhv⟨eḷaṃ⟩ krauñcam ekasyām (JŪhaG)
(11) ākūpāram ekasyām (JŪhaG)
(12–14) āndhīgavaṃ tisṛṣu (JŪhaG 1.3.5)
(15–17) kāvam antyam (JŪhaG 1.3.6)
(ity ārbhavaḥ pavamānaḥ)
(1–21) yajñāyajñiyam agniṣṭomasāma (JŪhaG 1.3.7) // 2 // (JŪhyaG 1.7)

As can be seen, the differences concern the second tristich of the outdoor pavamāna laud, the second and fourth ājya lauds, the entire midday pavamāna laud excepting the initial gāyatra (stotriyās 1–3) and the final auśana (stotriyās 15–17), and the stotriyās 4–6 and 9–11 of the ārbhava pavamāna laud. Yet, there are some differences from this scheme in the Kerala Agnicayana. While the morning service (prātaḥsavanam) is identical with the bārhata Agniṣṭoma, the midday pavamāna laud is identical with that of the rāthantara Agniṣṭoma, which the first chapter of the Prakṛtikalpa prescribes as follows:

uccā te jātam andhasa iti (JS 3.3.1–3 = 62.1–3)
(1–3) gāyatrā-
(4–6) (ā)mahīyave tṛcayoḥ (JŪhaG 1.1.1)
punānaḥ soma dharayeti (JS 3.3.4–5 = 62.4–5)

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(7–9) raurava- (JŪhaG 1.1.2)
(10–12) yaudhājaye tṛcayoḥ (JŪhaG 1.1.3)
pra tu draveti (JS 3.3.6–8 = 62.6–8)
(13–15) auśanam antyam (JŪhaG 1.1.4).

The only deviation exhibited by the Kerala Agnicayana from this last mentioned, simplest possible scheme is based on Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 1.119: 51.14–15: the second verse of the tristich on which the gāyatra was sung was JS 3.11.1 = 70.1, while in the tristich of the āmahīyava was the expected verse JS 3.3.2 = 62.2. Note the difference in the stoma (15 stotriyās instead of 17). The scheme of the ārbhava pavamāna in the Kerala Agnicayana agrees otherwise with that of both the rāthantara and the bārhata Agniṣṭoma except for the stotriyā verses 9–11. While in the rāthantara the śyāvāśva is here sung on the tristich JS 3.5.6–8 (JŪhaG 1.3.4), the Kerala Agnicayana had instead three different sāmans chanted each on a single verse, as in the bārhata Agniṣṭoma; the sāmans, however, were different: the nānada (JŪhaG 2.4.4) on one stotriyā verse, the gaurīvitasāman (JŪhaG 3.7.18) on one stotriyā verse, Except for the gaurīvita, this modification, which seems to be conditioned by the "sixteenth" laud, is in agreement with Bhavatrāta's note on the Stomakalpa of the āgnicitika, according to which the nānada, madhuścunnidhana, and śyāvāśva (each on one stotriyā verse) are to be used if the Agnicayana is combined with an Atirātra and not an Agniṣṭoma. Since the madhuścunnidhana (JŪhaG 3.7.19) immediately follows the gaurīvita being chanted on the same verse, such a confusion in the Kerala tradition seems understandable enough. With regard to the Agniṣṭoma laud it is worth pointing out that while the yajñāyajñīya sāman is recorded on all the three verses in the JŪhaG (1.3.7), the first of these is also recorded in the JŪhyaG (1.7) provided with stobhas that begin with *bh* as in the rathantara sāman (cf. Howard's paper above). In Kerala each of the three verses was repeated seven times so as to make altogether twenty-one stotriyā verses. The first verse was repeated six times in the form it is handed down in the JŪhaG with the rathantaravarṇā of the JŪhyaG as the seventh stotriyā. This is, however, at variance with the practice enjoined in the Sūtra part of the JŚS (1.20.14), where it is clearly stated that the rathantaravarṇā is to be made the second stotriyā. The Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīyas do not chant a rathantaravarṇā in the yajñāyajñīya sāman (see LŚS 2.10.18–19; DŚS 6.2.18–20), but instead they make the last stotriyā of the outdoor pavamāna laud "provided with the syllables of rathantara" (LŚS 1.12.10; DŚS 3.4.24). Although up to the Agniṣṭoma the Kerala Agnicayana differs from its scheme of lauds, the rest is in total harmony with the following prescriptions which the seventh chapter of the Jaiminīya Prakṛtikalpa gives about the arrangement of lauds at the jyotiratirātra:

atha yadi ṣoḍaśimān syād . . .

(1–21) sākamaśvaṃ ca (JŪhaG 1.4.1 on JS 3.6.1–3 = 65.1–3)

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(1–21) saubharaṃ ca (JŪhaG 1.4.2 on JS 3.6.4–5 = 65.4–5)
(1–21) nārmedhaṃ ca (JŪhaG 1.4.3 on JS 3.6.6–8 = 65.6–8)
(ity ukthāni)
(1–21) gaurivītam (JŪhaG 1.4.4 on JS 3.6.9–11 = 65.9–11) ṣoḍaśī; pañcadaśī rātris, trivṛt sandhir
atha rātreḥ prathamaḥ paryāya:
(1–15) okonidhanaṃ vaitahavyaṃ (JŪhaG 1.5.1 on JS 3.7.1–3 = 66.1–3)
(1–15) śāktyaṃ (JŪhaG 1.5.2 on JS 3.7.4–6 = 66.4–6)
(1–15) kāṇvaṃ (JŪhaG 1.5.3 on JS 3.7.7–9 = 66.7–9)
(1–15) śrautakakṣam (JŪhaG 1.5.4 on JS 3.7.10–12 = 66.10–12)
atha dvitīyaḥ paryāya:
(1–15) aurdhvasadmanaṃ (JŪhaG 1.6.1 on JS 3.8.1–3 = 67.1–3)
(1–15) vaiṇavam (JŪhaG 1.6.2 on JS 3.8.4–6 = 67.4–6)
(1–15) ārṣabhaṃ (JŪhaG 1.6.3 on JS 3.8.7–9 = 67.7–9)
(1–15) gāram (JŪhaG 1.6.4 on JS 3.8.10–12 = 67.10–12)
atha tṛtīyaḥ paryāyo:
(1–15) ghṛtaścunnidhanaṃ (JŪhaG 1.7.1 on JS 3.9.1–3 = 68.1–3)
(1–15) maidhātithaṃ (JŪhaG 1.7.2 on JS 3.9.4–6 = 68.4–6)
(1–15) saumedhaṃ (JŪhaG 1.7.3 on JS 3.9.7–9 = 68.7–9)
(1–15) kautsam (JŪhaG 1.7.4 on JS 3.9.10–12 = 68.10–12)
(iti rātriḥ)
(1–3) enā vo agniṃ namasā (JS 3.10.1–2 = 69.1–2)
(4–6) prati vo darśyāyatī- (JS 3.10.3–4 = 69.3–4)
(7–9) (i)mā u vāṃ diviṣṭaya ity (JS 3.10.5–6 = 69.5–6)
etāsu navasu trivṛd rathantaraḥ (JŪhyaG 2.3–5) sandhis; tṛcāya tṛcāya hiṃkurvanti.

For the uktha and the ṣoḍaśin lauds of the overnight rite, prescriptions are given also in the Saṃjñākalpa (at Bhavatrāta p. 155, 27–30; 156, 1–5; and 160, 4); they are in agreement with the above scheme. In the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya tradition (which does not know a specific arrangement for an āgnicitika variety) the jyotir-atirātra has a somewhat different liturgy, for which see Caland 1908a: 203ff. Note that some of the sāman names also differ slightly: thus the Jaiminīyas have *sabha* and *gaurivīta* for *sapha* and *gaurīvita*, while the orthography of *yajñāyajñīya* varies. That the Kerala Agnicayana of 1975 here follows a practice that has already been current among the Jaiminīyas for some time, is evidenced by the unpublished text called Atirātrasāma Jaiminīyam, available to me in a copy of manuscript no. 8162a of the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library of the University of Kerala, Trivandrum. This text contains the following sāmans (I reproduce the names, with all their errors, as they stand in my transcript): p. 1 sākamaśvam, saubharam, p. 2 nārmedham, p. 3 mahāgaurīvītam, vaitahavyam, p. 4 śauktam, p. 5 kāśvam, śrautakakṣam, p. 6 auddhasatmanam, p. 7 āpadhravaiṇavam, (folia 6 and 7 of the original missing here), p. 8 maidhātitham, saumedham, p. 9 kautsam and the colo-

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phon: ity atirātram atha aptoryāmam ṣaṭpṛṣṭhaṃ bṛhatpṛṣṭhaṃ bṛhatprājāpatyam hari om śubham astu iti prathama a /. In the text of Bhavatrāta's commentary I have emended the ms. reading *agnicitikaṃ ṣaṣṭham* in view of the sequel and of the parallel with, e.g., *saptamo jyotiratirātraḥ*, p. 146, 24.

In considering the authenticity of the Kerala tradition and comparing it to the literary sources it must be borne in mind that the latter have clearly been in oblivion for many centuries. Thus the present-day Nambudiri Jaiminīyas do not even know the names of the sāmans (now given to us by the rediscovered Jaiminīya-Kalpa quoted above), but in dealing with the sāmans refer to their verses and position in the Gānas. In view of this, and the very limited repertory of śrauta rites performed in Kerala in recent times, the simplifications and other deviations from the ancient prescriptions noted above are quite understandable. Indeed, the conditions are such that we simply cannot believe the Kerala tradition to be just a learned reconstruction, but genuine remnants of an old tradition.

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ĀrG = Āraṇyaka-Gāna (or Araṇyegeya-Gāna) of the Kauthuma-Rāṇayanīya school; see Sāmaśramī, ed.

ĀrS = Āraṇyaka-Saṃhitā of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīyas; see Sāmaśramī, ed.

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JĀrṣB = Jaiminīya-Ārṣeya-Brāhmaṇa; see Burnell, ed. and B. R. Sharma, ed.
JB = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa; see Raghu Vira and Lokesh Candra, eds.
JGrG = Jaiminīya-Grāmageya-Gāna; see the mss. (Helsinki, Utrecht)
JS = Jaiminīya-Saṃhitā (especially the Ārcika portion); see Caland (1907), ed., and the mss. (Helsinki)
JŚS = Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra; see Gaastra (ed. of the Sūtra part), and the mss. (Baroda, London, Tanjore)
JUB = Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa; see Oertel, ed. and tr.; B. R. Sharma, ed.
JŪhaG = Jaiminīya-Ūha-Gāna; see the mss. (Helsinki)
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PART V

FILMS, TAPES, AND CASSETTES

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I. THE FILMS

ALMOST TWENTY HOURS of color films were made of the Agnicayana performance of 1975. The films were directed by Robert Gardner, who assisted with the following description. Gardner and Kevin Burke shot most of the footage, assisted with sound by Kunju Vasudevan Nambudiripad and M. Narayanan Nambudiripad, who both could enter the enclosure. The film crew also included Mankada Ravi Varma and Sarwesh Kumar. PLATE 22

The majority of the material was documented using Arriflex BL and Eclair NPR cameras to provide a synchronous sound record. Affiliated activities were documented with the help of a Bolex and Arriflex ST. Sound for the film documentation was recorded using a Nagra 4 and Stellavox SP7. The audio portion of the film suffered from problems generated by the equipment, extraneous noise, occasional distance of reciters or chanters from the microphones, and the customary softness of some of their voices. Wind also degraded the audio record, and the general commotion, hubbub, and crowding of visitors, in addition to physical exclusion from the locus of activity, interfered with the aims and ends of both recording and photography.

Robert Gardner at Harvard University, the Smithsonian Institution, the Government of India, Instituut Kern (Leiden), and Frits Staal at the University of California have copies of the films, some of which are videotapes. A 45-minute 16-mm color film was produced from these materials with the help of Michel Chalufour. It was released under the title *Altar of Fire*, and is available through the Extension Media Center of the University of California at Berkeley.

During the summer of 1975 I had access to a balky Moviola editing console and prepared seventy-eight pages of tentative annotations of the films with assistance from Harold Arnold, Saraswathy Staal, and (for the Pravargya) Wayne Surdam. These annotations were produced with the help of Miranda Ewell, the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, and the Committee on Research of the University of California at Berkeley. Originally it was intended to revise and include them in the present volume, but this idea was abandoned since the volume is already large enough. What follows is a list of contents that may give a rough idea of what has been filmed. The films could of course not picture the totality of the ritual, but they illustrate selected episodes. The selections were made through intermittent and mostly nocturnal discussions, before and during the performance, between Cherumukku Vaidikan, Robert Gardner, and myself.

In the following table the first column indicates the ritual day, the second the date, the third the number of the printing reel (marked "SM" for "Smithsonian"), and the fourth the camera roll (each of 400 feet and lasting

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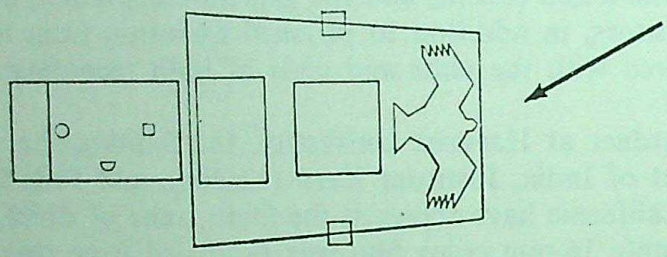
PLATE 22

Nambudiri Cameraman After Flow of Wealth

Kunju Vasudevan Nambudiripad with Bolex Camera; the prati-prasthātā holds a dish for the adhvaryu.



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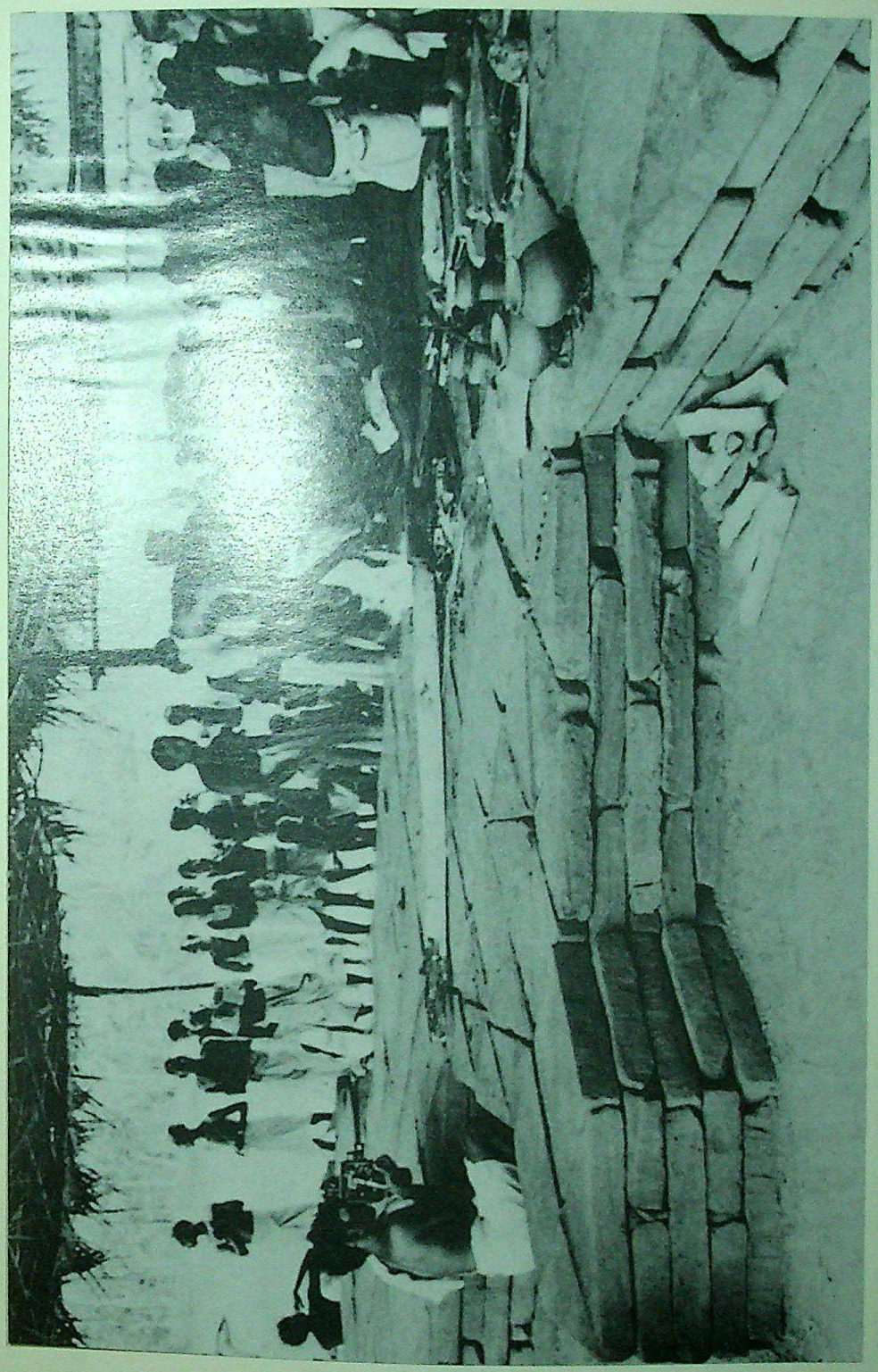

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approximately 11 minutes) and cameraman (marked "RG" for Robert Gardner, "KB" for Kevin Burke, and "RV" for Ravi Varma). The fifth column provides a title or phrase descriptive of the contents, and the sixth refers to the corresponding episode in the descriptions of Part II of this book.

Ritual day	Date	Printing reel	Camera roll	Description	Episode
	Dec. 31, '74	SM-1	RV/100/8	Carpenter at work	
	Feb. 7, '75			Preparing clay	
	Feb. 9		RV/100/9	Preparing ground for śālā	
	Feb. 22–23		RV/100/10–11	Making bricks and pots	
	Mar. 9		RV/100/12–13	Rehearsals at Shoranur	
	Mar. 13		RV/100/14	Construction of śālā	
	Mar. 26		RV/100/20–21	Construction of śālā; pots and animals heads	
	Mar. 30		RV/100/22	Carpenter makes goblet	
	Apr. 5		RV/100/24–25	Collecting Soma	
1	Apr. 12	SM-2	RG/400/7	Entrance of participants	1
			RG/400/8	Preparation of ukhā pots	
			RG/400/9	Introductory rites	
		SM-3	RG/400/10–14	Animal sacrifice for Vāyu	2
		SM-4/5	RG/400/15–16	Election of priests	3
		SM-5	RG/400/17	Making fire	
	Apr. 13	SM-5/6	RG/400/17–19	Consecration	4
2	Apr. 13	SM-6	RG/400/20	Pravargya implements	6
4	Apr. 16		RG/400/21	Construction of new domestic altar	7
		SM-7	RG/400/22	Purchase of Soma	8
			RG/400/23–24	Iṣṭi for King Soma	
3		SM-8	RG/400/25–26	Measurement of Mahāvedi	10
4		SM-8/9	RG/400/27–28	Foundation of the altar	12
4–6	Apr. 16, 18	SM-9/10	RG/400/28–30	Pravargya	9
6	Apr. 18	SM-9/10	RG/400/30/31	Upasad	
		SM-10	RG/400/31	Swelling of Soma	
7	Apr. 19		KB/400/2	Pravargya	
		SM-10/11	RG/400/33–34	Fourth layer	16
8	Apr. 20	SM-12/13	RG/400/36–38	Fifth layer	17
			KB/400/4–5		
		SM-13	KB/400/5	Rudra	18

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Ritual day	Date	Printing reel	Camera roll	Description	Episode
			KB/400/6	Chants around Agni	
9	Apr. 21	SM-14	RG/400/40	Subrahmaṇyā	9
			RG/400/40–42	Deposition of Pravargya	19
		SM-15	KB/400/7–8	Carrying forth of Agni	20
			KB/400/8	Flow of wealth	21
			RG/400/43		
		SM-16	KB/400/9	Soma Hall, Sadas	23
			RG/400/44	Dhiṣṇya hearths	
			RG/400/44	Carrying forth of Soma and Agni	24
			KB/400/10	Sacrificial pole	
10	Apr. 22	SM-17	RG/400/45–47	Soma pressing and outdoor chant	25
		SM-17/18	RG/400/47–48	Animal sacrifices	26
			KB/400/11–12		
		SM-19	KB/400/13	Entering Sadas	
10–11	Apr. 22–24	SM-19/20	RG/400/49	Soma sequences	27–30
			KB/400/14–17		
11	Apr. 25	SM-21	KB/400/18	Āśvina recitation	31
12		SM-21/22	RG/400/51–52	Unnetā's libation; ancestral and expiation rites	32
		SM-22	RG/400/52–53	Final bath	
			KB/400/20	Concluding offering	
		SM-23	KB/400/21	Animal sacrifice	
			KB/400/22	Burning of śālā	
	Apr. 23	SM-21	RG/400/50	Ṛgveda recitation with Mudras	
				Interviews	
	Apr. 19	SM-10	RG/400/33	E. Carpenter	
				N. A. Jairazbhoy	
		SM-11	RG/400/34	Yasuke Ikari	
				Asko Parpola	
			KB/400/3	J. C. Heesterman	
			RG/400/35	Erkkara Raman Nambudiri	
	Apr. 23	SM-21	RG/400/50	E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma	

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II. THE TAPES

WE RETURNED WITH nearly eighty hours of recorded tape, which covered almost the entire performance, omitting repetitions (e.g., the Pravargya) and the final rites, which were drowned out by crowd noise. N. A. Jairazbhoy, who assisted with the following description, E. Carpenter, and I were in charge of the recordings, which required almost continuous attention. Occasionally we were assisted by other visiting scholars, such as Romila Thapar.

PLATE 23

All recitations and chants were recorded on Scotch 209 low-noise tapes. The recordings were made on one Nagra 4.2 and one Nagra 4L tape recorder, operating alternately with overlaps. Three microphones were connected at all recordings to the Nagra 4.2 tape recorder, two through the microphone inputs and one through the line input (accessory socket) through a line amplifier. The signal from these microphones was fed through the Nagra 4.2 into the Nagra 4L via the mixer input. The microphones were selected from the following: one portable Sennheiser 815 "shotgun," used especially for distant or soft chants (e.g., many of the sāmans), one Sennheiser 415, two Sennheiser 405, and one Beyer M 160. The Sennheiser microphones were of the condenser type, while the Beyer was of the dynamic type. All microphones had cardioid characteristics and were provided with wind screens. Cables were hidden within the thatched roofs. The last four microphones were suspended from the roofs at the following points:

1. In the Old Hall, above the vedi
2. In the Sadas, a little to the west of the hearth of the Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin
3. In the Soma Hall, above the uparava holes
4. Above the tail of the bird-shaped main altar.

The tape recorders were operated from a table immediately to the south of the Old Hall (see Figure 32).

Complete copies of the tapes are in the possession of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and the University of California, both at Los Angeles and at Berkeley.

The following table provides a survey of the recordings. The first column indicates the ritual day, the second the date, the third the size of the reel and the fourth its number. Reels 1–23 were recorded at 7 1/2 inches-per-second, the remaining reels at 3 3/4 inches-per-second. The fifth column gives the approximate duration of the recordings.

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Ritual day	Date	Reel size (inches)	Reel number	Duration
1	Apr. 12	5	1–18	7 hours 30 minutes
2	Apr. 13	5	19–23	1 hour 52 1/2 minutes
		5	24–27	3 hours
3–4	Apr. 16	5	27(*cont.*)–38	8 hours 15 minutes
5	Apr. 17			
6	Apr. 18	5	38(*cont.*)–40	1 hour 30 minutes
7	Apr. 19	5	41–44	3 hours
8	Apr. 20	5	45–51	5 hours 15 minutes
9	Apr. 21	5	52–66	11 hours 15 minutes
10	Apr. 22	5	66(*cont.*)–70	3 hours
		7	71/72–89/90	15 hours
11	Apr. 23	7	89/90(*cont.*)–105/106 [79/80 on 75/76; 87/88 on 83/84]	12 hours
12	Apr. 24	7	105/106(*cont.*)–115/116	7 hours 30 minutes
			TOTAL:	79 hours 7 1/2 minutes

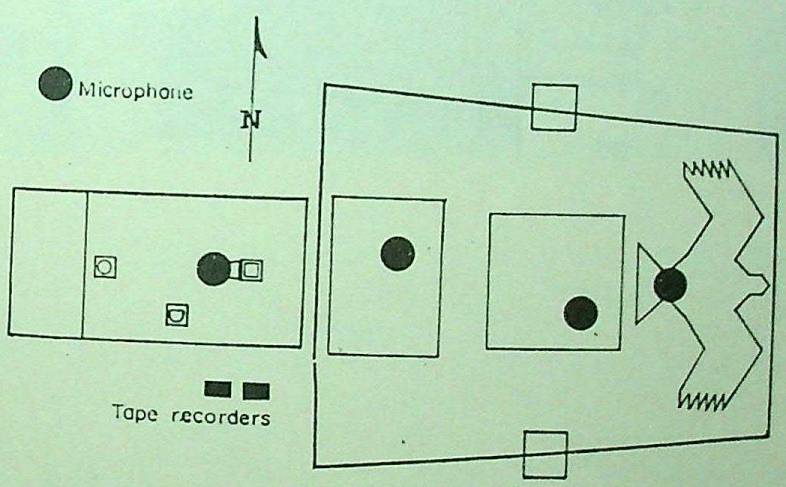

Figure 32—Placement of Microphones for the Sound Recordings

Unlike the stutis of the Atirātra, many of the Agnicayana sāmans coincided with or overlapped other recitations and activities, and were therefore not clearly audible. This applies in particular to chants sung during the foundation of the altar (Episode 12) and to the Flow of Milk (kṣīradhārā) chants (Episode 18). These were recorded separately from Itti Ravi in December 1978. At that time the ṣoḍaśi śastra (Episode 29) was also recorded separately from members of the Cherumukku Vaidikan family.

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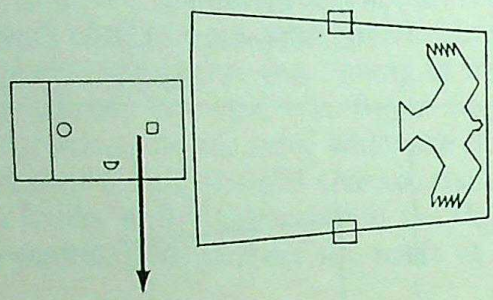
PLATE 23

The Nagra Tape Recorders

From left to right: Frits Staal, Romila Thapar, Kevin Burke, Robert Gardner, Asko Parpola, Kunju Vasudevan.



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III. THE CASSETTES

THE RECITATIONS AND chants on the two cassettes that accompany this book were selected from all available tapes. The master tapes for the cassettes were made at Celestial Sound, San Francisco, with the assistance of Louis T. Judson of Intuitive Audio.

The original tapes were played on the Nagra 4.2 that recorded them, filtered to remove subsonics and ultrasonics with an API 550 equalizer and peak-limited with a UREI LA-3A leveling amplifier. The master tapes were recorded on a Revox A-700 tape recorder with dbx 154 noise reduction on Ampex 456 tape. After editing, dbx copies were made for duplicating cassettes.

Most of the recordings on the cassettes were made during the 1975 performance. Recording 1, the teaching of the Ṛgveda, was made a week earlier, and recordings 6 and 13 were made in 1978. The last selection contains two versions of an episode recorded both during the performance in 1975 and again in 1978.

The description of the cassette material that follows is not self-contained, but refers to the corresponding descriptions in Part II of Volume I. In most cases the full text of the recitations (in Nāgarī script) and of the chants (in Roman script), together with a translation, is given there. Where these do not occur in Volume I, they are given here.

Cassette I

Side A

1. Ṛgveda Teaching at the Vaḍakkū Maṭham, Trichur (Vol. I, page 174). Ṛgveda 1.3.2c–4b:

   . . . *dhiṣṇyā vanàtaṃ giràḥ ||*
   dasrā̀ yuvākàvaḥ sutā̀ nāsàtyā vṛktabàrhiṣaḥ | ā yā̀taṃ rudravartanī || indrā yā̀hi citrabhāno sutā̀ ime tvāyavàḥ |
   . . . you gain attentive praise, you marvelous, friendly Aśvins, yours are the Soma draughts of the sacrificer who spreads the sacrificial gress. Come here, you impellers of Rudra, come here, Indra, the Soma draughts long for you!
   Recorded: April 7, 1975
   Duration: 1 min., 54 sec.
2. Beginning of the Agnicayana (Episode 1, page 287)
   TS 4.1.1.1a–3h, followed by tyāga for Savitṛ.
   Duration: 5 min., 23 sec.
3. The Consecration (Episode 4)

3A. TS 4.2.1.3g–5n (page 325)
   Duration: 5 min., 25 sec.

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3B. BŚS 6.5: 161.14–162.1, three times (page 328)
Duration: 1 min., 28 sec.

3C. BŚS 6.6: 162.4–11, followed by beginning of praiṣārtham in Malayalam (page 698)
Duration: 5 min., 18 sec.

4. Purchase of Soma (Episode 8)

4A. BŚS 6.14: 170.15 (page 347)
ḗṣa tḗ gāyatro bhāga iti mḗ somā̀ya brutāt
ḗṣa tḗ traiṣṭùbho bhāga iti me somā̀ya brutāt
ḗṣa tḗ jāgàto bhāga iti me somā̀ya brutāt
chandōmānāṃ sāmrā̀jyaṃ gaccheti mḗ somā̀ya brutād
(TS 3.1.2.1)
"This is your Gāyatrī portion," say for me to Soma
"This is your Triṣṭubh portion," say for me to Soma
"This is your Jagatī portion," say for me to Soma
"Become ruler of the Chandomas," say for me to Soma!
Duration: 31 sec.

4B. BŚS 6.14: 172.1–4 (page 347)
Duration: 12 sec.

4C. BŚS 6.14: 172.19 (page 358)
Duration: 3 sec.

5. Swelling Soma (Episode 8, pages 358–359)
TS 1.2.11.1a–b; 2.4.14.1b, by thirteen priests and the yajamāna.
Duration: 8 min., 30 sec.

Side B

6. Chants for the Golden Man (Episode 12, pages 416–417)
Jaiminīya AG 12.7–9. Chanted by Itti Ravi Nambudiri.
Recorded December 22, 1978.
Duration: 6 min., 22 sec.

7. Consecration of the Luminous Pebbles on the Fifth Layer (Episode 17, page 500)
TS 1.4.34; tayādevata TS 4.2.4.41, twelve times; sūdadohasa TS 4.2.4.4o, twelve times. Notice the varying distance of the pebbles, nos. 56*–67*, from the microphone.
Duration: 5 min., 12 sec.

8. Iṣṭi for Vaiśvānara (Episode 20)
BŚS 10.52:55.12 (page 562)
Adhvaryu: *o śrāvaya* "Make (him) hear!"
Agnīdh: *astu śrauṣaṭ* "Be it so! May he hear!"
Adhvaryu: *agniṃ vaiśvānaraṃ yaja* "Say the yājyā for Agni Vaiśvānara!"

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Hotā: [*bhūr bhuvaḥ*] *ye yajāmahe 'gniṃ vaiśvānaraṃ*
"[Earth! Air!]
We who say the yājyā for Agni Vaiśvānara!"
pṛṣṭo divi pṛṣṭo agniḥ pṛthivyāṃ pṛṣṭo viśvā oṣadhīr ā viveśa /
vāiśvānaraḥ sahasā pṛṣṭo agniḥ sa no diva sa riṣaḥ pātu naktam //
(RV 1.98.2)
"Sought in heaven, sought on earth, the much-sought Agni has entered all the plants. With force, Agni Vaiśvānara is sought. May he protect us from harm, day and night."
vauṣaṭ "May [Agni] lead [the offerings to Agni Vaiśvānara]!"
Yajamāna: *agnaye vaiśvānarāya idaṃ na mama* "This is for Agni Vaiśvānara, not for me!"
TS 5.7.5.2b (page 562)
Duration: 1 min., 17 sec.

9. Flow of Wealth (Episode 21)
BŚS 10.54: 56.10, TS 4.7.1 (beginning; page 563)
Duration: 1 min., 40 sec.

10. Outdoor Chant for the Purified Soma (Episode 25)
Bahiṣpavamānastuti (pages 603–604)
JŚS 11:14.3–5 (page 605)
Duration: 3 min., 53 sec.

11. Nocturnal recital in the third round by Maitrāvaruṇa (Episode 30: 26th śastra, page 675)

śoṃsāvo ā tvetā ni ṣīdatendram abhi pra gāyata /
sakhāyā stomavāhasas sakhāyā stomavāhaso ā tvetā ni ṣīdatendram abhi pra gāyata /(2x)
sakhāyā stomavāhasas sakhāyā stomavāhaso purūtamaṃ purūṇām īśānaṃ vāryāṇām/
indraṃ somē sacā suta indraṃ somē sacā suto sa ghā no yoga ā bhuvat sa rāye sa puraṃ-dhyām /
gamad vājebhir ā sa no gamad vājebhir ā sa no śoṃsāvo ā tv aśatravā gahi nyukthāni ca dhūyase /
upame rocane divo upame rocane divo tubhyāyam adribhiḥ suto gobhiḥ śrīto medāya kam /
pra somā indra hūyate pra somā indra hūyato indrā śrudhi su me havam asme sutasya gomataḥ /
vi pītiṃ tṛptim aśnuhi vi pītiṃ tṛptim aśnuho śoṃsāvo yasyā saṃsthe na vṛṇvate harī samatsu śatravaḥ /
tasmā indrāya gāyato sutapāvne sutā ime śucayo yanti vītaye / somāso dadhyāśiro tvaṃ sutasyā pītaye sadyo vṛddho ajāyathāḥ /
indra jyaiṣṭhāya sukrato ā tvā viśantv āśavaḥ somāsa indra girvaṇaḥ /
śaṃ te santu pracetaso tvāṃ stomā avīvṛdhan tvām ukthā śatakrato /
tvāṃ vardhantu no giro akṣitotiḥ saned imaṃ vājam indrāḥ sahasriṇam /
yasmin viśvāni paumsyo mā no martā abhi druhan tanūnām indra girvaṇaḥ /
īśāno yavayā vadho śoṃsāvo ahaṃ dāṃ gṛṇate pūrvyaṃ vasu /
ahaṃ brahmā kṛṇavaṃ mahyaṃ vardhāno ahaṃ bhuvaṃ yajamānasya coditā /
ayajvanaḥ sākṣi viśvasmin bharo māṃ dhur indraṃ nāma devatā /
divaś ca gmaś cāpāṃ ca jantavo ahaṃ harī vṛṣaṇā vivratā raghū /

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aham vajram savase dhṛṣṇv ā dado aham atkam kavayé śiśnathaṃ hathaiḥ /
aham kutsam āvam abhir ūtibhó aham śuṣṇasya śnathitā vadhar yamam /
na yo rara āryaṃ nāma dasyavo aham pitevá vetasūṃrabhiṣṭaye /
tugraṃ kutsāya smadibhaṃ ca randhayo aham bhúvam yajamānasya rājani /
pra yad bhare tujaye na priyādhṛṣó aham randhayaṃ mṛgayam śrutarvane /
yan mājihīta vayunā cānānuṣo aham veśam namram āyavé 'karam /
aham savyāya padgṛbhim arandhayo aham sa yo navavāstvam bṛhadratham /
sam vṛtreva dāsam vṛtrahārujo yad vardhayantam prathayantam ānuṣak /
dūre pāre rajaso rocanākaro aham sūryasya pari yāmy āśubhiḥ /
praitaśebhir vahamāna ojaso yan mā sāvo manuṣa āhá nirṇijé /
ṛdhak kṛṣe dāsam kṛtvyam hathó aham saptahā nahuṣo nahuṣṭaraḥ /
prāśravayam śavasā turvaśam yadó aham nyānyam sahasā sahas karam /
nava vrādhato navatim cā vakṣayo aham sapta sravato dhārayam vṛṣā /
dravitnvaḥ pṛthivyām sīrā adhó aham arṇāṃsi vi tirāmi sukratuḥ/
yudhā vidam manave gātum iṣṭayo aham tad āsu dhārayam yad āsu na /
devaś cana tvaṣṭādhārayad ruśó spārham gavām ūdhaḥsu vakṣaṇāsv ā /
madhor madhu śvātryam somam āśiró śoṃsāvo evā devāṃ indró vivye nṛn /
pra cyautnenā maghavā satyarādho viśvet tā té harivaḥ śacīvaḥ /
abhi turāsaḥ svayaśo gṛṇanto evā devāṃ indró vivye nṛn /
(last two lines twice)
pra cyautnenā maghavā satyarādho viśvet tā té harivaḥ śacīvaḥ /
abhi turāsaḥ svayaśo gṛṇantom / /
(RV 1.5.1–3; 8.82.4–6; 1.5.4–10; 10.49.1–11)

Let us both recite! Come, sit down, sing for Indra!
You friends offering praise, you friends offering praise O! Come here, sit down, sing for Indra! (2x)
You friends offering praise, you friends offering praise O! For the first among many, owner of all that is exquisite!
For Indra with pressed Soma, for Indra with pressed Soma O! Let him help us in our effort, he for wealth and happiness!
May he come with rewards to us, may he come with rewards to us O! Let us both recite!
You who are without enemies, come, you are called to the recitations,
In the highest radiance of heaven, in the highest radiance of heaven O! For you this Soma has been pressed with stones, mixed with milk, for rapture indeed!
Indra, Soma is poured, Indra, Soma is poured O! Listen, Indra, to my invitation.
Of the milky juice pressed here,
Obtain drinking and satisfaction, obtain drinking and satisfaction O!
Let us both recite! Whose horses the enemies cannot stop in the clashes of war,
Sing for that Indra O! These pure pressed draughts come to the drinker of Soma, for the feast,
Mixed with sour milk O! You were born fully grown to the drinking of Soma,
For preeminence, clever Indra O! The songs of praise, the recitations have strengthened you, insightful one.
Let our songs strengthen you O! May Indra, always helping, gain this thousandfold reward.
In whom is all virility O! Let no mortals harm our bodies, Indra, fond of song,

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Prevent slaughter, powerful one O! Let us both recite! "I gave the singer his first wealth.
I made brahman to strengthen me O! I directed the yajamāna.
In each fight I conquered those without ritual O! They made me the god named Indra.
The creatures of heaven, earth, and the waters O! I guide the two horses, strong as bulls.
I grasp the thunderbolts for strength O! For the seers I hit with blows,
I helped Kutsa with such assistance O! Piercer of Śuṣṇa, I controlled the weapon.
I did not surrender the Aryan name to the Dasyu O! Like a father I assisted the Vetasus.
I subjected Tugra and Smadibha to Kutsa O! I made the yajamāna rule.
When I furthered Tuji, his dear horses could not be hurt O! I subjected Āyu to the natives.
I subjected Paḍgṛbhi to Savya O! For Navavāstva, Bṛhadratha,
I, Vṛtra-slayer, destroyed Dāsa just like Vṛtra O! When he was growing, extending properly,
I turned him into light at the far end of space O! I go about with the runners of the sun,
Forcefully moving with the Etaśas O! When men advised me to cleanse,
I got rid of the victorious Dāsa with blows O! Killer of seven, I am more Nahus than Nahus.
Through my eminence I made Turvaśa and Yadu famous O! I conquered some with force,
I strengthened ninety-nine others O! Bull, I support the seven rivers,
Running on earth O! Cleverly I cross the streams.
Fighting I found Manu room to go O! I keep in them
What not even god Tvaṣṭr could keep in them O! Milk in the cows' udders, in their bellies,
Sweeter than sweet to mix with Soma O!" Thus spoke Indra to gods and men,
With animation, generous, truly beneficent O! You strong horseman, self-glorious,
All the powerful applaud you O! Thus spoke Indra to gods and men,
(last two lines twice)
With animation, generous, truly beneficent O! You strong horseman, self-glorious,
All the powerful applaud you OM!
Duration: 7 min., 29 sec.

Cassette II

Side A

12. The Sixteenth Chant (Episode 29, pages 659–660; for the viṣṭuti, see Figure 50, page 652). Begins with BŚS 7.8: 212.19–213.1, TS 3.3.2.1a, etc. (pages 625–626).
The following rounds are included on the cassette:
I.I.I.II.II.II.III
I.II.II.II.III.III
Duration: 29 min., 52 sec.

Wayne Howard recorded the first stotriyā from Itti Ravi Nambudiri on July 9, 1971. The following transcription of his recording is more complete than the one on the cassette, since in the ritual every section (vacana) is sung in a single breath (see Howard, this volume, page 334).

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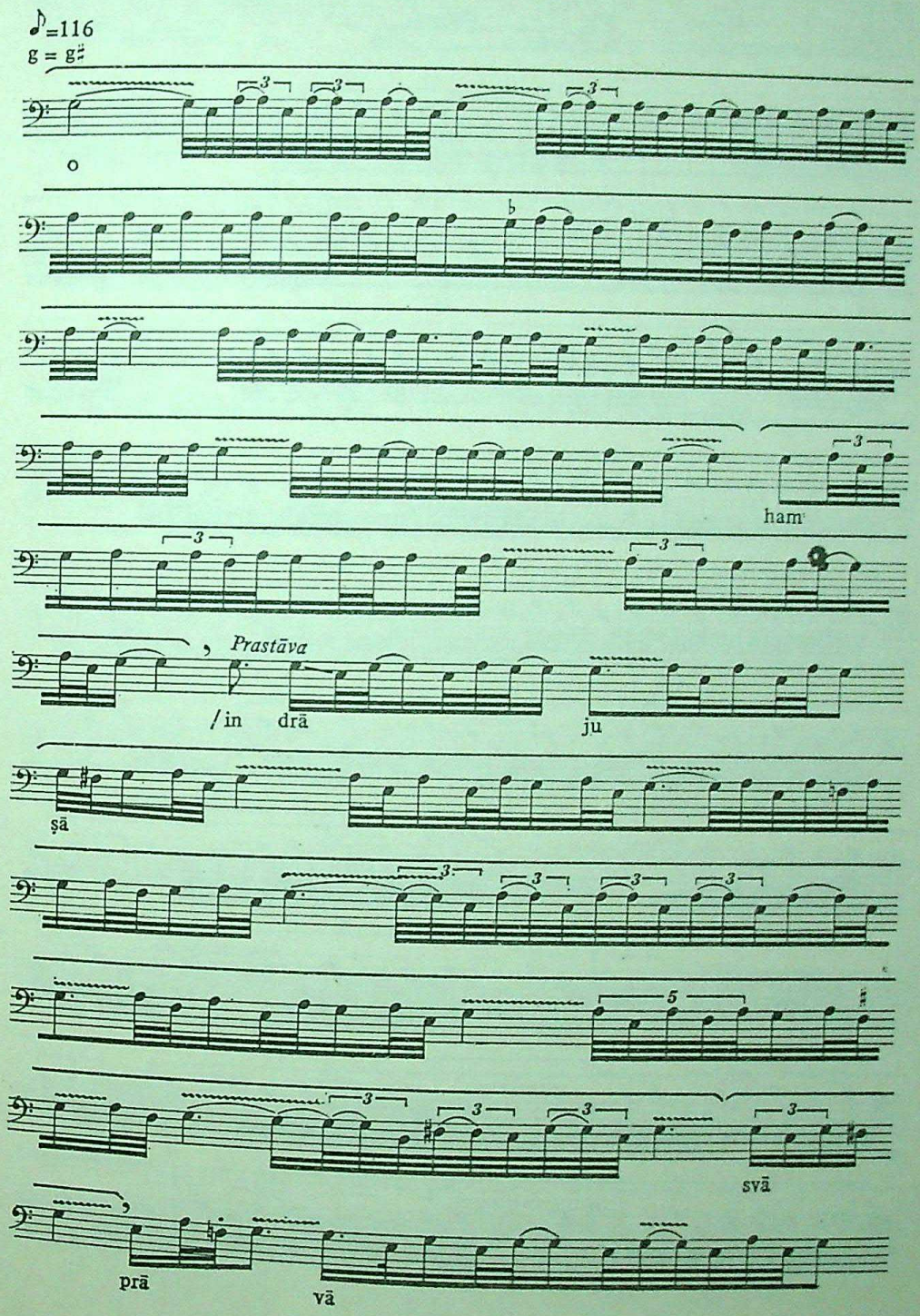
Ṣoḍaśi: Stotriyā 1. [HXb(2)]



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Udgītha

ha / o yā hi śū ra ha ri ha

pā yi

bā

sū

tā

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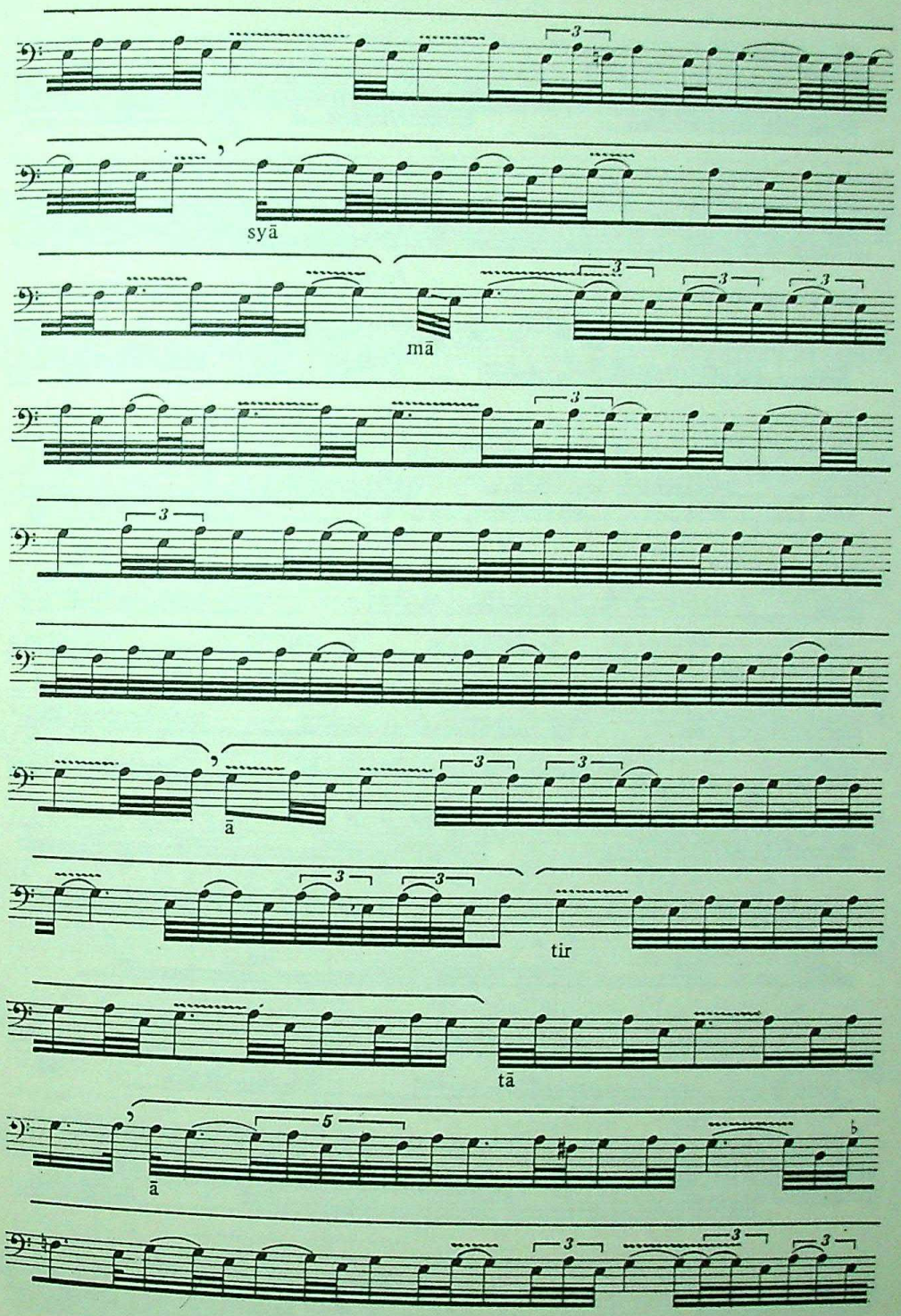

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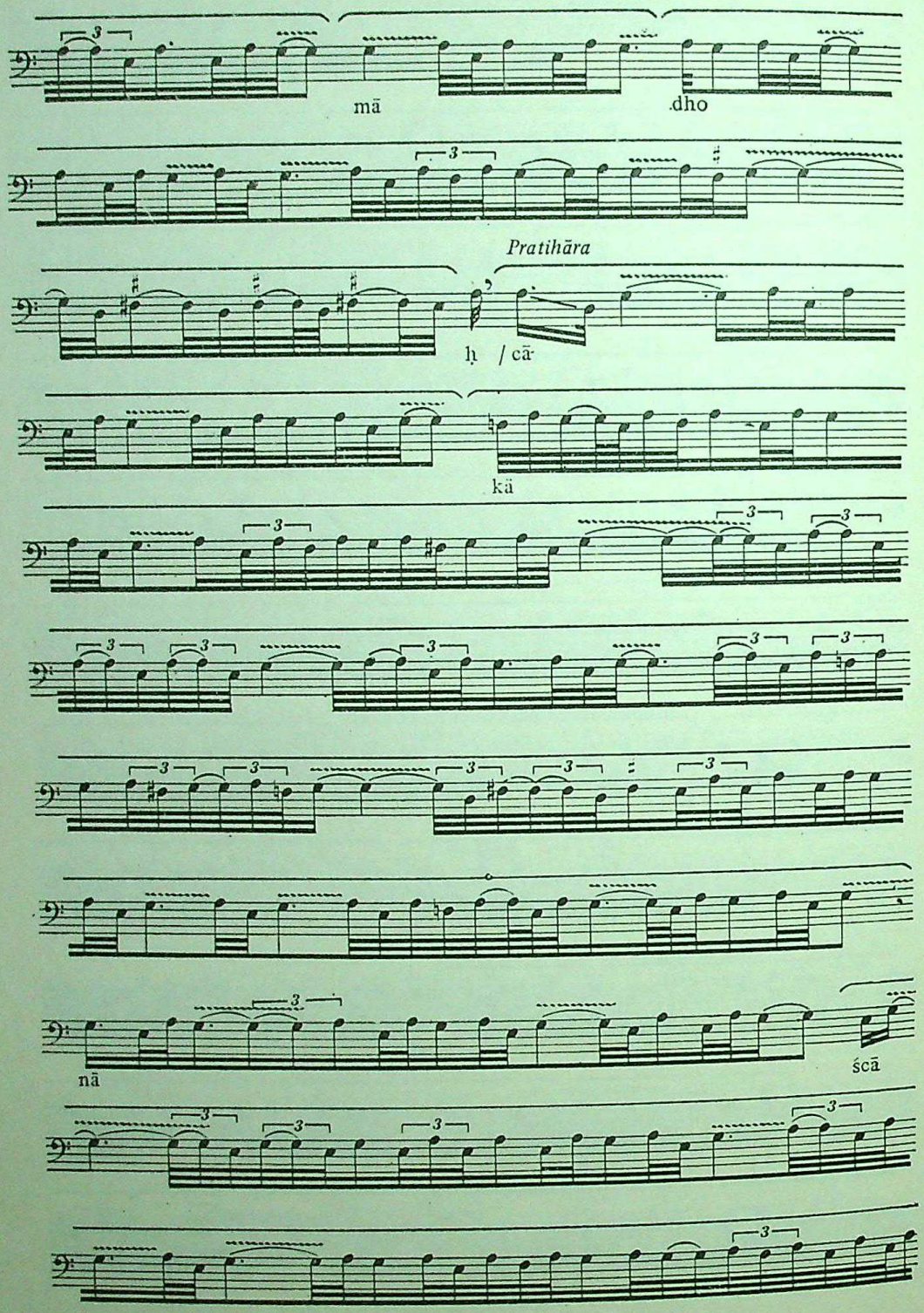

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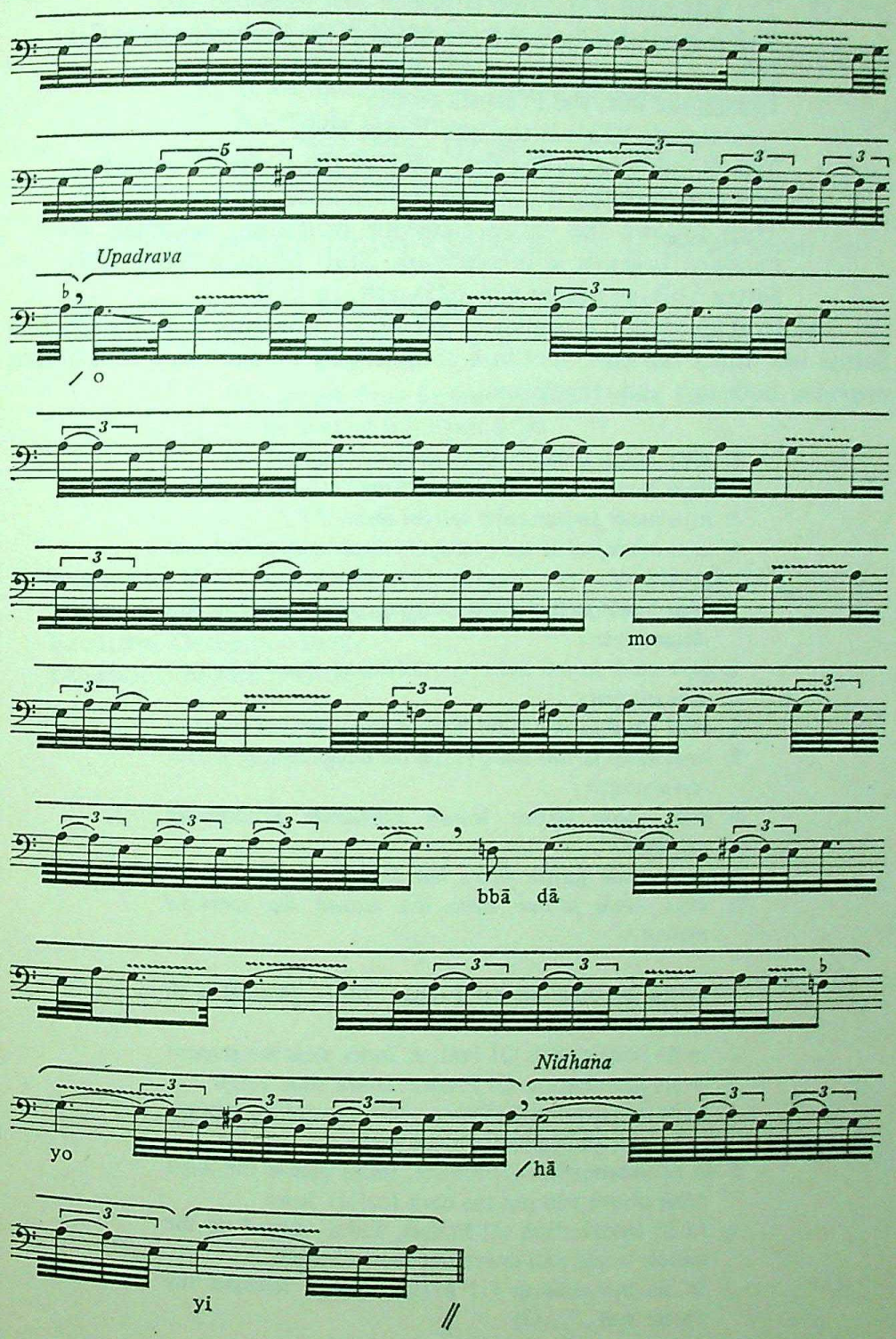

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Side B

13. The Sixteenth Recitation (Episode 29, pages 660–663)
This begins with the last two rounds of the sixteenth chant (III. III).
During the last, the Prastotā recites:
eṣottamaḥ "This is the last" (page 604).
This is followed by the first verse of the sixteenth recitation, as it was recorded, during the performance, on April 23, 1975. Then follows the entire sixteenth recitation, recorded separately, together with pratigara, Stuti Milking (page 605), Śastra Milking (pages 624–625), etc., in 1978.

The nivid invocation is similar to ŚŚS 8.25.1. Professor E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma has found the same text in a commentary on the sūtra, and he has provided both text and translation:

1. *asya made jaritar indraḥ somasya matsat/*
2. *asya made jaritar indro 'him ahan /*
3. *asya made jaritar indro vṛtram ahan /*
4. *asya made jaritar indra ud dyām astabhanāt aprathayat pṛthivīm /*
5. *asya made jaritar indra udāryaṃ varṇam atirad ava dāsam ahan /*
6. *asya made jaritar indro vyantarikṣam atīrad ā sūryaṃ divy airayat /*
7. *asya made jaritar indro 'pinvad apito ghinvad ajuvaḥ /*
8. *asya made jaritar indra ṛśyān iva pamphaṇataḥ parvatān aramṇāt /*
9. *asya made jaritar indraḥ samudraṃ prakupitam aramṇāt /*
10. *asya made jaritar indra iha śravad up gira sthāt /*
11. *asya made jaritar indra iha śravad iha somasya matsat //*

1. In its intoxication O! Praiser, Indra pleased with Soma
2. In its intoxication O! Praiser, Indra slew the serpent
3. In its intoxication O! Praiser, Indra slew Vṛtra
4. In its intoxication O! Praiser, Indra gave firm support to heaven and spread out the earth
5. In its intoxication O! Praiser, Indra placed the Ārya color above and put the dark (color) down
6. In its intoxication O! Praiser, Indra opened up the middle world and drove the sun to heaven
7. In its intoxication O! Praiser, Indra released the waters and . . .(?)

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8. In its intoxication O! Praiser, Indra set at rest the mountains that were galloping like race horses
9. In its intoxication O! Praiser, Indra set at rest the much agitated ocean
10. In its intoxication O! Praiser, let Indra stand by hearing the praises
11. In its intoxication O! Praiser, let Indra hear [the praise] here and be pleased with Soma.

The final oblation for Indra Ṣoḍaśi has for its offering verse:

apāḥ purvèṣāṃ harivas sutānām athò idaṃ savànaṃ kevàlaṃ te /
mamaddhi somaṃ madhùmantam indra sātrā vṛṣan jaṭharā a vṛṣasva //

You drank from former pressings, horse rider,
this libation is for you only!
Be drunk from the Soma, Indra,
pour it all together down your belly, you bull!
(RV 10.96.13)

Recited by C. V. Vasudevan Akkitiripad, the pratigara by C. V. Somayajipad, the third voice C. V. Krishnan Nambudiri.
Recorded December 1978.
Duration: 27 min., 40 sec.

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YASUKE IKARI (1940–) studied Indology and received his B.A. (1966) and M.A. (1968) from Kyoto University, and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago (1979). He served as Instructor at Kyoto University from 1973 to 1977, and Associate Professor at Kinki University in 1978, and at the South Asian Division of the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan, from 1979 to 1982. He is currently Associate Professor at Kyoto University. He has published articles on Vedic literature, especially in the field of Vedic ritual.

STANLEY INSLER (1937–) studied Indology and Iranology in the United States and in Germany with Paul Tedesco, Paul Thieme, and Karl Hoffmann. His two chief fields of interest are Vedic Sanskrit and Avestan, about which he has written extensively. He has taught at Yale University since 1963, where he is currently Professor of Sanskrit and Chairman of the Department of Linguistics. Mr. Insler is also Secretary-Treasurer of the American Oriental Society. In 1975 he published a translation and commentary on the Ǵāthās of Zarathustra.

MUTTATUKKATTU MAMANNU ITTI RAVI NAMBUDIRI (1904–) was born in Panjal in the Muṭṭatukkāṭṭil Māmaṇṇû family, which is known as ōtikkanṭe illam since it is the "priest house" for most of the Sāmavedins. In 1910, when he was six, he witnessed the Sāmaveda Triṣandha in the Panjal temple with wonder and joy. The next

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year, the year of his upanayana, he saw the entire Agniṣṭoma performed by his father. One year later he began his study of the Veda under his father and grandfather's brother, famous as Udgātan Māmaṇṇū. By 1916, at samāvartana, he knew the entire saṃhitā. By the age of 18 he was well versed in ūha, ūṣāṇi, upaniṣads, Sanskrit, and ritual, and began to teach and perform priestly functions. At that time both the Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra were common, and he witnessed 25 of the former and 3 of the latter. In 1923 he first took part as a ṛtvik in an Agniṣṭoma. Since 1952 he has participated in 14 Agniṣṭoma, 3 Atirātra, and 90 Pravargya performances, and chanted 255 Sāmastutis, including 3 ṣoḍasí stutis. In 1920 Triṣandha was performed in the Attoor temple, and in 1922 again in Panjal. This is considered a test, which he passed and so was recognized as ōttan (well versed in the Veda). In 1925 he married Devaki Antarjanam. At that time, when many Veda students lived in the home, his father died and family management fell to him. Times were changing, and he took an active part in the Nambudiri Yogakṣema Sabha, was a Congress worker, managing director of the Unni Nambudiri Yogakṣema Bank, and for ten years secretary of the Panjal Cooperative Society. In 1937 he made the first of eight all-India tours, during which he participated in All-India Vedic conferences and contributed lectures and articles on Veda and śrauta. He also became increasingly concerned about the weakening of his Vedic heritage: there are now only twenty Nambudiri houses belonging to the Sāmaveda, only six or seven Nambudiris who can chant, and no new students. He began to bring these facts to the notice of scholars and authorities, and had many long discussions about the fate of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda and the Nambudiri Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra with Professor Staal, whom he first met in 1957. He is glad he could take an active part in preserving Sāmaveda and Atirātra from total extinction, but he feels that much more should be done, and would be very happy if he can be of any help. In 1979, the seventy-sixth year of his life, he was awarded a Certificate of Honour by the President of India.

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(1972). His publications include *Śrauta, Paitṛmedhika, and Pariśeṣa Sūtras of Bharadvāja*, Parts I-II (1965), *A Survey of the Śrautasūtras* (1968), *Śrautakośa*, Vols. I-II (1958–1970), and, in Marathi, *Aspects of Vedic Culture* (1972), *A History of Indian Plants* (1974), and *A Critical Analysis of the Vedic Sacrificial Religion* (1976).

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dology at the University of Helsinki since 1969, Parpola has also acted temporarily as Professor of Sanskrit and Indo-European linguistics in Gothenburg (1973) and as Professor of Comparative Religion in Helsinki (1977). He did field work in Pakistan and India in 1971 and 1975.

His major research interests are twofold: (1) The philological study of the Vedic texts, especially the Sāmavedic and Śrauta literature. An ongoing project is the critical edition of the entire Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra with Bhavatrāta's commentary. (2) The decipherment of the Indus script and the reconstruction of Harappan language and religion. His publications include *The Śrautasūtras of Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyaṇa and Their Commentaries: An English Translation and Study* (Helsinki, 1968–69); "On the Jaiminīyaśrautasūtra and Its Annexes" (*Orientalia Suecana*, 16); *The Literature and Study of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda in Retrospect and Prospect* (Helsinki, 1973); *Materials for the Study of the Indus Script, I: A Concordance to the Indus Inscriptions* (with Seppe Koskenniemi and Simo Parpola; Helsinki, 1973); *Arguments for an Aryan Origin of the South India Megaliths* (Madras, 1973); "Tasks, Methods and Results in the Study of the Indus Script" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1975); and "Dravidian V-Versus Indo-Aryan hV-" (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 58–59).

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side effect of his interest in mathematics, he also became interested in the history of mathematics. This has led him to propose ritual origins for some mathematical notions and for mathematics itself; in connection with the contribution to the present volume, see especially his paper in the *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, vol. 18 (1978).

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CHERUMUKKU VAIDIKAN VALLABHAN SOMAYAJIPAD (1901–) studied Ṛgveda for four years under Para Damodara Nambudiri, who later became a saṃnyāsi. He studied Sanskrit from his family teacher, Koodallur Nambudiripad, and from P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, a retired lecturer. He learned smārta and śrauta rituals from his father, who was foremost among the vaidikas of his time. He performed Somayāga like his father, grandfather, great grandfather, and the younger brother of his grandfather, who had all performed Somayāga and Agnicayana. He was adhvaryu once and hotā thrice in Somayāga. He also organized and conducted nine Somayāga and three Agnicayana performances, and participated in another forty Somayāga and three Agnicayana performances. When many Hindus were forcibly being converted to Islam during the Mopla outburst of 1921, he helped to organize the reclamation of those Hindus. He taught ritual to about sixty disciples, in addition to his sons. (His first son has performed Somayāga and Agnicayana, and has acted twice as adhvaryu and once as hotā in Somayāga; his second son has performed Somayāga; his third son has performed Somayāga and Agnicayana, and has acted twice as adhvaryu and once as hotā in Somayāga, and once as adhvaryu and once as hotā in Agni; his fifth son has acted twice as adhvaryu in Somayāga and twice as adhvaryu in Agni; his sixth son has acted twice as adhvaryu in Somayāga and once as maitrāvaruṇa in Agni.)

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(Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden); and *A Descriptive Catalogue of Viśvabhārati MSS*, 2 volumes (Adayar Library). He has translated H. D. Thoreau's *Walden* into Malayalam, in which language he is also a well-known author. He was a delegate of the Ministry of Education to the Fourth World Sanskrit Conference at Weimar in 1979.

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tual, e.g., "On the relation between Brāhmanas and Śrautasūtras," (Tokyo, 1952) "Existent Yajurveda-Literature," (Tokyo, 1970), and "Collected Papers on Vedic Studies" (Tokyo, 1977), all in Japanese.

KESAVAN VELUTHAT (1951–) took his M.A. with first class and first rank from the Department of History, University of Calicut (1974), and his M. Phil. from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (1978), doing research on various aspects of the brahman settlements in Kerala for both his M.A. and M.Phil. dissertations. His publications include *Kerala Through the Ages*, in collaboration with M.G.S. Narayanan et al. (1976) and *Brahman Settlements in Kerala: Historical Studies* (1978), besides several research papers. At present he is teaching history at the Governments Arts and and Science College, Calicut, and working on a paper on the "Power Structure of Monarchy in South India."

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Glossary and Index of Terms

This glossary includes the great majority of foreign and technical terms that have been used or referred to in the course of this work. It specifies their occurrence in the text and therefore serves at the same time as an index of terms. Page references are to volume I unless preceded by "II." If a term occurs on many pages, italicized numbers refer to pages where it is more fully explained or illustrated. Occasionally reference is made to Plates or Figures, which are also in the first volume unless preceded by "II". Terms that are common and occur throughout are marked *passim*. All terms are Sanskrit, unless otherwise specified. To facilitate use by non-Sanskritists, the letters are in the customary order of the Roman alphabet, without differentiating between diacritics (e.g., *a* and *ā*—or *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s*—though distinguished, are combined). Terms that occur within quotations or in separately published Sanskrit or Malayalam texts have not been included. For many Sanskrit terms only their specific ritual meaning has been given, and in some cases only their even more specific Nambudiri use.

The best dictionary of ritual terms is Louis Renou, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique* (Paris 1954). Egon Brucker has provided a "Nachtrag" in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122 (1972): 145–148. An excellent list is the "Répertoire des termes techniques les plus usuels" in Caland and Henry's *Agniṣṭoma*, volume I, pages XXIII-XLV. Many Sāmaveda terms are explained in the Glossary of Wayne Howard's *Sāmavedic Chant* (pages 501–558). The general dictionaries are to be used with caution, but accurate translations of many ritual terms are given in Klaus Mylius' *Wörterbuch Sanskrit-Deutsch*.

abhaya, fearlessness; cover of gall-nut 241
abhibhū, a throw of dice 441
abhicāra, magic, exorcism, destruction II 47, 143, 154, 159, 403, 433–435, 443, 446
abhidhā, literal meaning of a word II 181
abhimantraṇa, consecrating an object by a mantra II 136
abhinaya, expression, gesture II 274, 282
abhiṣeka, anointment of the yajamāna during the agnicayana, rājasūya, and other rites; sprinkling of water 58, 632, 640
abhri, spade 288, 336 II 137
ācamana, sipping of water for ceremonial purification 282
acchāvāka, associate of the hotā priest *52*, 58, 122, 214, 266, 267, 358, 386, 587–589, 603, 608, 616, 617, 622, 623, 625, 632, 645, 650, 658, 663, 667, 673, 679 II 162, 164, 189, 597, 680, 691, 694, 696, Plates 102, 107
adābhya, (optional) Soma cup offered at the morning pressing 569, 601
ādāra, a plant II 170,
ādhāna = ādheya, installation of the fire 41, 329 II 87, 88, 92, 133, 293
adhararaṇi, lower kindling block 206, 207, Plate 1
adhas, down(ward), low 214 II 153, 373, Plates II 12, 13
ādhavanīya, clay vessel for mixing soma juice 217
ādhibhautika, interpretation in physical terms II 166
adhidaivika, interpretation in terms referring to the gods II 166
adhikāra, eligibility II 181, 190
adhikaraṇa, locus, reference
adhiṣṭhana, foundation II 284
adhivedana, marriage to an additional wife II 277
adhvan, way, road, course 94
adhvara, ritual 94, 558 II 132, 591, 597
adhvarāhuti, adhvaryu's offering 551,

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558, 559
ādhvaryavam, rites involving the Yajurveda, performed by the adhvaryu and his associates 175, 197, 313, 316 II 162, 204, 220, 227, 232, 248
adhvaryu, chief priest of the Yajurveda *41*, *46–49*, *passim*, Figure 2.
āḍhya (Malayalam), aristocratic Nambudiri II 269, 308
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agni, fire, god of fire; the agnicayana ritual; the offering altar of the agnicayana; several objects buried under the agni altar *passim*
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araṇya, forest II 63, 595
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āraṇyaka, forest-book, class of prose works attached to each brāhmaṇa *34*
aratni (Malayalam and Sanskrit), cubit, a unit of length, consisting of 24 viral 195, 262–265, 303, 381, 579, 590 II 97, 106, 114, 138, 141, 505, 517, 543, 669 671, 673. Figure 8.
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arka, a left through which milk is poured during the Rudra ceremony 509, 517, 521, 524, 525, 532, 562 II 137–139, 579, 581, 617
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āskanda, a throw of dice 441
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āśraya, support, locus II 183
āśrityavidhi, dependent injunction II 190
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āstāva, place for chanting the outdoor chant of the purified Soma (bahiṣpavamānastuti), northwest of the Agni altar 58, 590, 602 II 659
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aṭa (Malayalam), (cake made of) paste of rice flour 303 II 465
Atharvaveda, Veda of magical incanta-

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aṭīri, aṭitiri (Malayalam), brahmin who has performed agnyādheya II 293, 307.
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ātithyeṣṭi, (iṣṭi of the) guest offering for Soma 56, 346, 358 II 162, 525
ātman, body, self 65, 68, 71, 263, 399, 404, 504 II 77, 149
atti (Malayalam), udumbara 206, 244, 559
ātur (Avestan), fire 94
atyagniṣṭoma, type of Soma ritual 8, 61, 330 II 163, 164, 192, 231
audgātram, rites involving the Sāmaveda, performed by the udgātā and his associates 175, 197, 313 II 162, 204, 220, 227, 456
audumbara, made of udumbrara wood 574
audumbarī, pole of udumbara wood with two-pronged top erected in the sadas 263, 579, 587, 608, 625, 630. Plates 93, 102, 103.
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bahumukhi, many-faced (form of domestic altar) II 352
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bandhu, connection 3 II 142
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Bhagavad Gītā, "song of the lord", a portion of the Mahābhārata epic: see Index of Texts
bhakārarathantara, rathantara chant in which the original text is (partly) hidden by syllables beginning with *bh-* II 325, 326, 328
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bhaṭṭa, learned brahmin (often attached to a name as an expression of respect) II 266, 269, 303, 307
bheṣaja, remedy, drug, spell
bhojana, food, meals
bhrāṣṭra, roasting pan II 143
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bhū, bhūmi, earth 139, 359, 418, 533 II 393, 541, 702
bhūma-nyāya, "multitude" rule II 184
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bījākṣara, bījamantra seed-syllable, mystic syllable II 390, 391, 400
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bilba, a kind of tree and wood (*Aegle marmelos* Corr.) 206, 207, 215
brahmacārin, student, celibate II 285, 286
brahman, chief priest of the Atharvaveda; priestly power; the power of language; the absolute; member of the highest caste *46*, *49*, *passim*. Plates 60A, 75A. Figures 2–3.
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brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, associate of the brahman priest *49*, *passim*. Plates 55A, 56, 102, 103, 106, 107.
brahmaṇaspati, lord of brahman 551 II 682, 683
brahmasvam (Malayalam), landed property of brahmins II 260, 261
brahmatvam, rites involving the Atharvaveda, performed by the brahman and his associates 175, 197, 313
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caitra, a month (March-April) 194
caitya, tumulus, sacred enclosure, (Buddhist) monument containing relics II 16, 17, 55
cākkiyār (Malayalam), caste intermediate between Nambudiri and Nāyar, entitled to perform kūṭiyāṭṭam II 273
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cakravartin, whose wheels roll anywhere, sovereign II 280
cakṣus, sight, eye 331
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campū, literary composition in prose and verse II 273, 301, 308
camū, vessel, pot, urn 129
canasita, term to address non-deities, used before their namem by the yajamāna after his consecration 328, 333
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For example, recitations of TS 5.7.8.1a and 5.7.9.1a take place at the beginning of the construction of the domestic altar (Episode 7, page 339), at the beginning of the setting up of the Agni field (Episode 11, page 386), at the beginning of the first layer (Episode 12, page 398), at the end of the first layer (Episode 13, page 445), and at the beginning of the second layer (Episode 14, page 453). In all these cases the mantras are explicitly referred to in the description, and so these pages are listed in the index. However, although the same mantras recur on the third, fourth, and fifth layers, they are only indirectly implied by phrases such as "the customary rites," "the introductory ceremonies," and "the evening ceremonies," and so are not listed.

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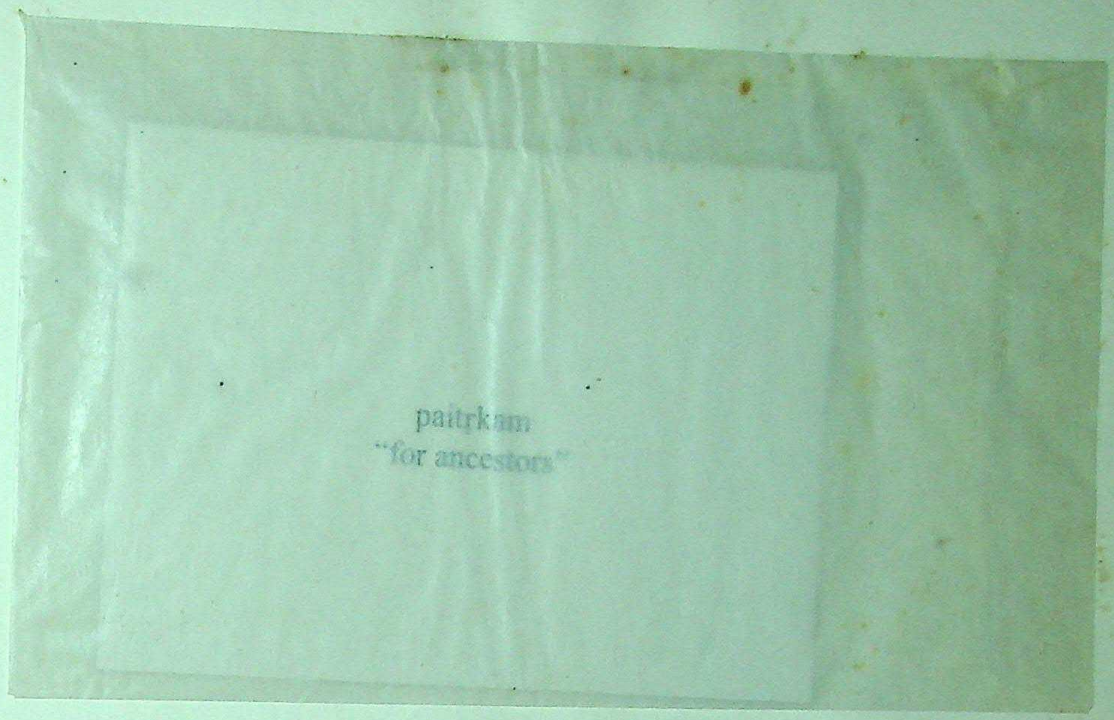

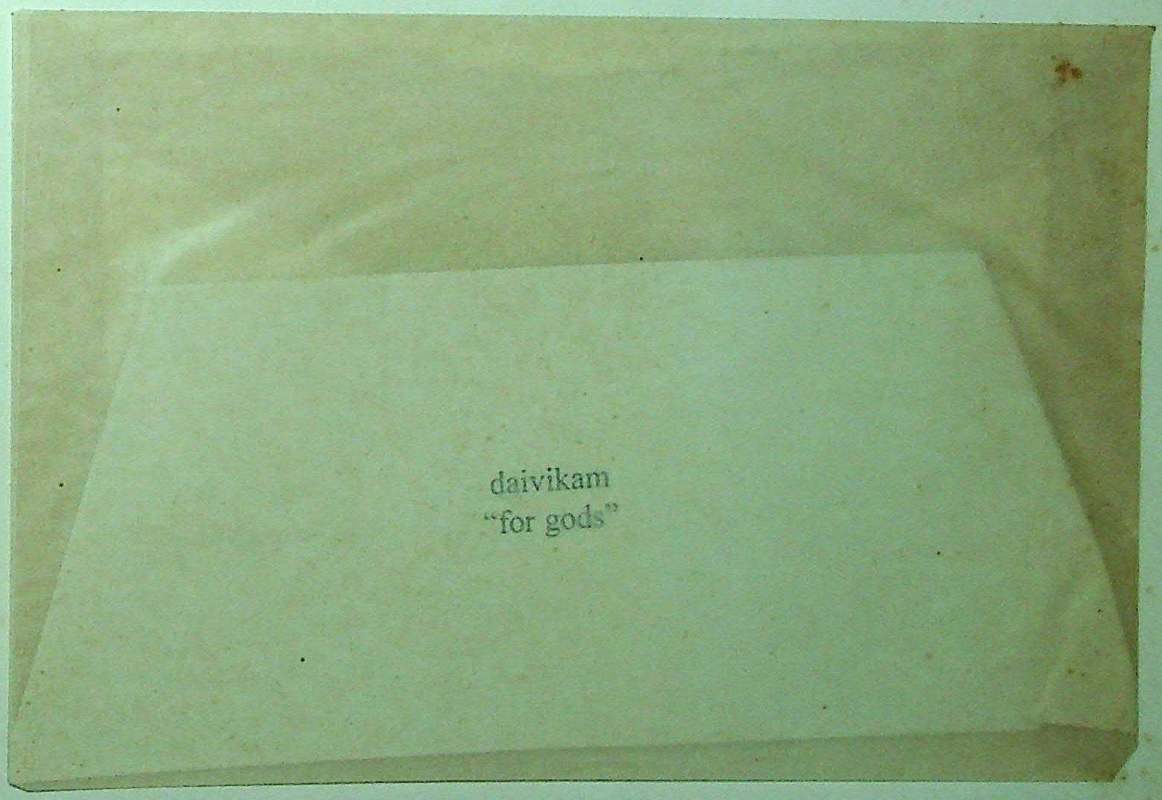

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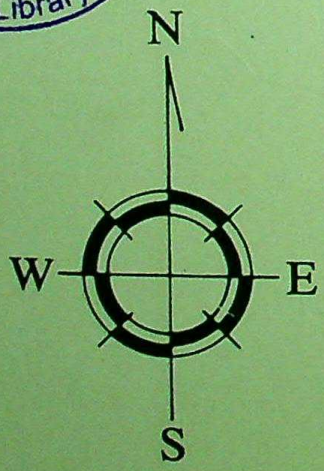

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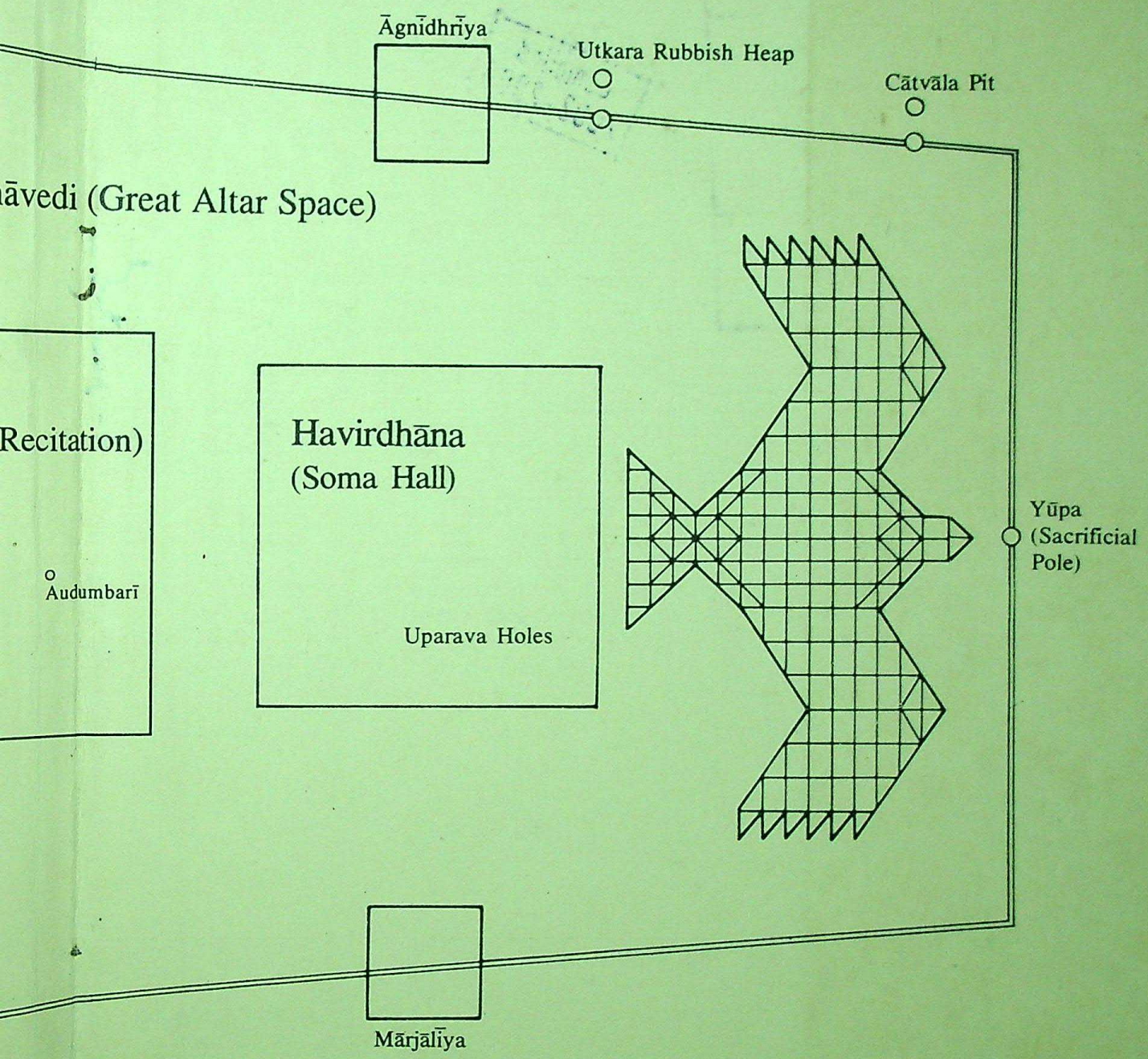

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